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EDITORIAL.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, May 12th. Dr. Grieve, who was congratulated on his Chairman's Address to the Congregational Union earlier in the day, presided. The officers of the Society were re-elected, and the Balance Sheet adopted. The suggestions made by Dr. Grieve of a reduction in Life Membership to £5 5s. 0d. and the inauguration of Corporate Membership by Congregational Churches (5s. a year), were accepted after discussion, during which Dr. S. W. Carruthers said that the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of England had found the Corporate Membership of great service, especially when combined with the appointment of a Correspondent in each affiliated church. £4 4s. 0d. of each Life Membership Subscription is to be invested to form a Capital Fund. It was agreed that this year only one number, enlarged to 64 pages, of the *Transactions* should be issued. This is the present number. It concludes Vol. XII., and includes the Index. Dr. Carruthers was warmly welcomed, and his paper, printed in this issue, greatly appreciated.

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The next thing is to get a drive for new members of all kinds—Churches, Life Members, Ordinary Members. The first church to join as a member was Liscard Church, Wallasey, Cheshire. Three Life Members have already been enrolled—Dr. A. J. Grieve, Dr. Peel, and Dr. A. G. Sleep.

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The Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union are this year in Birmingham. In the *Transactions*, VII., 58-64 there is an account of Thomas Hall of King's Norton. Hall's Library is now in the City Library, Birmingham, and the City Librarian has kindly promised to place it on exhibition. A talk on Hall and his books will be given in the Library on Wednesday, October 14th, at 4.30.

* * * *

This number contains the first fruits of our research group, which has met several times in the Students' Room at the Memorial Hall. The relations between Dr. Johnson and Nonconformists were studied, first as they were revealed

in Boswell, and then in other quarters. This led to a discussion of the reading of Nonconformists, to which discussion Dr. Mumford's paper is a footnote. Dr. Mumford, by the way, has added to the service he has rendered to students in his *History of Manchester Grammar School* by a life of Hugh Oldham, the School's Founder. *Hugh Oldham, 1452[?]-1519* (Faber, 6s.) is a particularly well-illustrated account of the Bishop of Exeter who had a hand in the founding of Corpus Christi and Brasenose Colleges. Dr. Mumford has gathered a wealth of information about Oldham and his contemporaries.

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We are glad that Mr. Laurence Hanson, of the British Museum, the son of Mr. T. W. Hanson—one of our members who has set an example to local historians—is following in his father's footsteps. His *Government and the Press, 1695-1763* (Oxford Press, 21s.) is a fine piece of work; its complete notes, full bibliography, and adequate index all show that the author has been properly brought up! The volume deals almost exclusively with the newspaper press in the period between the expiration of the Licensing Act and the publication of No. 45 of the *North Briton*, and summarizes the legal consequences which followed the prosecution of Wilkes. Naturally the name of Defoe is prominent in its pages, while Fielding, of course, appears before the end. Mr. Hanson has made an indispensable contribution to the history of journalism, and in these days a discussion of the freedom of the Press cannot be said to be untimely: a "Government Press" is an actuality in many countries, and in others there are various degrees of "inspiration." If a student wants to know the law of libel in this period, and how it was administered, or to find how the Government handled press and pamphleteers, he will find authentic information in this careful study.

Mr. T. W. Hanson himself has made a further contribution to the *Proceedings* of the Halifax Antiquarian Society in a paper on "The Old Independent Chapel in Chapel Fold." This has been reprinted.

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We hope that some members of the Society are examining as they appear the volumes of the Oxford History of England, not merely in general, but particularly with a view to ascertaining whether they are giving a due place to religious matters,

and especially the history of Nonconformity. Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, in *England, 1870-1918*, is right to bring out the decline in the influence of religion in his period, but we wonder if there is not a danger of reading back into, say, the 16th and 17th centuries the modern attitude to religion. Will some readers look at the volumes already issued, *The Age of Elizabeth* and *The Later Stuarts* from this angle? Even Prof. Ensor's competent and informing survey, with its admirable chapters on "Mental and Social Aspects," ignores altogether significant episodes and movements: the Free Church Council, which had some political significance, is, we think, not so much as mentioned, nor the Down Grade Controversy, the New Theology, and (though perhaps in *England* we should not expect this) the Scottish Churches' Case—and the list could be extended indefinitely. The Bibliography, however, is full and useful.

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A long expected *desideratum* for research students now appears in the *Index of Persons in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (H.M.S.O., 15s. and 12s. 6d.). No. 1 of the Guide to the Report was published in 1914, but this Index, which is edited by Mr. Francis Biekley, has been delayed until the present time. Pages vii.-xx. contain a list of the Report's Indexes; and the Index itself, a first volume going as far as "Lever," occupies 448 pages. There is still much to be discovered in the manuscripts so far catalogued by the Commission, and anything that makes the work of the research student easier is welcome.

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Members of this Society who desire a picture of the life of a distinguished Congregational minister in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century will do well to read Dr. Raymond Calkins's *The Life and Times of Alexander McKenzie* (Harvard and Oxford Presses, 21s.). Dr. Calkins succeeded McKenzie in the pastorate of the First Congregational Church at Cambridge which he occupied for forty-three years after a short ministry at Augusta, Maine. The book could have been shortened with advantage, but it is very welcome, for McKenzie played a prominent part in the life of Colleges like Harvard and Wellesley, and in controversies like those which arose at Andover and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Born in 1830, McKenzie had a spell of business life and went to College

late, and not the least interesting pages of the book are those describing a young man's life in business and in College. He was a convinced Congregationalist :

I was born a Congregationalist [he wrote]. I was baptized into that form of Church belief and life. I have never wished to make a change. I believe in this method of ecclesiastical life ; in its divine origin, its history, its faith, its spirit, its force, its success. It is in sympathy with the political form of the Republic and so far as I can foresee will be substantially the method of the perfected Church. The more I see of the working of other ecclesiastical systems, the better satisfied I am with our own, imperfect though it is. I like an assured descent from the first Christian churches. . . . I like our free ways wherein each body of Christians can frame its affairs as it will. . . . I like the liberty of the minister, which is subject only to his own conscience and to God. . . . I recognize my own freedom and rejoice in it. I rejoice in the life of today which is unhampered by obsolete forms and formulas and can think and speak in the language of the time. I am glad to be the Puritan minister of a Puritan church. We hold to the faith of the founders of this church. The Puritan belief and spirit have been preserved. The Church finds authority for its belief and methods in the New Testament.

Thus he was proud to be a minister of a Congregational Church which went back to 1633-6, and to be connected with Harvard.

"He had marvellous fluency, fervent utterance, and unusual homiletical gifts." He began his sermons with short crisp sentences :

"How shall we sing a song in a strange land ?" Sing it as you would in any other land.

"He gave the child to its mother." To whom else should he give him ?

There is much that is unfamiliar to British readers in the volume and we commend it to their notice.

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It is gratifying to see that other denominations are active in the work of historical research. We have before us three books which reflect great credit on their writers, and on the denominations to which they belong.

Though small in numbers, the Unitarians, like the Quakers, have always had a number of families distinguished for their intellectual attainments. Of these that of John Rely Beard is the subject of Dr. H. McLachlan's

Records of a Family, 1800-1933 (Manchester University Press, 8s. 6d.). Dr. McLachlan describes the members of the family as "Pioneers in Education, Social Service, and Liberal Religion," and they are so varied that an account of them makes a book as fascinating for the general reader as it is informing to the student of history. Beard (1800-1876), Unitarian minister and first Principal of the Unitarian College at Manchester, had a large family. His eldest son was Charles Beard (1827-1888), historian of the Reformation and of Port Royal, and one of the founders of University College, Liverpool. Charles's only son became Sir Lewis Beard (1858-1933), Town Clerk of Blackburn and an authority on local administration. James Rait Beard (1843-1917), Charles's brother, was prominent in the business life of Manchester. His sister Mary Shipman Beard (1861-1926) became an educationalist. Another sister Sarah (1831-1922) married John Dendy, and had a family not less distinguished: their son John (1852-1924) lived a useful life, but he was outshone by his sisters, Mary (1858-1933), the pioneer in work for feeble-minded children, and Helen (1860-1925), the authority on the Poor Law, who married Bernard Bosanquet. Another brother was Arthur (1864-1925), Prof. of Zoology at King's College, London. Dr. McLachlan has made himself the recognized historian of Unitarianism; it is good to know that Alexander Gordon is not to be left without at least one successor.

In *Upton* (Carey Press, 5s. and 2s. 6d.) Mr. Seymour J. Price, the Secretary of the Baptist Historical Society, has given us the history of a local church which all church historians could take as a pattern. Based on full and careful study of the documents—minutes and the like—it is never dry bones, for Mr. Price has kept the story pulsing with life from the beginnings in 1785 down to the present day. A Baptist Church in Lambeth in the course of 150 years has seen many changes, and probably conditions were never more adverse than now, but its people seem to be tackling their problem with the faith and courage which marked James Upton, William Williams, and the less well-known figures on the church's roll of honour. Certainly those who belong to it to-day could gain much inspiration from reading this vivid narrative. Students will learn a good deal about the life of a Baptist Church during the changing years, and especially of those days when membership was a real thing and the Church demanded a certain

standard of living from its members. And how seriously the members regarded their office may be gathered from the programme of a recognition service in 1856, where, after a "liberal tea" the congregation heard:—

- Rev. Dr. Angus on the various parts of the ministerial office.
- Rev. W. Miall on the relations of the pastor to his people.
- Rev. W. Howieson on the relations of the people to the pastor.
- Rev. J. Betts on the Church's duty to support the ministry.
- Rev. J. Hirons on Congregationalism or the Voluntary principle.
- Rev. J. Cook on the duty of the Church towards the ungodly.
- Rev. P. Green on the encouragement to Christian effort.
- Rev. J. Robinson on the Church in relation to and with Sabbath Schools.

The reading of the Rev. W. Bardsley Brash's *The Story of our Colleges, 1835-1935* (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) has been an extremely pleasant experience, not only because we have learnt a great deal from it, but because it is written with a warmth and enthusiasm rarely to be found in church historians—or anywhere else, for that matter—in these days. How many Congregationalists, we wonder, know that the Wesleyans began the work of ministerial training by renting Hoxton Academy, previously used for the training of Independent ministers and then of L.M.S. missionaries? And how many know that when Hoxton proved too small, the next building used was Abney House, where Isaac Watts lived for so long? Mr. Brash describes the early Methodist suspicion of training: even the word "College" was suspect, and "Institution" had to be used. His picture of the beginnings of ministerial education, with the figure of Jabez Bunting looming over it, is full of fascination, and then he goes on to tell in turn of Didsbury, Richmond, Headingley, Handsworth, and finally, of Wesley House, Cambridge. The Rev. A. L. Humphries writes of Hartley, and the Rev. G. G. Hornby of Victoria Park and Ranmoor, but Mr. Brash's chapters set the tone of the book. All the denominations could learn from this story of a century of ministerial training, and we cannot think any Christian will read these pages without his heart being strangely warmed. For the first time in my life I have wished to become a Wesleyan—almost! Most of the great names in Methodist 19th century history find a place in this chronicle, which is alive from first to last. Mr. Brash must certainly continue to write history or biography—he has the *flair*.

Frederick James Powicke 1854-1935

DR. FREDERICK JAMES POWICKE, who died on December 7th, 1935, at Stockport, was born at Kidderminster in 1854—hence the Baxter tradition that was to bear such rich fruit in later years. He was trained for the Congregational ministry at Spring Hill College, Birmingham (the predecessor of Mansfield), under Dr. D. W. Simon, where, “trying to crowd two years’ work into one,” he suffered a nervous breakdown and was obliged to decline more than one invitation to town charges. So he began his ministry at Alnwick, the old country town of Northumberland, and spent over eight very happy years there among a people “reserved even to coldness, but warm of heart and true as steel; while their demeanour in public worship suggested an inward reverence which I found to be very real.” He never ceased to argue that every minister should begin his work in a country church, or else in a small town church, or in a dwindling and distressed city church. Certainly his own life in a district that has been called “the penal settlement of Congregationalism” was a happy blend of study, especially of history and Platonism—in particular the Cambridge species,—and of practical pastoring. A Bible class which he founded grew into a noteworthy band of local preachers, local leaders, and effective political speakers.

In 1886 Powicke left Alnwick for Hatherlow, his only other charge. In November of that year he began a ministry which “beyond expectation or intention” lengthened out to thirty years. It was a ministry marked by the same intensive culture and by the most happy relationship between pastor and people.

Its comparative restriction enabled him to serve the Cheshire Congregational Union and the wider ministry in many ways, and to bring to fruition the studies on which he had entered in his previous ministry. His first published work was a dissertation on John Norris, of Bemerton, which gained for him the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Rostock. In succession there followed three valuable studies on early

Congregationalism, dealing respectively with Henry Barrow (and the exiled church of Amsterdam), Robert Browne, and John Robinson. He also wrote a life of his old principal, D. W. Simon, and a history of the Cheshire Congregational Union (for its centenary in 1906). But his ripest fruit came in the two volumes on Richard Baxter and the choice little book on the Cambridge Platonists—all when he had passed his seventieth milestone. Meanwhile he was contributing regularly to the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* and the *Bulletin of the Rylands Library*. The University of Glasgow gave him an honorary D.D.

Powicke was twice chairman of the Cheshire Congregational Union and a governor of the Rylands Library. He was a most valued member of the committee of Lancashire College, and had been its chairman. But he will be best remembered as the minister who was among his people "as one that serveth," as the conscientious and well-balanced research scholar, as a flower of Catholic Independency, and as a well-beloved friend with whom to spend a couple of hours was refreshment and inspiration. Slight in physique and frail in health for many years, he happily attained a great age while retaining a marvellously youthful spirit. He knew domestic sorrow, first in the death of his daughter Gertrude, who died at Warsaw in 1919 after four years' war relief work in France and Poland, and who is commemorated by a tablet in the Women's Union at the University; and then in the recent death of his wife. He had great joy in his children, one of whom is the distinguished Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

This sketch owes almost everything to Dr. Powicke's own reminiscences of Thomas Campbell Finlayson, contributed to the *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1934, an article which happily was autobiographical as well as biographical. And it may conclude with a couple of sentences which Dr. Mackennal wrote of Finlayson :—

There was no distinction his brethren had to bestow which they would not have given him; and that for two reasons—because they knew him worthy and because of the love in which they held him. What the self-seeker can never win came to this man who sought not himself—ungrudged honour and affection without stint.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

The Presbytery of Wandsworth.¹

THE Presbytery of Wandsworth is known by name, but perhaps little more, to most people who know anything at all about Elizabethan ecclesiastical history. It has almost as vague but majestic a value to the average Presbyterian as Magna Carta has to the average Englishman. Seeing that it is misunderstood even by Presbyterians, I hope that I am not insulting a Congregational Historical Society by thinking that it may not be understood there.

It was really only a "Kirk Session," for at that date the "lesser presbytery" (that of the congregation) monopolized the name, and the "greater presbytery" (that of the district) was called a classis. Further, it was not only a mere kirk session, but it seems to have had only a brief and feeble life. Indeed there is but little more than the record of its birth²; but the fact that Bancroft notes this at all shews that he thought it important.

This Presbytery of Wandsworth left no direct results. Why then has its name lived in fame? For the same reason which led Bancroft to record it, namely, that it was the first attempt to put in practice a new policy. The plan never materialized, and was eventually repressed altogether; but it had later effects, because it remained as a bright memory and a stimulating hope for a couple of generations, till the meeting of the Long Parliament. So, shadowy as its outline is, this Presbytery of Wandsworth is of genuine importance as the first brick in an edifice which occupies an important place in ecclesiastical history.

From the time of the Marian exiles there had been in the Church of England a party, never perhaps very large in numbers, but full of ardour, and well endowed with men of

¹ The main authorities are Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*; Peel, *The Seconde Parte of a Register* (Catalogue of MSS. in the Dr. Williams' Library); Usher, *The Dedham Classis*; Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*; Drysdale, *History of the Presbyterians in England*.

² I had hoped to be able to search the MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library for further details, but have not had the leisure.

piety, learning, and ability—the Puritan party. The reformation of the Church of England was imperfect; its lines had been drawn by the State, and by the State under Tudor sovereigns; its machinery was at least inadequate to help forward a real spiritual revival in the land. The desire of the Puritan party was to complete the reformation, and so to transform this Church of England into a spiritually active Church in which every minister and all the people should have their part. "We are not for an unspotted church on earth, and, therefore, though the Church of England has many faults, *we would not willingly leave it*" (Quoted, Waddington, *Congregational History*, II. 7). Their influence is often underrated: "A rhyming pamphlet published at Northampton in 1570 shows how in the popular mind the issue was between Geneva and Rome. The *via media* of Hooker and the High Church Anglican party only became prominent later in the reign." (*Vict. County Hist. Northamptonshire*, II. 43).

From a very early stage the line was clearly drawn between these Puritans, the party of hope, and the Separatists, the party of despair, who saw no remedy but to depart out of so corrupt a Church. At first, no doubt, there were men who oscillated from hope to despair and even back again to hope; possibly this may be a not unfair description of Robert Browne. But in the days of Elizabeth it was already quite clear that there were two parties, the Puritans, the more numerous, whose conscientious duty was to stay in a national Church, and the smaller group of Separatists, whose equally conscientious duty was to come out into gathered churches.

The accession of Elizabeth kindled brighter hopes in the hearts of the advanced reforming party, as did that of James forty-five years later. In neither case did the brightness last long. But in 1572, fourteen years after Elizabeth's accession, a Parliament was elected with marked democratic and Puritan sympathies, and the situation was not unlike that in 1640 at the meeting of the Long Parliament. The Puritans had failed with the sovereign; might they not succeed through Parliament? To it, in renewed hope, they submitted the famous First and Second Admonitions, with the unfortunate result that the Queen at once indicated brusquely to her Parliament that she could deal with the Church of England herself, and that she wanted no changes.

The authors of the Admonition were John Field and Thomas

Wilcocks, and it was Field's hand that endorsed the famous and mysterious "Order of Wandsworth." Dr. Scott Pearson calls him "the organizing secretary of the main body of Puritans," and he was, as Dr. Peel claims, a determined propagandist, and evidently had no mind for a helpless inactivity if Parliament either would not or could not further the ideals to which he was devoted. There were two possible roads to the goal; the swift, but probably less thorough, one of beginning at the top with parliamentary authority; the slow, toilsome, but thorough one of building up brick by brick, voluntarily, within the national Church, an organization which would be its own witness, and whose good qualities would so enlighten the nation that it would in the end receive a cordial welcome. To attempt the one need not be to relinquish the other.

That the slow upbuilding could be done within the bounds of the law was, or soon became, the firm belief of the Puritan party; and how true it was is indicated by the great difficulty which Bancroft and the High Commission had in finding legal pleas against them which would hold water. Bancroft tells (p. 82) how they were prepared to cover their practising excommunication after admonition by the elders "upon pretence of certain words in the communion book." At the Dedham Classis in 1583 "it was said our meetings were known and threatened, yet it was thought good not to be left, but that some godly lawyer should be talked with how we may meet by law" (p. 31). Indeed on several occasions this same classis advised its members to call in the help of the magistrate to deal with obstinate offenders. Usher is strongly of opinion that the Puritans managed to evade the law by "considering" and by "taking opinions," in place of voting and resolving. But this is a misconception of the position; they knew full well that their associations were voluntary ones, with no legal authority; the authority which they exercised was a moral one, upon the consciences of the men who joined them, and for such authority their method of procedure was the natural and normal one.

The Parliament had met on 8th May, 1572, and without delay had introduced a bill for the relief of the Puritans, to which the Queen objected. By June 30th Parliament was dissolved, and just a week later (July 7th) Field and Wilcocks, who had presented the Admonition, were thrown into Newgate, and remained in close confinement for at least fifteen months.

From the fact that Field was in prison, Brook is unwilling to accept Bancroft's date, 20th Nov., 1572, for the "Order of Wandsworth," and claims that it must have been previous to 7th July. But Bancroft merely attaches the November date to "a bill endorsed with Master Field's hand; thus—'The Order of Wandsworth'" (p. 67). It is not suggested that Field himself took a personal part in any act erecting the Presbytery; indeed probability, entirely apart from his imprisonment, would seem against it. Field was at St Mary Aldermary, in the City of London; Wandsworth was a country village in Surrey. The Puritans in their scheme of erecting within the national Church a Presbyterian inner organization, do not seem to have transgressed existing ecclesiastical boundaries, and it is unlikely that a London man such as Field would have taken any actual part in the act of erecting a presbytery in the diocese of Winchester. As a matter of fact the persons who did the erecting were two ministers of that diocese, Smith of Mitcham and Crane of Roehampton. The vicar at this time was John Edwyn, of whom we know (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 248) that in 1584 he was dealt with by Bishop Cooper. But his examination was upon the Prayer-Book only: so it is possible that he belonged to the right wing of the Puritan party, and was not so keen on discipline. Nevertheless it is a puzzle that this presbytery should have been established in his parish without his taking a share in it. But Dr. Scott Pearson's dictum, "It seems therefore that the Wandsworth Presbytery was not the session of Wandsworth parish church," is in my opinion too strong an inference to draw from Edwyn's non-appearance in the matter. These presbyteries were definitely parochial; any smaller sphere would have been too separatist in effect to have met with the approval of Field and his associates, though Dr. Scott Pearson suggests that Crane and Smith had separatist views. This he does on somewhat insecure grounds, perhaps influenced by Strype's marginal note (*Grindal*, p. 153) calling Bonham and Crane "separatists"; he also makes a quite conjectural identification of Smith with one of the Plumbers' Hall congregation in 1567 who was apparently an old man even at that time.

It may be that we shall have to content ourselves with re-echoing Bancroft's own words: "How they grew to be so far gone at Wandsworth, that I find not."

He goes on, however, to relate that "they had then their meetings of ministers, termed brethren, in private houses in

London" and that these meetings "were called conferences,"—note carefully, not presbyteries. He names eight men as having taken part in these London meetings; and Brook has quite erroneously put down these men as "members of the presbytery erected at Wandsworth," thus of course giving an entirely mistaken view of its nature; for it was a body of elders and not of ministers. It is not easy to trace the precise ecclesiastical position of all these eight men; but five or six of them were within the diocese of London, and that they were all so may perhaps be inferred from the fact that Bancroft gives a further list of seven who "joined themselves into that brotherhood," most if not all of whom (Gardiner of Maldon in Essex being apparently an exception) were also in London. Brook calls these seven also members (sometimes with the qualifying word "additional") of the Presbytery of Wandsworth.

One can only conjecture that at this time the "conference" in London was the only body in existence which in any way corresponded to our modern presbytery. Was their action in appointing Crane and Smith "approvers" a purely temporary expedient, or was it the erection of a nucleus of a Surrey conference? If it were the latter, that conference also had apparently a very brief and eventless life, for that is all we know about it. Yet, on the whole, I am inclined to think that this was the significance of the step, and that this was why Field, the most active propagandist of the London group, endorsed the famous "Order."

It may be objected that this Presbytery of Wandsworth is not after all the first brick of the proposed Presbyterian edifice, for it is recorded by Bancroft as contemporaneous with the London conference. Yet in fact it is so; for, at this early stage the conferences were apparently purely ministerial, and to erect elders was the first step towards true Presbyterianism, which had never considered itself truly organized in any purely ministerial body.

This, then, is all that I have been able to gather about what Dr. Peel in his letter inviting me to speak called "the mysterious Presbytery of Wandsworth." Much at least of the mystery was due to Brook's misunderstanding by a lax perusal of Bancroft; but by conjectures which have, I believe, a reasonable basis, one has been able to blow aside a little more of the mist, and to see perhaps why the incident held so leading a place in Bancroft's mind. It is therefore an

appropriate, if not indeed a necessary, completion of a paper on the Presbytery of Wandsworth to consider shortly the building and the features of the edifice of Elizabethan organization which was begun there.

It is interesting to note that in *Dangerous Positions* Bancroft proceeds straightway from 1572 to 1583, the drafting of the "Book of Discipline." This can hardly be from want of material in the intervening years; Dr. Usher brings out the fact that he of all men probably had the material most accessible. It is probably because, as the High Commission Court became more active, his later material was richer, and was especially richer in regard to organization. For he himself tells us that "in these London meetings, at the first, little was debated but against subscription, the attire, and book of common prayer." It was after the second seven joined in that "then the handling of the discipline began to rise." The draft Book of Discipline "was after sent abroad about 1587; it was put in practice in Northamptonshire and many other places" (p. 75). It had not a long life; Bancroft's intelligence officers and Whitgift's strong rule soon ended its existence.

The policy of the Puritan party was quite clear. Bancroft quotes, apparently from their own documents, thus:—"That forasmuch as divers books have been written, and sundry petitions exhibited to her Majesty, the Parliament, their Lordships, and yet to little purpose; therefore every man should labour, by all the means he could, to bring into the Church the said reformation themselves" (p. 68). It needs but little imagination to picture Field proposing such a resolution to the assembled conference with an inward satisfaction that he was urging them to resume and extend what had been begun a decade before at Wandsworth.

Before dealing with the architecture of the presbyterian edifice, we may perhaps consider what extent of ground it covered. Bancroft says; "many other places"; can we get any sort of list by searching his book and the *Seconde Parte of a Register*?

Firstly, as to the obscure period between 1572 and 1583, of the first part of which Dr. Scott Pearson says the movement was "at an apparently low ebb." William White,¹ a persecuted but staunch layman in London, wrote as early as 1574

¹ See a paper on him by Dr. Peel in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 4.

that men said of the discipline "it is in vain to strive for it, you see it cannot be had"; and added, "God grant that we may labour to do what God commandeth us and commit the success to Him" (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 100). In 1575 we have evidence of the system in practice in Norwich. Here the Puritans took advantage of a vacancy in the see to establish an organization. In this case it was a "prophecy"—a weekly exercise, every Monday morning from nine to eleven; and none was to be suffered to speak "except he will submit himself to the orders that are or shall be set down hereafter by the consent of the brethren." (Browne, *Hist. of Cong. in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 20). Its scope was entirely confined to doctrine, a minister preaching a sermon, along lines which compelled him to devote himself to real exegesis of the text, and then being criticised in his absence, and afterwards told by the "Moderator" of the result of the criticism. There was, however, an element of discipline, for if "after brotherly admonition not reforming himself, his name is to be put out of the table till he be reformed, and if he shall proceed to the further disquieting of the Church, sharper discipline is to be required, all just occasion whereof the Lord remove from us." But there is no definite indication at this time either of any supervision of the life of the minister, or any trace of elders, or of discipline of the laity. Dr. Scott Pearson claims, however, that "the exercises were among the best practical agencies for the spread of Puritan principles. Under cover of a legitimate conference, the zealots were enabled to advance their cause quietly and inconspicuously."

Shortly after this time there was a similar, but perhaps less fully regulated order for Bible study in a conference at Cambridge; this concerned those still at the University. It seems to have been chiefly for students of divinity; but one must surely conclude that teachers also took part, because two books were to be prepared, in which the "interpretations of hard and doubtful places" are to be entered. This meeting is hardly on the same footing as the conferences of ministers, but is interesting as confirming the view that the chief interest at this period was the development of a race of efficient and orthodox preachers.

Of the spiritual gain of these meetings there is abundant evidence. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, said that they "have and do daily bring singular benefit to the Church of God, as well in the clergy as the laity" (*Parker Corresp.*

458, n.); and he wanted to suppress only what he called the abuses; by this he may, of course, have meant the disciplinary element. Archbishop Parker, ever the courtier-ecclesiastic, wrote "The Queen's Majesty willed me to suppress these vain prophesyings."

When Grindal, with his more liberal sympathies, became primate, he made a brave endeavour to secure the continuance of the prophesyings. He tells the Queen that he has consulted nine bishops and that they approve. Indeed, "ministers, as some of my brethren do certify, grow to such a good knowledge by means of these exercises, that where afore there were not three able preachers, now are thirty meet to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and forty or fifty besides able to instruct their own cures." (Strype, *Grindal*, App., p. 81). Elizabeth was moved by this, but not in the direction which Grindal hoped, or at least desired. She intimated that in her opinion three or four preachers in a county were enough. She instructed him moreover to "abridge the number of preachers and to put down the religious exercises" (Strype, 221). Grindal felt this to be an infringement of the spiritual functions of the Primate, and could not in conscience comply. Whereupon the Queen simply sent her orders direct to the bishops, accompanying them with a warning that if they were negligent she might be "forced to make some example in reforming you according to your deserts," and a little later found cause to sequester Grindal from his office.

Elizabeth's action is the more extraordinary because Grindal had drawn up "orders for reformation of abuses about the learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the Church" which would have put them entirely under the control of the bishops. These orders permitted the laity as hearers, but emphatically not as speakers. The Queen however was of opinion that "great numbers of our people, especially the vulgar sort, meet to be otherwise occupied with honest labour for their living, are brought to idleness and seduced." Unless this phrase was merely put in for effect, it is a testimony to the wide-spread following which Puritan ministers had among the people.

For a time, therefore, we hear nothing more of these meetings, and it is noticeable that at this date the documents in the *Seconde Parte of a Register* deal with ceremonies and liturgy. By 1582, however, we find that some individual unknown approached a Privy Councillor with "A supplication

for conference to be permitted again" (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 153). It had been found most difficult, he claims, to remove ignorant and idle ministers already benefited, so the best thing was to teach them. The instruction of the laity was thus to come not directly from the conferences, but mediately through the better instructed ministers.

In 1583 there were a hundred and seventy-five citizens of Norwich bold enough to petition the Queen for the abolition of prelacy, and the "planting the holy eldership, the very sinew of Christ's Church" (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 157). They also asked that ministers be not appointed by "corrupt patrons," but by "the flock whose souls pertain to the minister's charge, so that the judgment of the said flock in their choice be examined by a synod of lawful ministers." They emphasize that this is not a petition of the clergy, but "of the poor lay people, being vexed with the want of the word preached," who "with hunger and thirst seek where they may hear it." (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 158).

In 1584 we find "conferences of ministers in private places after a public sermon" being defended as quite a different thing from "abuses of open disordered prophecies." It is claimed that besides cultivating ministerial gifts they discover and confound the adversaries' pamphlets. (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 177).

At this time arose the question of subscription to the Whitgift Articles (concerning the Queen's supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Thirty-nine Articles). This seems to have brought the Puritan party into closer touch with each other, for it was desirable that they should have some common plan as to how far, or with what statement of exceptions, they should subscribe these three articles.

In November 1584 another Parliament met; once more the Puritan party hoped for an opportunity of endeavouring an official and authoritative reformation of the Church. Petitions to Parliament and to the Queen were prepared; in the latter there was an express proposal that the best men in each congregation be made elders to assist the minister in admonishing the wayward. (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 255). This was a useless quarter to which to apply; but the Commons were favourable, and approached the Lords with a proposal in favour of the Puritans, which included the permission of "common exercises and conferences" of ministers in every archdeaconry. The bishops opposed this in the Lords, and the Queen again "became jealous of her Parliament's encroach-

ing upon her supremacy in spirituals." (Strype, *Whitgift*, 297). Once again, when a Parliament met in Feb, 1586, a similar move was made, and a draft bill actually submitted. Her Majesty declared the suggested plan to be "most prejudicial unto the religion established, to her crown, to her government, and to her subjects," and the petition to be "against the prerogative of her crown." So once again the first method failed; the Puritans had to fall back upon the second.

It only remains to sketch the main outlines of the edifice erected, and especially of the "presbytery" to be set up in each congregation, of which the Presbytery of Wandsworth was the first example. But it must be remembered that in the process of their work there was marked development or clarification of the ideas of the Puritans, and that in all probability the missing "Order of Wandsworth" may have been less detailed than later documents. In a draft Act (dated by Dr. Peel in 1587) it was provided that, at any rate, the first election of elders should be by the county assembly of ministers, subject to any exception taken to the names by the people. But it did not appear that at this time they expected to be able to have elders in every congregation, for they were to choose "such a number as shall be convenient of the worshipful and honest of the shire," and to send the names to be published "in every parish where any of them remain" (*i.e.* dwell) "which are chosen." (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 217). A draft Act of the previous year had provided that "the minister and whole congregation, or the most part thereof, . . . shall nominate and elect six of the least of every parish." They were to be "the presbytery of the parish" and to have authority "to hear and examine all causes of offence" (*i.e.*, scandal) "to the church. . . . concerning any disorder of life." (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 1).

In practice, according to Bancroft, at Kilsby in Northamptonshire, there was a nomination of elders by the pastor, and the number for that congregation was six. (*Bancroft*, 116).

Terminology was not very precise; while "presbytery" was the general phrase for the congregational eldership, we find the phrase "a seignory of elders" (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 211), and "the holy company of presbyters and elders", where it is uncertain whether the greater or the lesser presbytery is meant, and what is the distinction, if any, between the presbyters and the elders.

The function of a presbytery is described again and again. It was definitely disciplinary, for the promotion of the good life, as we have heard provided in the draft Act. But more power was exercised by the congregation than in Scottish Presbyterianism, for while suspension from membership was in the hands of the presbytery, the question of excommunication was placed before a meeting of the congregation. This at least was the provision in the draft Articles of the Discipline of the Church (*Sec. Pt.*, I. 166), which are probably an early stage of the Book of Discipline; but in the final form of the Book this matter also is in the hands of the "Consistory", as the congregational presbytery is therein designated. In a draft Act also it was the minister and elders who were nominated to deal with this.

In a petition to the Queen (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 255) it is asked that the best men in each congregation be made elders to assist the minister in admonishing the wayward. The praise, limited to Psalms in metre, was, by another draft Act, to be regulated by the minister and the elders in each parish. (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 216).

Perhaps the finest account of the spiritual work and jurisdiction of the elders is contained in a lengthy anonymous document entitled "Certain Points concerning the policy and government of the Ecclesiastical State," dated 1586 by Dr. Peel. (*Sec. Pt.*, II. 20). There were to be chosen

a convenient number, according to the largeness and multitude of every congregation, of the most religious, godly, and virtuously disposed parishioners, joined as near as might be with the best for countenance, credit and ability in that place, who being sworn to watch over the behaviour of such as are within the bounds and limits of their wards, by charitable private advice and admonition, lovingly persuading them to prevent in their own persons or household the very beginnings of wicked examples and offences like to annoy and pester the whole congregation; and meeting all together in consultation with their pastor for the better discharge of their oaths, either after evening prayers Sundays and Holy days, or at some more convenient opportunity . . . brotherly sending for such as contemning any of their former secret warnings and cautions go forward, increasing their wickedness to a more dangerous infection, and neighbourly, in all patience, love and longsuffering, reclaiming or admonishing him or them as in the presence of God to repent and amend, and if he grow obstinately worse and worse, notwithstanding all those former brotherly proceedings, to cut him off with the

privity and in the face and assembly of the whole congregation, not to be admitted again or reconciled before he hath openly allowed and testified his unfeigned repentance to that congregation, so by his offence publicly wounded.

This description can be graphically supplemented from the regulations at Dedham, entitled "Orders agreed upon the 9th of August by Mr. Doctor Chapman, Mr. Parker, and the ancients of the congregation of Dedham to be diligently observed and kept of all persons whatsoever dwelling within the said town." They deal with Lord's Day observance, church attendance, catechising, a monthly communion to which only good livers were to be admitted, provisions for arbitration in disputes, for maintenance of the poor and restraint of disorders, and careful provision for all children to be taught to read. Two of the fifteen items may perhaps be quoted.

7. Item, that the Tuesday next following the communion Mr. D. Chapman and Mr. Parker and the ancients of the town do meet to confer of matters concerning the good government of the town.

14. Item, that every quarter Mr. D. Chapman, Mr. Parker, or one of them, with two or three of the ancients of the town, always accompanied with one of the constables, do visit the poor and chiefly the suspected places, that understanding the miserable estate of those that want and the naughty disposition of disordered persons, they may provide for them accordingly.

Here, then, is what might be called both the necessary foundation and the supreme object of this Puritan organization, namely, an effective spiritual supervision of the people of the land, not carried on by a clerical caste, but by the people themselves through selected responsible officers. The Church was to be, as it always had been, co-extensive with the nation; and therefore for its cohesion and orderliness it was necessary to have a co-ordination between the parishes. Hence the conferences of ministers; hence the services of Smith and Crane to see that the parish of Wandsworth had suitable elders. And this co-ordination was attempted under very difficult circumstances, under the watchful eye of the bishops and the High Commission, with a determination to try and keep within the law, so that the organization might ultimately merge naturally into the recognized structure of the Church. Taye suggested to Parker that, with the consent of the Arch-

deacon, his visitations might be transformed into "the ancient form of synods" (Usher, 85).

The Book of Discipline provides for a regular gradation of Assemblies—conferences to meet every six weeks, provincial synods about every half year, and a national synod, with a further hope of an œcumenical synod. In all the assemblies ministers and elders were to be in equal number. But in practice this did not happen; it was difficult to include the laity within the terms of the law. They were sometimes admitted as hearers of sermons, and on one occasion the Dedham Classis admitted a Mr. Morse ("being a good man and we assembled in his house"), but it was not to be a precedent. It seems that the activity of the elders was little more than parochial.

Assemblies were however held, and it is possible to enumerate quite a number of them. Of course the Dedham Classis is the most fully understood, since its records were printed by Dr. Usher in 1905. He has drawn up a list of the known classes, but it is of very little use. Unfortunately he gives no indication at all of his authority for the names which he places in each classis, nor even for the existence of the classis. It is probable, or indeed certain, that there were more than he names; for only the stronger and more active classes would be proceeded against and would therefore find a place in the pages of Bancroft, Strype, and Heylin. And in the case of Warwickshire, for instance, (where Dr. Usher's list of names is especially shadowy) there were several classes, where he only gives one; for the synod held in 1587 instructed the classis of Warwick to take the opinion of the classes of the said county. (Strype, *Annals*, III. App. xxxiv.).

The Wandsworth Classis is perhaps the outstanding instance of Dr. Usher's unsatisfactory method. In the first place he errs in considering it as a classis at all; and secondly his list of names shrivels on analysis. He includes Field, of course, but, as already stated, he was a London man; Smith of Mitcham and Crane of Roehampton may possibly have been the nucleus of a Classis of North-east Surrey, and as Horne, Bishop of Winchester, was favourable to the Puritans, it would not be unnecessarily interfered with at this time, though when Thomas Cooper succeeded him we might have expected to hear of it. Then come three names the cause of whose inclusion it is very difficult to conjecture, for they were not even London men; Antony Gilby of Ashby-de-la-

Zouch, Thomas Sampson of Leicester, and Thomas Lever (misspelt Leser) of Durham. Finally there is Wilcocks, apparently placed there because of his association with Field in the *Admonition*.

I do not propose to go into the other lists in detail. Several of them merely consist of the two names of the men given as those to whom the circular letter of the synod of 1587 was to be sent. This is evidence that there were one or more classes in their districts; I say more, because only two names were given for the county of Northampton, where there were three classes working together in a provincial synod; and similarly for Warwickshire, where, as we have seen, there were also several classes.

On the other hand many of the names inserted in the Oxford, Cambridge, and Warwick classes seem doubtful, as some at least were beneficed at a distance. And the inclusion of Browne as a member of a Bury St. Edmunds Classis, and of Barrow and Greenwood as members of a second London Classis, is almost ludicrous. The only possible basis for the former seems to be the prosecution by Bishop Freke of a congregation of Brownists in that town; but at this time Browne himself was settled in Norwich.

The Puritan organizations, in any case, seem to have been practically confined to the area east and north of a curved line drawn from the Wash through the counties of Northampton, Warwick, Oxford, Surrey and Kent, to Dungeness. This was of course at that time the richest and best educated portion of England.

What then did these conferences or classes do? A very brief survey of this will close our paper.

The fullest account of it is in the circular already referred to, sent out in September, 1587, by a general conference or synod. Strype does not know whether this conference was held at Cambridge or at Warwick; but as the manuscript was written by a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, and as the summoning of the ensuing conference was devolved upon the Warwick Classis, it seems fairly certain that it was held in the former place.

The letter summoning the classes is very cautious in its statement of the business to be dealt with: "certain things which concern me and certain other brethren in the district" was the phrase. They were careful to disclaim schism. "The calumny of schism is repudiated; firstly, by the communion of the

brethren with the Church in the word and sacraments, and in everything else, save corruptions; and, secondly, by the fact that we assume no authority of binding others by our decrees." Indeed, they went farther than this, for they were troubled by the thought of the Separatists, and declared that these conferences were "a highly suitable method of preventing schism and uniting the brethren in a sound unity of judgment." They would also serve to banish both sloth and rashness, and "to increase knowledge and all necessary ministerial gifts." Moreover certain definite questions, very varied in nature, were remitted to them for consideration by this Cambridge synod.

This, along with the Book of Discipline, gives us a picture of the system when it had reached its fullest development; it had been slowly shaping itself during some fifteen years; but it was to perish under the iron hand of Whitgift and Bancroft. In February, 1589, Bancroft preached his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, propounding the novel doctrine of the Divine Right of Episcopacy; Drysdale says of Whitgift, "to stamp out by mere force all religious antagonism was the policy more resolutely adopted than ever and more rigorously pursued" (p. 186); and again, "The Primate blindly and stubbornly drove headlong on his own course of applying with vigour his subscription test." By these two men, then, followed and even outdone by Laud, the reforming party was driven underground for just over half a century.

S. W. CARRUTHERS.

Anabaptism in England during the 16th and 17th Centuries

(Continued from page 271)

That Anabaptist heresies were rife in England receives further evidence from the records of the correspondence between the Dutch Community at Sandwich and the Dutch Church in London. On 27 June, 1575, the Ministers and Elders of the Dutch Community, Sandwich wrote to their London brethren¹:

Our Magistracy sent us . . . a letter from Her Majesty's Commission commanding that everyone of our Nation, who had come to years of discretion, should sign certain articles against the Anabaptists. We have no objection to this . . . but there is a difference of opinion. . . .²

In August they again wrote³, putting off their proposed assembly at Sandwich,

as the affairs of the Anabaptists might bring us under the suspicion of intending something treasonable.

These records bear witness that Anabaptism was a very real thing in England. Two further examples from this source will suffice. On 12 November, 1646⁴, the Dutch Church in London again found Anabaptist "heresy" in its midst. Assuerus Fromanteel⁵ was publicly proclaimed from the pulpit as having fallen into sin and gone over to the Anabaptists.

We may now return and explore further the main stream of Anabaptist history in England, but this little tributary swells the volume of evidence to show that at the very least there was a living memory of Anabaptism in England.

During Elizabeth's reign not only the existence but the wide diffusion of Anabaptism is acknowledged on all hands.

¹ Letter 342. ² See Appendix. ³ Letter 346, 1 August. ⁴ Letter 2874.

⁵ London Dutch Church Certificate of Membership, No. 410.

Marsden¹, speaking of this period, says :

But the Anabaptists were the most numerous, and for some time the most formidable opponents of the Church. They are said to have existed in England from the early days of the Lollards ; but their chief strength was now derived and their numbers reinforced from Germany.

Contemporary writers bear witness to their prevalence. Bishop Jewel in his correspondence with the Swiss divines writes² :

We found at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth large and inauspicious crops of Arians, Anabaptists, and other pests.

“ You must not be grieved, my Gaulter,” writes Bishop Cox³,

that sectaries are showing themselves to be mischievous and wicked interpreters of your most just opinion. For it cannot be otherwise, but that tares must grow in the Lord’s field, and that in no small quantity. Of this kind are the Anabaptists, Donatists, Arians, Papists, and all the good-for-nothing tribe of Sectaries.

Bishop Aylmer also bears witness⁴.

The Anabaptists with infinite other swarms of Satanistes, do you think that every pulpit will be hable to aunswer them ?

Other of his terms for Anabaptists are “ uggie monsters ” and “ brodes of the devvil’s brotherhood.”

In Parker’s letter⁵ declining the Archbishopric of Canterbury we read :

They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, libertines. . . .

In 1560 the State Papers⁶ show that Elizabeth issued a proclamation against

Anabaptists and others of dangerous and pernicious opinions coming into England from abroad.

¹ *History of the Early Puritans*, 145. ² Zürich Letters, No. 92.

³ Zürich Letters, No. 285.

⁴ *An Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjects* (1559), A3.

⁵ Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, II., 359.

⁶ Cal. S.P.D., *Dom. Eliz.*, XIII., 22 September, 1560.

But Elizabeth found that further action was required, for Anabaptist refugees continued to arrive in England and in the fourth year of her reign it was deemed necessary to issue another proclamation commanding

Anabaptists and such like heretics which had flocked to the coast towns of England, from parts beyond the seas, under colour of shunning persecution, and had spread the poison of their sects in England, to depart the realm within 20 days whether they were natural-born people of the land or foreigners, upon pain of imprisonment and loss of goods.¹

The year 1568 was a trying one for the authorities. Dutch refugees flying from the fury of Alva sought refuge in England, particularly in Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Southampton, and Maidstone.²

Their rapidly increasing numbers (so far above those licensed) caused some alarm, a cry having arisen that there were many Anabaptists among them. The authorities took action. In May, 1568, the Queen wrote to Archbishop Parker³ :

We do understand, that there do daily repayr into this our realm great numbers of strangers, from the parties beyond the seas . . . and doubting least that amonges such nombres divers . . . that are infected with dangerous opinions . . . as Anabaptists . . . which kynde of people we do no wyse mean to permit any refuge within our dominions ; therefore we do wil and require youe to gyve . . . commandment to . . . the Bishop of London and al other Ordynarys of any places where you shal think any such confluence of strangers to be . . . and inquisition to be made in every parish of al manner of persons, being strangers born . . . and cause registers to be made and so to continue . . .

A proclamation issued in 1568 refers to those refugees. It accuses them of having

set up secret conventicles in London by which means many English people have been corrupted.

¹ Camden, *Annales of Elizabeth* (ed. 1625), 64 ; Camden, *Elizabeth*, 47 says : "Some of these were German Anabaptists . . . some of the natives were miserably misled."

² *The Records of the Walloons* (or French speaking people of Flanders) and their church at Norwich have been traced in great detail by Moens (Huguenot Soc. Pub.) :

In 1568 the Blood Council, the Inquisition . . . caused very many to fly from their country and brought into England many trades . . . as well as many who worked on the land. These settled chiefly at Norwich, Sandwich, Southampton and Maidstone, where by favour of the Queen they were able to serve God in their mother tongue—Ruytink's MS.

³ Strype, *Parker*, I. 522.

Search was ordered to be made not only of foreigners, but of home-born subjects, "who had conceived any manner of such heretical principles as the Anabaptists do hold," and if they would not yield to "charitable teaching," they were to be compelled to depart the realm within twenty days under penalty of death.¹

In 1572 Whitgift published from continental sources² a highly unfavourable account of the Anabaptists in which the horrors of the Peasants' War and of the Münster Kingdom of the Anabaptists were represented as due wholly to their baneful teaching and as samples of what might be expected in England if such heresy were not ruthlessly repressed.

In 1574 the Privy Council wrote to Lord North³

signifieng the receipt of his letter with the opinions of certein Anabaptistes lately discoverid in the countrye . . . their Lordships could have wisshed that he had informed the Lord Bisshop and others of the Commission Ecclesiasticall, who have auctoritee to take order therein, and therefore desire his Lordship to imparte it unto them, and to assist them as muche as he might.

The year 1575 saw the first blood spilt for religion by Elizabeth, and it is worthy of note that these "martyrs" were Anabaptists.

On Easter day, which was the 3rd of April, about nine of the Clocke in the Forenoon, was disclosed a Congregation of Anabaptists, Dutchmen, in a House without the Barres of Aldegate at London.⁴

That the authorities were alarmed is evident from the stir they made. The Privy Council sent a letter⁵

to the Buisshop of London for order to be taken with certain strangers, Anabaptistes, taken in an assemblye on Esther Day.

¹ Strype, *Grindal*, 180-181.

² *An Answere to a certen libell intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament.* It sets in the forefront 24 Anabaptistical practices taken from Bullinger's account in 1535.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII. 1574.

⁴ Stow's *Annales* (1631, 679)—also quoted by John Lewis, *History of the Rise and Progress of Anabaptism in England*, 1738.

⁵ *Acts*, VIII. 1575.

They also ordered¹

the Lord Mayour of London to assiste the Lord Bishop in all things requisite touching the thordering of the said Anabaptistes, as he shold be directed by the Bisshop.²

The Anabaptists were tried at St. Paul's by the Bishop himself. After searching examination five recanted and made public ceremony of so doing at Paul's Cross³. Some fifteen were shipped abroad, not, it is said, without a hint to the captain that he need fear no inquiry if any accident happened. Five were condemned to the stake. The condition of the prisoners, however, roused public sympathy. Foxe wrote to the Queen (in Latin) beseeching her to show mercy. Finally Van Byler and Van Straatam were liberated, and Kemels died in prison, but the authorities determined to make a public example of Jan Pieters and Hendrik Terwoort. The Queen gave a special commission to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, to burn the heretics⁴. The sentence was carried out. Stow in his *Annales* records :

On the 22 of July 2 Dutchmen, Anabaptists, were burnt in Smithfield, who died in great horror with roaring and crying.

Thereafter the authorities kept a close watch on the Dutch Communities in England. Among the State Documents for this year is an order from the Bishop of London "for the

¹ *Acts*, VIII. xxvij Aprilis, 1575.

² Further letters are also given in the *Acts*, VIII.

(a) xxvij Aprilis 1575. "A letter to the Lord Buisshop of London touching the order to be taken with Anabaptists, being straingers discoverid within the Citie."

(b) xx of May, 1575. "A letter to the Lord Mayour of London that where upon the discoverie of certain Anabaptistes within the Citie, being straingers, Commission was directed to the Bisshop of London and others both to conferre with them and to procede judicially if the case so require; that his Lordship and his brethren be aiding and assisting to all directions of the said Bisshopp in that case, either for corporall punishment or banishment, as shalbe thought metest and as shalbe directed."

³ *Cal. S.P.D., Dom. Eliz.* CIII : 8 April, 1575, "A confession of faith and appeal to the Queen's mercy of five Dutchmen condemned for Anabaptism."

⁴ Wilkins, IV. 281.

Where the reverend father in God, Edwyn, busshope of London, Edmunde, busshope of Rochester . . . having travayled upon the examination, heringe and determination of John Peeters, and Henrie Turwert being Flemyngs borne, and now lyvinge, in this our realme, concerninge their false opynyons and sects of Anabaptistes, holden and averred by them . . . justille adjudged and declayred to be heretiques.

A sympathetic account of the sufferings of these Dutch Anabaptists has been preserved in a letter by Jacques de Somers, a member of one of the Dutch Churches in London, to his mother in Ghent. A translation will be found in Evans, *Early English Baptists*, I. 159 ff.

governing of the Dutch congregations within the City of London and the town of Colchester.”¹ There is also a form of recantation prescribed for certain Anabaptists.²

The death of Pieters and Terwoort is commemorated in a ballad entitled, “Two Friends.” It was published both in Dutch and in English and besides furnishing evidence of Anabaptism in England illustrates some of the fundamental doctrines of Anabaptist belief. Dexter, in his *True Story of John Smyth the Se-Baptist*, gives the English version thus :

There were gathered together very many celebrated
 Professors highly esteemed,
 The Bishop, as the strong one,
 And other people of consideration.
 They proposed four questions :
 The first item where he came
 From, Christ they said
 If he had taken his flesh
 From Mary sweet ; we do not understand
 As you say it.
 Still with questions they played them
 Is then taking an oath a crime ?
 Listen to the answer
 It was like the other.
 They also propounded to them :
 May a Christian publicly
 Cause his children to be baptised, quickly
 Give us the right interpretation ?
 They replied without anger
 We have not read it.
 Yet after this they asked
 Is a Christian allowed
 To be a magistrate
 And to serve as such ?
 And he be saved ; understand me well,
 Give us the right explanation of this.³

¹ Wilkins, IV. 454. ² Wilkins, IV. 282.

³ In the *Baptist Transactions*, VII., there is given in full the details of a controversy between one, S. B., “An English Anabaptist,” and William White, Puritan, now first printed from the MSS. in “The Seconde Parte of a Register” in Dr. Williams’ Library, London. The discussion arises from the concerns and opinions propounded by these imprisoned Anabaptists in 1575. The wearing and use of weapons, the employment of oaths, and the individual’s attitude to princes and magistrates, are all considered, and it is clear from White’s “postscript,” that another letter deals with the first question put to the Anabaptists, the Incarnation.

Dr. Peel, who edits the MSS., makes the significant statement,

The Münster atrocities had cast such a shadow over the name (even in England) that it was enough to damn individuals or opinions if they could be labelled ‘Anabaptist.’

That Anabaptism was not stamped out in England in the 16th century is clear from further action of the authorities. In 1575 we find the Privy Council writing¹ "the Master of the Rolles . . . and other Commissioners against the Anabaptists, to send the certificat of them into the Chauncerye. . . ."

The literature of the period is full of references to the Anabaptists in England. Their doctrines were challenged and their errors pointed out throughout Tudor and Stuart times. For example, Dr. Some in his reply to Barrow,² 1589, affirms, "there were several Anabaptistical conventicles in London and other places." These were not exclusively Dutchmen or foreigners, for he adds: "Some persons of these sentiments have been bred at our universities."

Strype refers³ to some in Essex:

Would to God the honourable Council saw the face of Essex as we do see. We have such obstinate heretics, Anabaptists, and other unruly persons here, as never were heard of.

Among the State Papers, 1591, is a letter⁴ which shows clearly there was a recollection in England of Münster Anabaptist history.

There be three knaves . . . Coppinger . . . Ardington . . . Hackett. . . Last Friday in Cheapside they stepped into a cart, and began to put in practice their communication from Heaven, and amongst others denounced . . . the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Canterbury, whom they called traitors to God and the realm . . . they were shortly after apprehended and examined at the Lord Mayors . . . *Men talk of it, and resemble it to that matter of John of Leyden, who took upon himself the Kingdom of the Anabaptists and think this mad fool plotted some such Kingdom as these prophets might have assembled.*

In the following year the gentry of Suffolk wrote to the Council:⁵

Do not allow the Papists their treacheries, subtilties, and

¹ *Acts*, xxvj of June, 1575.

² *A Godly Treatise wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies, given out and holden partly by Hen. Barrowe . . . partly by other of the Anabaptistical order*, 1589.

³ *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III., I, 54.

⁴ *Cal. S.P., Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxxix, 19 July, 1591.

⁵ *Cal. S. P., Dom. Eliz.*, ccxliii, September 2, 1592.

heresies, nor the Family of Love, an egg of the same nest, nor the Anabaptists nor Brownists, the overthrowers of Church and common weal, but abhor and punish all these.

This closes the record for the 16th century, but the Anabaptist tradition persisted and is also to be found in England of the 17th century.

APPENDIX.

Through the courtesy and help of the Town Sergeant and the Rev. Hugh Noël Nowell, of Sandwich, the writer has now been able to trace some references to Anabaptists from the actual Town Records of Sandwich.

Under the date 7 June, 1575, is to be found the actual letter (referred to above) from Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed for the purpose of examining sundry strangers born in the Low Countries,

who maintain the most horrible and damnable error of anabaptists; and fearing lest these corruptions be spred in sundrie places of her majesty's realme, where these straungers do inhabit, and so would dayly increase yf it be not in tyme carefully foresene and suppressed . . . all strangers men as well as women, being of years of discretion, remaining in any place within her majesty's realme shall give their assent and subscribe to the articles inclosed, devised for the purpose . . . upon refusal . . . to be sent to the commissioners to be further considered as shall appertaine.

(Here follows 11 signatures).

To our lovinge frendes the maior and jurats of Sandwich, and to the ministers ther.

After this comes a list of "Articles to be subscribed."

Articles to be Subscribed.

1. That Christ take flesshe of the substance of the Virgin.
2. That the infants of the faithfull are to be baptized.
3. That it is lawfull for a christian to take an othe.
4. That a christian man may be a magistrat and beare the office of auctorite.
5. That it is lawful for a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques.
6. That it is lawful for a christian man to warre.

Anabaptism in England

7. That it is lawful for a christian man to require the auctorite of the magistrat and of the lawe, that he may be delivered from wrongs and restored to right.

8. That a christian man may lawfully have propriety in his goodes, and not make them common ; yet oughte he accordinge to the rule of charitie to releve the nedie accordinge to his habilitie.

It is interesting to see how fearful the Dutch community at Sandwich was of being confounded with the "notorious Anabaptists." This is evident from the reply they eventually sent to the Commissioners, for they single out the 5th article for special comment and agreement. When we recall the events that were happening in London in 1575, events which excited wide interest throughout the country, we then understand the reason why Art. 5 received special emphasis. Here is part of the actual reply :

To theis above-wrytten articles of the high commissioners of her majesty, we, minister, elders and deacons of the dutche congregation in Sandwyche doe subscribe, and doe approve them with our whole harts ; and concerning the fyfth article we acknowledge that it is lawfull for a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques . . . when their heresies and their deedes doe require the same.

Anabaptism appears again in a record dated 29 March, 1582, wherein the Lord Warden, Lord Cobham, signified to the "maior and jurats" that again these "divers strangers" [Anabaptists] were making their presence felt in Sandwich.

Archbishop Laud in 1634 smelt similar "heretic rats" and cited the ministers of the Dutch Churches at Maidstone and Sandwich to appear at his Consistory Court at Canterbury, and before himself at Lambeth. A relation of these troubles of the three foreign churches in Kent will be found in the account written in 1645 by John Bulteel, who was minister of the Walloon congregation at Canterbury.

DUNCAN B. HERIOT.

Family Books and Family Traditions

IT must be a very common experience among the reading public to notice that a few books are often retained among other family possessions for two or more generations. Is this the result of pure sentiment or is it because their perusal satisfies some particular intellectual interest common to several generations, although the form of its expression may vary considerably? In either case, the mere preservation of particular books through several generations suggests that it is worth while to study the matter in terms of the persistence of particular interests and instincts, since such persistence plays a large part in the formation and preservation of family traditions.

As an illustration of the connexion between the books preserved and the special kinds of intellectual interest maintained in family life, I should like to take the case of a certain English Dictionary, originally compiled by Nathan Bailey (in 1721), whose 9th edition, which is now before me, was issued in 1740. It came into my possession in 1883 on the distribution of the personal effects of my father and mother, when the six children were asked to select such family articles as they specially wished to retain. I myself, then twenty years of age, chose, *inter alia*, half a dozen old books and an oil painting of a Marian martyr. On the opening fly leaf of Bailey's Dictionary are two signatures, "James Langley," and "Ann Langley, her book which her father bought for her. God give her grace and sence therin to look." For many years neither of these names possessed any significance for me. I merely thought that the book had been purchased at some second-hand bookstall as a curiosity, and I wanted the book because I often wished to compare the modern with the earlier uses of words which I came across in ordinary reading. About 1903, nearly twenty years later, I had begun to take a serious interest in genealogy, largely I think because I wished to test and to apply current opinions about the relative influence of Nature and Nurture, a subject which had then been brought to the front by the epoch-making studies of Francis Galton. Curiosity led me to study the old dictionary in a new light. I opened it with particular care, and found, for the first time, that the fly leaf at the end of the book, though semi-adherent to the cover, was, with care, detachable from it. To my surprise, it contained two very boyish attempts to make a signature which, in its mature form, was evidently that occurring in some old books belonging to my great grandfather, Benjamin Ryland, which I had received in my portion of the family treasures. It naturally at

once occurred to me that this *boyish* signature, occurring in the book which once belonged to James Langley and then to Ann his daughter, might not only shed some light on a previously unknown family pedigree, but might also help in elucidating the intellectual interests and activities of that branch of the Ryland family to which I belonged. Up to that time, in our family traditions, Benjamin Ryland of Biggleswade (1766-1832) had stood out as a marked and vigorous successful general country merchant, though socially quite an undistinguished personality. It was believed that he had been apprenticed to Richard Foster of Cambridge (d. 1790), a prosperous Nonconformist general merchant, and the founder of Foster's Bank. It is noteworthy that when Benjamin Ryland was about twenty-three years of age, his name appears in the printed list of those who subscribed £1 1s. Od. towards the publication of *The History of Baptism*, written by that erratic genius and friend of Joseph Priestley—Robert Robinson, to whose stirring sermons at Cambridge Benjamin Ryland must often have listened, while another tradition tells us that, seeing a copy of Tom Paine's *The Age of Reason* in the hands of his son, Benjamin Ryland seized the book and threw it into the fire, exclaiming: "That book has caused me many sleepless nights. It shall not disturb yours!" Richard Foster had a business depot at Biggleswade, and after his death Benjamin Ryland married Ruth Edwards, daughter of John Edwards, Miller, of Saffron Walden, a prominent Evangelical Baptist, and settled at Biggleswade, where James Bowers, who had married Ann Edwards, elder sister of Ruth, had for some years been settled as Pastor of the Baptist Church. Doctrinal opinions, and strictness or laxity of rules of church government, were in the absence of Trust Deeds somewhat unstable; James Bowers had, in his youth, been attached to White's Row Independent Chapel, London, where Benjamin Ryland's elder brother had been a professed member. About this time James Bowers left the Biggleswade Baptist Church to take charge at the Independent Church, Haverhill. It is not surprising therefore that Benjamin Ryland's attachment to the Biggleswade Baptist Church, which was then adopting strict terms of membership and perhaps even stricter theological teaching, was not very close, or that Benjamin Ryland was accustomed, during the early part of his life at Biggleswade, to walk four miles to Potton to hear an eminent Evangelical clergyman, the Rev. Richard Whittingham, an active co-worker with the famous Rev. John Berridge, Vicar of Everton (d. 1793). Thus he was socially and politically a Nonconformist, though theologically he held quite other views. A daintily bound copy of *Watts's Psalms and Hymns*, which he had early bought for his wife, perhaps suggests his mental attitude, and certainly indicates that he followed the "Light of Nature" as gathered from daily contact with his

fellow human beings rather than the Gospel of Imputed Righteousness, which in its early stages often involved ecstatic self-absorption.

It seems probable that Benjamin Ryland's boyish attempts at signing his name in his mother's English dictionary were precursory of some humanizing education, which was being developed in the English Nonconformist Academies to take the place of the lax and effete so-called Classical training then common at the English Grammar Schools and Universities.

The story of James Langley, surgeon, grandfather of Benjamin Ryland, who, about 1740 had bought and presented to his daughter Ann the English dictionary, is also one of considerable Nonconformist interest. He may, perhaps, be identified with James, son of Henry and Elizabeth Langley, blacksmith, of Little Harrowden, baptized 22 Nov., 1699, at Isham, where John Barnard, evicted from Burton Latimer, had held a "meeting" in 1672. He was married by licence on 24 April, 1723, at St. Michael's Church, Cambridge, to Ann Mayhew, daughter of Thomas Mayhew, farmer, of Great Wilbraham, Cambs. He was summoned 9 August, 1726, to attend a Bishop's Visitation of the Rothwell Deanery held at Wellingborough, for practising surgery without a licence, one (if not the principal) condition of which was the signing a declaration of adherence to the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

After failing to obtain a bishop's licence, James Langley left Isham and purchased further property—he already had some there—at Oundle, voting for Hanbury the Whig candidate in the 1730 and 1737 Parliamentary Elections. It is evident from his Will, dated April 1734, though not proved till 1758, that at one time he held considerable property both at Isham and Oundle. He practised as a surgeon at Oundle for some little while, but did not long escape Episcopal suspicion, for, at the Episcopal Visitation held at Peterborough in 1739 he was again summoned to appear, and against his name is written "*Non Licet*," though there is in the Visitation Act Book an apparently unclaimed contemporary certificate, prepared for Anthony Bell of Cliff Regis, which contained a signed agreement to the conditions involved. After this second refusal James Langley sold his Oundle property in 1741 and finally settled in North London.

The summoning of James Langley of Isham, "Surgeon," before the Bishop's Commission at Wellingborough in 1726 and later at Coventry in 1736, seems to be on a parallel with the challenging of Dr. P. Doddridge of Northampton by Mr. Wills, Vicar of Kinsthorpe, Northampton, and his citing before George Reynolds, the Archdeacon of Northampton, representing the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, on 6th Nov., 1733, for contravening the Test and Corporation Acts by "teaching in the liberal Arts and Sciences without being licensed by the ordinary of the diocese." This

action, however, was quashed by the command of the King, George II.

Nothing is known of James Langley after these citations till about 1750, when he was living at Bunhill Row, North London, where he had, as near neighbour, Dr. Thomas Gibbons (1720-1785), minister of the Independent Church, Haberdashers' Hall. Dr. Gibbons had come from Swaffham Priors, Cambridgeshire, which was only two to three miles distant from the home of Ann Mayhew, wife of James Langley. It is not therefore surprising that after the marriage of their daughter Ann to John Ryland of Smithfield, "oyl merchant and dealer in hops," which took place in 1754 at St. Luke's Church, we read in Dr. Gibbons's Diary (now in the Congregational Library, London) of Dr. Gibbons's frequent visits to the Ryland family, and of his baptism of some of the Ryland children. As their eldest son, John Ryland of Islington, was later described as "Clerk," probably in some mercantile capacity, it appears likely the education of the children was a liberal one.

I have tried in vain to find some evidence that the Ryland children were educated at the Newington Academy, especially as another old family volume, containing Benjamin Ryland's signature, is Dodsley's *Preceptor* (first published in 1748), with its sub-title "A General Course of Education, wherein the first principles of Polite Learning are laid down." It includes instruction in Reading, Elocution, Letter-writing, Drawing, Geography, History, the Principles of Trade and Commerce, and the Laws of Government. There was also in the family a copy of Enfield's *Speaker*, with date of signature 1784. Dr. Gibbons himself must have considered that John Ryland, "the oylman and dealer in hops," possessed some general knowledge, for in 1757 it is recorded he placed his brother Samuel under John Ryland's care, on hearing that he had been "successful in treating people of unsound mind with oils."

The practical common sense and the wide sympathy of the Independent Trading Class communities at the beginning of the eighteenth century is nowhere better shown than in their care for some general training which involved thought and enlightenment, i.e., efficient educational training in its widest aspects. Puritan learning had been remarkable, but it had been largely confined to scholars. A more general social training received impetus at the time of the formation of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, and by the delivery of special sermons at Salters' Hall, etc. Among the writings of Isaac Watts (1674-1748) there is a particularly interesting discourse on the education of children; after considering, in much detail and with practical insight, the subjects most worthy of attentive study, Watts turns his attention to after-school life, and discusses the ultimate value of apprenticeship to particular trades and occupations, not only for the sons of

the less prosperous, but also for those of higher station, who, otherwise, from lack of interest in study or other reasons, would drift into idleness and purposelessness. Watts continues his observations by dwelling on the need for care in the choice of the master, as well as care in the particular form of handicraft to which each boy was to be apprenticed. He thus forestalled the modern movement for restoring handicrafts in education. In the Trust Deed of Bury St. Chapel in 1709, Watts includes an agreement "that every subscriber to have their household servants accommodated with seats, the apprentices in the third rank of galleries near the pulpit, the maidservants in the same rank nearest the doors; the reason is because the apprentices are esteemed to be in a station above the others, the subscribers would willingly have all their servants encouraged to hear the word." Recognition of the work done in the direction of educational reform by Watts is fully acknowledged by Philip Doddridge in his famous treatise, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1744), which attempted to call out all the highest human qualities and to combine them in common service and worship.

Among the books which contain the mature signature of Benjamin Ryland is also *Domestic Medicine*, written by William Buchan, a remarkable Scotsman, who, after beginning with the study of Divinity, had abandoned it for the study of Medicine and had gained much experience at the Quaker Foundling Hospital, at Ackworth, and had succeeded in promoting reforms in the feeding and physical care of growing children. The heavy mortality among the inmates of the London Foundling Hospital had become a matter of public comment and concern, and the government, in consequence, had discontinued their annual grant of £60,000.

In my early efforts to understand the origin of the independence of mind and the spirit of enquiry which characterized Benjamin Ryland, I confined my attention to influences derivable from his mother's family—the Langleys. My next efforts were directed to the study of those family books which appeared to have come to him through his father, John Ryland, the oil merchant, directly, or indirectly through his elder brother, John Ryland of Islington, and his only child, Mary Ann (later Mrs. Mentor). To the former class belong a series of five volumes of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Dryden, and printed for Jacob Tonson, Gray's Inn, London, 1698. Also four volumes of *The Tatler*, 1709–11. This contains, after other signatures, one of John Ryland, which was probably that of the oil merchant himself. The books were certainly well read by his son Benjamin. There were also four volumes of *The Rambler*, 1750–2, and odd volumes of Pope's *Translation of the Odyssey* (1753). Records of the admissions to the Freedom of the City show that the oil merchant was the son of a David Ryland of

Bradwell, Leamington Hastings, Warwickshire, who may clearly be identified with David Ryland, yeoman-farmer of Bradwell, whose will was proved at Lichfield in 1712. That this David Ryland was a man of considerable substance is shown in the fact that the will is accompanied by an inventory, not only of much cattle and other live stock, but of furniture in the great parlour, the large bedroom, and three other bedrooms. A special item in the inventory refers to his wearing apparel and *books*, which were valued at £5.

There must also have been a good deal of force of character in this (Bradwell) branch of the Ryland family, for a Visitation Act Book at Lichfield records that in 1665, David Ryland, father of the aforementioned David, was summoned to a Bishop's Court held at Coventry, fined, and excommunicated for not receiving the Sacrament; and the Summons was repeated in 1668, and again in 1679, for absenting himself from the Parish Church. Many others were summoned. Some indication of the existence of an Independent church at Bradwell at this time occurs in Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire* (1730), where it is recorded: "There was an ancient (Chantry) Chapel at Bradwell, standing, in the memory of man, which was entirely demolished upon the report of its being like to be turned into a meeting-house." Entries in the parish register of Leamington Hastings record the *birth* of six children of David Ryland, in contrast to the *Christening* of contemporary children, and an accompanying note states, "The parents paid the fees."

After the accession of William and Mary, a number of these (Anglicanly) unbaptized Bradwell Rylands were apprenticed in London, in order to follow mercantile rather than farming pursuits. Thus Samuel (1677-), son of David, was apprenticed in the Drapers' Company in 1691 to John Dowley, and his sister Mary Ryland was married in 1695 at St. James's, Aldgate, to Josiah Saul, merchant, an active member of the Independent congregation under the pastorate of John Killinghall, in Union Street, Southwark, later known as the Pilgrim Fathers' church. An elder brother Richard had, in 1684, been apprenticed to a very prominent and benevolent Independent, Captain John Smith, Coppersmith, Treasurer to St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for the perpetuation of whose memory a lengthy epitaph was inscribed on the tombstone in Bunhill Fields cemetery. About 1707 this Richard Ryland appears as one of the subscribers to the Hare Court Chapel, then under the guidance of Dr. Nesbit, a very popular and vigorous exponent of the Calvinist theology. Richard Ryland evidently stopped his quarterly payments for five quarters during 1709-10, but recommenced, paying off all arrears. Again from 1717 he stopped for seventeen quarters, and again he recommenced, paying off all

arrears. In 1713, as a widower, he had married Sarah, youngest daughter of Rev. Robert Franklyn, a minister who suffered ejection and later imprisonment on a false charge of preaching, at Aylesbury. Franklyn remained in London throughout the Plague year, ministering to all who sought his service. It was in 1727, on the death of Richard Ryland, that his nephew, John Ryland, the oil merchant, decided to give up farming and sold his property at Bradwell. He settled in Smithfield as an oil merchant and dealer in hops, and it was in London that his son Benjamin, my great-grandfather, was born.

Having gone backwards from Benjamin Ryland (1766-1832) and studied the books and the family traditions which he inherited from his ancestors, I think I may be permitted to make a short journey forward, and see if the mental and moral qualities which seem so deeply ingrained in his nature became dissipated in the case of his descendants, and whether other qualities, derived from later marriages with quite other stocks, have taken their place. As regards the physical and mental vigour which enables mental and moral qualities to find expression, there certainly was a falling-off in physical vigour in the case of his only child, John (1799-1859), of Biggleswade. This was due I think to the already mentioned marriage in 1791 of Benjamin Ryland with Ruth Edwards, daughter of John Edwards of Saffron Walden, who, though also a Baptist, finding the preaching of J. Gwennop, a high Calvinist, not to his liking, decided with several others to start a fresh community at Saffron Walden. The daughter Ruth, my great grandmother, was short-lived, dying soon after the birth of her only surviving child, and all her known brothers and sisters also died early, as I think did the father. This lessening of physical vigour had some compensations, for it was accompanied by the inheritance of a delicacy and sensitiveness of feeling, which found expression in attempts at drawing and painting, in a love of poetry, *e.g.*, Cowper, Bloomfield, and of collecting old china and other artistic objects, especially those which had historical associations, and so provided a gateway to the exercise of imagination.

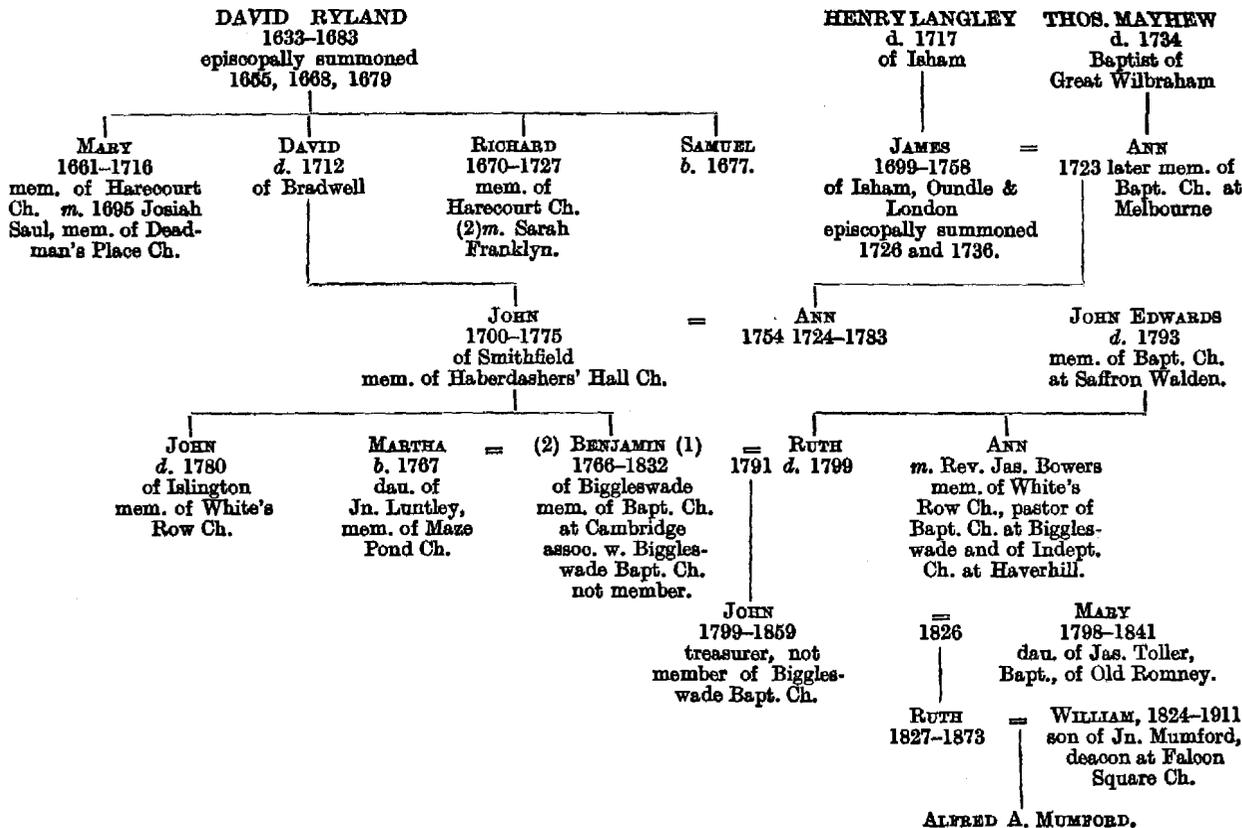
JOHN RYLAND OF BIGGLESWADE, 1799-1859.

Apart from such innate mental and physical qualities as John Ryland inherited from his mother, who died before he was three years old, and those which he inherited from his father, who was with him till he was thirty-two, we have to consider the nurtural influences of his stepmother, Martha Luntley, who came when he was about five or six, and the stimulus of his wife Mary Toller. Martha Luntley came of a strongly marked Nonconformist family descended from a Colonel John Luntley (d. 1671), which for several generations had been living in Southwark and were attached to

the Maze Pond Baptist Church, and later transferred to Mare Street, Hackney. They were a markedly intellectual family, engaged in various mercantile pursuits. A John Luntley (1730-1798) had left two daughters, Martha and Hannah, the latter of whom had married Andrew Wilson, an unusually talented schoolmaster at Edmonton. It was probably through the Wilson family, several of whom had settled in America, and were customers of Benjamin Ryland, that the latter came in contact with the Luntleys, for Benjamin Ryland sent his son John to school at the age of eight. An intimate friendship based on common religious and intellectual interests grew up between the Ryland and the Luntley families, which lasted till the death of Sarah Luntley in 1908—100 years later. We have only to read the life stories of Dr. Augustus Cox and his successor Dr. Katterns to realize what an active centre for philanthropic and intellectual religious advance Mare Street Church had become. Here were held frequent meetings of book clubs to discuss current works of history and travel and missionary enterprise, while the school founded at Edmonton by Andrew Wilson was continued by his daughters as a high level girls' school at the Elms, Stamford Hill, and the Elms, Finchley. Here teaching was given by visiting lecturers from the Hackney and other Colleges, and the school was only closed about 1930. It is therefore difficult to overestimate the influence which the Luntley family exerted on the training of the Rylands.

The influence of the Toller family, introduced by the marriage of John Ryland and Mary Toller in 1826 was equally remarkable, for it added innate vigour of body and strength of will-power to spiritual intensity—but this is another story and must be left.

A. A. MUMFORD.



Dr. Johnson and the Nonconformists

I. NOTES FROM BOSWELL.

THE references to Johnson and Nonconformity in Boswell are somewhat scanty and can roughly be divided into two types—those relating to Johnson's attitude as a member of the Church as by law established to Dissent in general, and those concerning his opinion of Dissenters in particular.

The doctor was an intransigent Churchman. Boswell tells us

he was a sincere and zealous Christian of high Church of England and monarchical principles, which he would not suffer to be questioned, and had perhaps at an early period narrowed his mind somewhat too much both as to religion and politicks. His being impressed with the danger of extreme latitude in either, though he was of a very independent spirit, occasioned his appearing somewhat unfavourable to the prevalence of that noble freedom of sentiment which is the best possession of man

That he had some of that noble freedom of sentiment appeared in his attitude towards the translation of the Bible into Erse in 1776. Political considerations led many high Anglicans to oppose the suggestion, but Johnson considered that

to omit for a year or for a day the most efficacious method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime of which I know not that the world has yet had an example, except in the practice of the planters of America, a race of mortals whom, I suppose, no other man wishes to resemble.

For the dignitaries and their office in his own Church he had a devout awe. In 1783, when the doctor was seventy-four years of age, Mr. Seward saw him presented to the Archbishop of York and described his bow to the prelate as

such a studied elaboration of homage, such an extension of limb, such a flexion of body, as have seldom or ever been equalled.

Johnson made it his boast that he had never entered a Dissenting chapel, and was rallied by Dr. Robertson, the Presbyterian historian, on this score. "Allow me to say," said the Scot, when visiting him once in 1778,

that in one respect I have the advantage of you ; when you were in Scotland you would not come to hear any of our preachers, whereas, when I am here I attend your public worship without scruple and indeed with great satisfaction.

Johnson. Why, Sir, that is not so extraordinary : the King of Siam sent ambassadors to Louis XIV ; but Louis sent none to the King of Siam. (Here he was wrong.)

He rejoiced in the rejection by the Lords of the Commons' measure granting further relief to Protestant Dissenters (1773). Writing to Dr. White, Bishop in Pennsylvania, he said :

Of all public transactions the whole world is now informed by the newspapers. Opposition seems to despond ; and the dissenters, though they have taken advantage of unsettled times and a government much enfeebled, seem not likely to gain any immunities.

Likewise the defeat of the motion in the Commons remitting subscription of the thirty-nine articles as a condition of entry to the Universities caused him much satisfaction (1772).

Boswell. I mentioned the petition to Parliament for removing the subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Johnson. It was soon thrown out. Sir, they talk of not making boys at the University subscribe to what they do not understand ; but they ought to consider that our Universities were founded to bring up members for the Church of England, and we must not supply our enemy with arms from our arsenal. No, Sir, the meaning of subscribing is, not that they fully understand all the articles, but that they will adhere to the Church of England. . . .

Boswell. But, Sir, would it not be sufficient to subscribe the Bible ?

Johnson. Why no, Sir ; for all sects will subscribe the Bible ; Mahometans will subscribe the Bible, for the Mahometans acknowledge Jesus Christ as well as Moses, but maintain that God sent Mahomet as a still greater prophet than either.

The suggestion that ministers in Scotland were appointed by popular election filled him with horror. He had no sympathy with that democracy which would place power of any kind in the hands of the common people. It was at the time of the controversy in the Church of Scotland between those who upheld the right of patrons independent of the people, and those who advocated the popular method of appointment.

Johnson. It should be settled one way or the other. I cannot wish well to a popular election of the clergy when I consider that

it occasions such animosities, such unworthy courting of the people, such slanders between the contending parties and other disadvantages. It is enough to allow the people to remonstrate against the nomination of a minister for solid reasons. (I suppose he meant heresy or immorality.)

The doctor doubtless felt as strongly against the method obtaining in the Dissenting conventicles of his day in England.

As for women preachers, those who to-day oppose them would have found a doughty and devastating champion in Samuel Johnson. On a Sunday in 1763 Boswell told him that he had that morning attended a meeting of the people called Quakers, where he had heard a woman preach, on which Johnson remarked :

Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well ; but you are surprised to find it done at all.

There is also Eldon's classic story of the doctor's visit to Sir Robert Chambers at Oxford. Walking in the garden Sir Robert was ever and again picking up snails and throwing them over the wall. Johnson reproached his host very roughly for being unmannerly and unneighbourly. "Sir," said Chambers, "my neighbour is a dissenter." "Oh, if so, Chambers, toss away, toss away, as hard as you can!" In this context we may recall Johnson's approval of the University's expulsion of six Methodist undergraduates for preaching in public (1772). Boswell deprecated their being so hardly treated as he had been told they were "good beings". This called forth the retort :

I believe they might be good beings, but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field, but we turn her out of a garden.

Nevertheless Johnson had a high regard for many individual Dissenters and certain Dissenting ways. He admitted their successful presentation of the gospel to the common people by the ministry of preaching. Part of a day spent on the river was devoted to a discussion with Boswell of the great success which the Methodists had. "It is owing," said Johnson,

to their expressing themselves in a plain and familiar manner which is the only way to do good to the common people, and which clergymen of genius and learning ought to do from a principle of duty when it is suited to their congregations—a practice for which they will be praised by men of sense. Sir, when your Scotch clergy give up their homely manner religion will soon decay in that country.

R. G. MARTIN.

II. JOHNSON'S FRIENDSHIPS WITH NONCONFORMISTS.

Of Johnson's Nonconformist friendships no doubt the most intimate was with Edward and Charles Dilly, the well-known booksellers in the Poultry. Which of the London churches they belonged to we do not know. Perhaps they were Congregationalists, for the two Dissenting ministers whom we hear of as partaking of their famous hospitality—Thomas Gibbons (1720–85) and Henry Mayo (1733–93)—were both of that persuasion.

Gibbons was for many years one of the tutors at Homerton, a post which he combined with the pastorate of a church at Haberdashers' Hall. Among his voluminous publications, some of them issued by the Dilly brothers, was a memoir of Watts, on which Johnson drew freely in his account of that eminent divine in the *Lives of the Poets*. Gibbons has left behind him a diary, now among the manuscripts of the Congregational Library, London, and in part reproduced in the first two volumes of our *Transactions*—so that we are well-informed as to at least some of the activities of his busy life. The first entry of relevance to our present subject is one of 24 July, 1669, when the diarist was on a visit to Scotland :

Dined at Lord Auchinleck's with his Son Mr. James Boswell, Author of the History of Corsica.

After that we have to turn over a number of pages until under Monday, 14 Aug., 1780, we find: "Visited the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson."

The great man was favourably impressed by his caller, for some nine months later, when he was mentioned, Johnson remarked: "I took to Dr. Gibbons." And addressing himself to Mr. Charles Dilly, added :

I shall be glad to see him. Tell him, if he'll call on me, and dawdle over a dish of tea in an afternoon, I shall take it kind.

If anything in that line occurred it has passed unrecorded. The next Johnsonian entries are Friday, 7 May, 1784 :

At Home till 5 in the Afternoon, when I visited Mr. Dilly, the Bookseller, and enjoyed the Company of General Oglethorpe, Dr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Boswell of Edinburgh. Monday 17 May: Dined with Dr. Saml. Johnson, Mr. Boswell, &c., at Mr. Dilly's. Spent the Afternoon in Part with them.

Henry Mayo was pastor of the church in Nightingale Lane, Wapping. His first appearance in Boswell is at a dinner in the Poultry on 7 May, 1773. Two other ministers were of the party, one of them being Toplady, the hymn-writer. The conversation began with the migration of birds, but this was not provocative enough for Boswell's liking, and he introduced the subject of religious toleration. For his steady persistence under Johnson's sallies Mayo was dubbed the Literary Anvil. We hear of him at another Poultry dinner, 15 April, 1778.

Of Johnson's relations with other Nonconformists, we may note his friendship with John Wesley, and his ever requotable dictum (1778) :

John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk, as I do.

Alongside this may be set an entry of 18 Dec., 1783, in Wesley's diary :

I spent two hours with that great man, Dr. Johnson, who is sinking into the grave by a gentle decay.

Among Quakers Johnson had a friend in the witty and beautiful Mrs. Knowles. She won his commendation for her defence against his contention that friendship was not a Christian virtue :

Mrs. Knowles : But, Doctor, our Saviour had twelve Apostles, yet there was *one* whom He loved.

Johnson (with eyes sparkling benignantly) : Very well, indeed, Madam. You have said very well.

Boswell : A fine application. Pray, Sir, had you ever thought of it ?

Johnson : I had not, Sir.

Unfortunately, after this Johnson became sulphurous first on the topic of Americans, and afterwards *apropos* of a young lady, formerly a friend of his, "an odious wench," who had left the Church of England for the Society of Friends.

A good deal has been written of the relations between Johnson and Joseph Priestley, the famous Unitarian. According to Boswell, Johnson would never have remained in the same room with him had they met. Priestley, for his

part, asserted in his *Appeal to the Public* after the Birmingham riots (1792), that he had once, at Johnson's request, dined with him in London at the house of John Paradise, well-known as a linguist :

He was particularly civil to me, and promised to call upon me the next time he should go through Birmingham. He behaved with the same civility to Dr. Price when they supped together at Dr. Adams's at Oxford—

this in retort to Boswell's statement that Johnson had refused to remain in the room with Price.¹

Eccentrics were always of interest to Johnson. Such unquestionably was Edward Elwall (1676–1744), also a Staffordshire man, at one time a member of the Presbyterian meeting-house at Wolverhampton, to the no small trial of its minister, John Stubbs :

Sir, Mr. Elwall, . . . held, that everything in the Old Testament that was not typical, was to be of perpetual observance : and so he wore a riband in the plaits of his coat, and he also wore a beard. I remember I had the honour of dining in company with Mr. Elwall. . . . To try to make himself distinguished, he wrote a letter to King George the Second, challenging him to dispute with him, in which he said, "George, if you be afraid to come by yourself to dispute with a poor old man, you may bring a thousand of your *black-guards* with you ; and if you should still be afraid, you may bring a thousand of your *red-guards*."

It is worth while to bring together some of Johnson's pronouncements on works by Dissenting authors. Of Baxter he thought very highly, told Boswell to read his works, and when asked which, replied : "Read any of them, they are all good." He was equally appreciative of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and called attention to its beginning very much like Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Speaking of *The Spectator*, he remarked :

One of the finest pieces in the English language is the paper on Novelty . . . It was written by Grove, a dissenting *teacher*.

This was Henry Grove (1684–1738), of the Taunton Academy. Doddridge's "Live while you live," he declared to be "one of the finest epigrams in the English language." Of Watts's

¹ *Christian Reformer*, n.s., ix. 171 ff. We owe the reference to Mr. Stephen Jones, Dr. Williams's Librarian.

publications, or some of them, he was a very hearty admirer, among other of his *dicta* being that Watts had first

taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language.

It is hardly necessary to recall here Johnson's pronouncements on Milton, but what of Cromwell? Boswell was informed by a friend that Johnson had at one time intended to write a life of the Protector,

saying that he thought it must be highly curious to trace his extraordinary rise to the supreme power, from so obscure a beginning.

As reason for his failure to carry out his design he alleged his discovery that all the authentic information available was already in print. So far was the great man from foreseeing the subsequent developments of Cromwellian bibliography.

We know something of what Johnson thought of Nonconformists. It would be interesting to hear the other side of the matter and learn something of what they thought of him and his works. Who of them read Boswell when first published? We invite communications from our readers on this side of our subject.

According to the *Protestant Dissenters' Magazine* for 1797 (p. 242), the Rev. John Ward, afterwards Unitarian Minister of Taunton,

at Litchfield, where some branches of his family resided, formed in early life an acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Johnson and Mr. Garrick, which was afterwards renewed, and kept up, when he lived in London.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

G. F. NUTTALL.

The Literary Interests of Nonconformists in the 18th Century.

MATERIAL from which to learn what were the literary interests, beyond the theological, of Nonconformists in the earlier 18th century, is not easily come by. There does not appear to have been any minister of that period with the range of reading of William Bates (1625-99) in the previous century. His books, bought by Dr. Williams and bequeathed by him with his own to form his Library, included a first folio Shakespeare, other English poets, and also much continental literature, Bates being a good linguist, and especially well-versed in Spanish.

Something we know of the literary preferences of Watts and Doddridge. "Who is there," declares the former¹ "that has any *gout* for polite writings that would be sufficiently satisfied with hearing the beautiful pages of Steele or Addison, the admirable descriptions of Virgil or Milton, or some of the finest poems of Pope, Young, or Dryden, once read over to them, and then lay them by for ever?"

In 1721 Doddridge writes to a friend²: "I have lately been reading Spratt's History, and the greatest part of Sir William Temple's works."

In another letter (1723) he writes³: "Of all their (*i.e.* French) dramatic poets, I have met with none that I admire so much as Racine. It is impossible not to be charmed with the pomp, elegance, and harmony of his language, as well as the majesty, tenderness, and propriety of his sentiments. The whole is conducted with a wonderful mixture of grandeur and simplicity, which sufficiently distinguishes him from the dulness of some tragedians, and the bombast of others. One of his principal faults is, that the jingle of his double rhyme is frequently offensive to the ear. I lately met with the Archbishop of Cambray's Reflections upon Eloquence, which I think one of the most judicious pieces I have ever seen. There are some fine criticisms at the end of it, which well deserve your perusal."

Doddridge shared with Watts an admiration of Fénelon, of whom the latter writes⁴:

¹ *Works* (Ed. 1810), V. 212.

² *Works* (Ed. 1804), V. 506.

³ *Works* (Ed. 1804), V. 507f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, V. 219.

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“ in his *Posthumous Essays*, and his *Letters*, there are many admirable thoughts in practical and experimental religion, and very beautiful and divine sentiments in devotion ; but sometimes in large paragraphs, or in whole chapters together, you find him in the clouds of mystic divinity, and he never descends within the reach of common ideas or common sense.”

The practice of selling private libraries by auction was first introduced into England in 1675 on the suggestion of Joseph Hill, afterwards minister of the Presbyterian church at Rotterdam, and previously ejected for Nonconformity from his fellowship at Magdalene, Cambridge. At the British Museum there is a collection of sale catalogues. Unfortunately it is not very helpful for the present purpose. The only Nonconformist sale for our period thus recorded is that of the library of Joseph Hussey (1660–1726), minister at Cambridge and afterwards in Petticoat Lane. The catalogue shows him to have possessed some books of travel and science : of poetry, *Paradise Lost*, and the works of Prior and Quarles ; among historical works, Echard's *History of England* and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, also a life of Xavier (1596) ; and, to deviate into theology, his only Bunyan was the *Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith*.

There is nothing of note to report about the reading of our diarist, Dr. Thomas Gibbons, but it is interesting to find that he visited Mrs. Foster, granddaughter of “ the famous Mr. Milton,” and on another occasion the poet Young.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

G. F. NUTTALL.

Sunday School Rules in the 19th Century

We are indebted to Mr. Joseph Crisp, of Bishop's Stortford, who is in his 90th year, for the following rules of the Bishop's Stortford Independent Chapel Sunday School, taken from an old register which goes back to 1837. The rules are not dated, but there are indications that they were passed in 1854. In 1855 the school had 38 teachers, 16 male and 22 female, and the 364 scholars are classified as Boys 133 ; Girls 147 ; Infant Class 73 ; Boys' Bible Class 5 ; Girls' Bible Class 6.

1. The objects contemplated by this school are the instruction of the children in reading and in the doctrines and duties of Christianity.

2. That the school shall commence in the morning with reading and prayer.

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3. The management of the school shall devolve upon a superintendent, secretary and committee consisting of the teachers.

4. That quarterly meetings be held on the second Tuesday in April, July, October and January.

5. That at the quarterly meetings a report be made by the teachers for the purpose of ascertaining the improvement of the children and of advancing them according to their attainments.

6. The occasional teachers be invited to attend the quarterly meetings.

7. After an examination of the class papers such boys whose attendance and behaviour has been satisfactory be rewarded with a small book such as shall be approved of at the quarterly meetings.

8. It is desirable that any teacher wishing to be absent on the Sabbath shall either provide a substitute or request the Secretary to procure one for them.

9. The teachers be requested to sit in their turn with the children during Divine Service.

10. That no child be admitted into the school under 5 years of age, and the parents or friends shall engage for his punctual attendance and obedience to the rules of the school.

11. The children be required to attend the school $\frac{1}{2}$ of an hour before time in the morning and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour before Divine Service in the afternoon.

12. The children be required to come to school thoroughly clean, and to be provided with a pocket-handkerchief.

13. The children not be allowed to talk to each other during school hours, and shall be quiet and orderly in their behaviour both in school and particularly during Divine Service, and that no sweetmeats, etc., etc., etc., allowed to be brought to the school.

14. If any child shall be kept from school one month without any satisfactory reason be assigned for such absence it shall be considered as a withdrawal from the school.

15. Notice to be given of a child's removal from the school.

The Congregational Library.

QUITE naturally when the Congregational Historical Society was formed it had the closest association with the Library, not merely because the editor of the *Transactions*, that fine antiquarian, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, was librarian, but because the Library was so rich in denominational history, having its nucleus in the books given to it by Mr. Joshua Wilson and his widow. The close connexion between the Library and the Society has now been renewed, for the Society's research group is meeting regularly in the new students' room at the Library. In future a brief report on the Library will be given in each issue.

It will perhaps be well to begin this first Report with some account of the Library's resources. It specializes in Non-conformist history, being especially strong on the Congregational side, and notably on the history of the ejected ministers; and on hymnology, on which subject its collection is one of the best in the country. There is still abundant scope for research among the Library's MSS., pamphlets, and printed books. In addition to these sections, with their appeal to special students, there is much for the everyday reading of the minister and layman. Until the War there was a moderate accession of modern books each year, but after that the Library fell on bad times and additions ceased. For some years the Library was starved, and the then trustees, apparently ignorant that they held much of the Library's money, came to regard the Library as a burden, a white elephant which produced no revenue but was a drain because of necessary upkeep, insurance, etc. Gradually this spirit passed away, and in recent years a good deal has been done to fill up gaps, and now the Library, by gift and purchase, is strong in the following subjects, in addition to its own special classes:

1. Religious Education.
2. Sociology.
3. Spiritual Healing.
4. Devotional Books.

In addition, the London Union's Carmichael Loan books (about thirty volumes a year for ten years) have been added to the Library.

All the necessary books of reference are now available in the students' room, including the *Dictionary of National*

Biography, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Congregational Year Books*, and the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. An attempt is being made to economize in space by co-operation between the New College Library and the Library at the Memorial Hall. It is unnecessary, for example, to keep sets of the *Congregational Year Book* at both places.

The students' room is available for all *bona fide* readers on Mondays and Fridays from 10 to 5, and ministers and other Congregationalists may borrow books (with certain exceptions) on payment of postage. The more use is made of the Library the more will those in charge of it be pleased. In these days when ministers find it far from easy to buy books, a Library of this kind should be specially useful, and members of the Society should make its existence widely known.

A brief history of the Library may be of service at this point. The Congregational Library, opened in 1831 the day before the meeting which decided to form the Congregational Union of England and Wales, came into being largely through the efforts of Thomas and Joshua Wilson. In 1830 a prospectus was issued which said :

It is a remarkable fact, that the most numerous, and perhaps the most respectable, portion of the Nonconformist community, that which is commonly designated "the Congregational denomination," has not a building, nor even a room, which can be called peculiarly its own, or be made applicable to the common purposes of the whole collective body.

The Library at Red Cross Street, founded by the venerable Dr. Daniel Williams, is now entirely under the management and control of trustees selected exclusively from the body of Dissenters nominally "Presbyterian," but actually, with few exceptions, "Unitarian." The Baptists have a very respectable library and museum, connected with their ancient academical institution at Bristol; the Wesleyan Methodists have extensive rooms and premises appropriated to their sole use, and to the advancement of the common interests of the body, in connexion with their chapel in the City Road; and even the small society founded by the late Countess of Huntingdon, has the house, in Spa Fields, in which her ladyship resided, for its special use and accommodation.

It is a circumstance creditable to the liberality of the Congregational denomination, that, though its members are the chief supporters of one of the largest and most flourishing of the existing missionary societies, they cannot call that society, in any especial sense, their own; and have therefore no peculiar, far less an exclusive right, to the use of the house appropriated to its

purposes in Austin Friars, as the members of the Baptist denomination have to that in Fen Court, where meetings of the committee of *their* missionary society are held, and where its business is carried on. . . .

The Committees of the various societies belonging to the Congregational denomination still hold their meetings chiefly at taverns, by which the credit and respectability of the denomination are diminished, and great inconvenience is often sustained.

Many arguments are given in favour of the project, including the provision of secure deposit and safe custody for Trust Deeds, and then the prospectus goes on :

But the principal, and perhaps the most important, design for which such a Building is greatly needed, still remains to be stated—the providing a spacious and handsome room, to be fitted up in a suitable manner for the reception of an extensive Collection of Books and Pamphlets, relating chiefly to the Translation and Interpretation of the Scriptures, the various branches of Theology, Ecclesiastical History, the principles of Non-conformity, Church Government, and the History and Biography of the Protestant Dissenters :—the whole intended to form a valuable Library of reference, to which the Congregational ministers, and other members of the body, resident in and near London, may have ready access, and where ministers from the country, during their occasional visits to the metropolis, may have the opportunity of spending, in a manner both agreeable and profitable, such portions of time as their other engagements may allow them to spare. The benefit of such a Library to all persons engaged in theological or biblical researches, and historical inquiries, must be too obvious to require to be minutely specified.

Such a Library, it is declared, would help to repel the encroachments of scepticism and of Roman Catholicism, and to disseminate the principles of the denomination. Joshua Wilson had promised to give a large number of books to the Library, and at a meeting held on 6th December, 1830, presided over by Dr. Pye Smith, it was resolved :

First. That it is highly desirable to provide, with as little delay as possible, a commodious Building in the metropolis, to contain a select Library, consisting chiefly of works on theology and ecclesiastical history ; in the formation of which special reference may be had to collecting printed books and manuscripts peculiarly relating to the body of Congregational Dissenters, for whose use it will be principally established ; and at the same time to afford a secure depository for the trust-deeds and other records of their churches and institutions, and a convenient place for holding the

meetings of the ministers and societies connected with the denomination.

Secondly. That for carrying this object into effect, it is desirable to erect a respectable and very substantial Building, to be specially adapted for these purposes ; and, until a suitable spot for such erection can be found, in a central and convenient situation, to provide a building suitable for temporary use ; for the control and management of either or both of which the following regulations are now adopted, sub, however, to future modifications :—

That the property of the Building be vested in twenty-five trustees, to be chosen, in the first instance, from contributors of not less than fifty guineas ; thirteen of whom, at least, must be resident in, or within ten miles of, London, etc., etc.

The prospectus gives a list of subscribers, and also states that leasehold premises have been obtained in Bloomfield Street.

The meetings of the Congregational Union were held in the Library for some years, and when the Bicentenary Committee in 1862 decided on the building of a Memorial Hall as part of its celebrations, they sent a deputation to the Committee of the Congregational Library requesting them, with certain additions to their number, to undertake the work. The trustees of the Library accepted the responsibility of carrying out the scheme, and soon after, the Library premises being required by the Metropolitan Railway, compensation for the remainder of the lease was fixed at £8,530, which sum was added to the fund raised for the Memorial Hall.

Many donations and bequests of books were made during the years, though the delay in building the Memorial Hall resulted in the books having to be warehoused, during which time they suffered considerably. Subsequently Dr. Newth and the Rev. T. G. Crippen rendered admirable service in arranging and cataloguing the Library, Dr. Newth publishing a catalogue of 8,000 titles in 1895, and Mr. Crippen Vol. 2 with 11,000 titles in 1910. Neither of these catalogues included the MSS. (500)¹, the hymnological collection formed by Mr. Crippen (2,800 volumes), the liturgical collection (380 volumes), the books in foreign languages (1,600 volumes), or the pamphlets. These pamphlets are largely anonymous, and there are perhaps between 5,000 and 10,000 of them altogether ; 300 of them are separately bound ; the rest are either bound in miscellaneous manner in hundreds of volumes or kept in 265 boxes. Of miscellaneous

¹ These and subsequent numbers relate to 1910. They have since been considerably increased.

sermons there are a great many, some of them in 180 boxes, the others bound in 340 volumes.

The hymnological collection now contains over 4,000 volumes, this including the recently acquired Payne Collection.

It will be seen that, with these resources, the Library could be of the greatest use, not only to research students, but to Congregationalists generally. It should also be said that much work needs still to be done. Duplicates are gradually being weeded out, but the classification and arrangement of the books, scattered as they are in half a dozen rooms in addition to the big Library, leaves much to be desired. Sometime the Biblical, hymnological, and periodical sections should be centralized. There are two ways in which members of the Congregational Historical Society could be of service to the Library :

1. Experts might help in the identification of anonymous books.
2. The huge task of cataloguing the pamphlets should be taken in hand.

Voluntary help along these lines is the more necessary because, even with the aid of a grant from the Congregational Union, the money now available barely serves to keep the Library open and purchase a few books. We hope the time will come when the Memorial Hall Trustees will be so prosperous that they will be able to regard the £8,350 which originally came from the Library as a Library Endowment, the income of which shall be at the Library's service.

The following extracts from the reports presented to the Trustees in the earliest days of the Memorial Hall may be of interest :

January 19th, 1875.

One of the special objects of the Bicentenary subscription was the erection of a Memorial Hall and Library, with offices for the use of the various societies connected with the denomination in London. This scheme was confided to the trustees of the Congregational Library, with additions to their number from the Bicentenary Committee ; and in carrying it out, they were enabled, by the sale of the lease of the old library buildings, to give about £9,000 towards the support of the new undertaking. In their appeal for subscriptions, the committee, having set forth a plan and assumed its success, said, " Here our Congregational Union meetings can be held ; here our religious societies may assemble ; here special religious services may be promoted, and all the interests of our common Christianity advanced."

Annual meeting, 1877.

It was stated last year that the question of establishing a Library worthy of the Denomination had received the anxious consideration of the Committee, and that it had been finally resolved 'To form a complete Library of Nonconformist literature only; to arrange for the use of the books specially reserved for consultation in the room; whilst others might be lent for use at home.' The Revd. Dr. Newth having kindly accepted the Office of Honorary Librarian, and Mrs. Joshua Wilson having accepted this arrangement, 8000 volumes of books bound, and about 2000 volumes of pamphlets were selected by Dr. Newth, classified, catalogued and for the most part placed on the shelves under his superintendance. These volumes, it may be safely said, represent a very valuable body of Nonconformist literature ancient and modern, and amongst the books there are some which would have been gladly purchased by the British Museum Trustees. To Mrs. Joshua Wilson for this noble gift, the Committee had the great pleasure of tendering their sincere thanks which the Congregational Union will no doubt cheerfully endorse, and be pleased to know that while the Building itself commemorates the fidelity to conscience shown by the Ejected Ministers of 1662, and expresses the liberality and sentiment of modern Nonconformists in no stinted measure, the Library will be an enduring Memorial of Mr. Joshua Wilson and of the family who have so liberally interpreted his desires. How these books may be best used, how to make the Library a teaching as well as a consultative power in relation, especially to the young in our own Nonconformist families, and the rising Ministers on whose intelligent, sound, and earnest preaching and working so much in these eventful days will depend; are questions which will receive earnest and prayerful consideration.

The following resolution was then passed:

"That the best thanks of this meeting be, and are, hereby tendered to Mrs. Joshua Wilson for this noble gift, valuable in itself as forming a Library of Nonconformist literature, unique in its character and intrinsic worth, but rendered still more so by the handsome and cordial way in which Mrs. Wilson has used her discretionary power in disposing of the library thus of her late husband for the benefit of the Congregational denomination." Resolved also, "That in receiving this gift, the Trustees of the Memorial Hall Trust beg to assure Mrs. Wilson that it will be their earnest desire to give full effect in the use of the Library, to the known wishes of her late husband; so that it may be instrumental to the greatest possible extent in fostering and promoting those great principles of Evangelical Christianity and fidelity to conscience which the Memorial Hall itself commemorates, and which he held so firmly and exemplified so consistently during his long and honourable life."

ALBERT PEEL.

The Coward Trustees to Ministers.

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REVEREND SIR,

IT is agreed by Mr. Coward's Trustees, that Part of the Residue of his Estate shall be laid out towards the maintaining a Catechizing Lecture or Exercise, in several Towns or Villages in the Country, in this Manner, viz.

I. Every Minister who undertakes this Service, shall teach Dr. Watts's three little Books of Catechisms; the first Sett, or the young Child's two Catechisms; The second Sett, or the Child's Doctrinal Catechism; and the third Sett, or the Youth's Catechism, which is the Assembly's Catechism with Notes; which the Trustees will furnish the Catechumens with.

II. The Persons to be instructed by each Catechist, are to be Children above Seven Years old, or Servants, or any other young Persons of either Sex, who are willing to submit to these Rules, not less in Number than Fifteen, nor more than Forty.

III. Every Catechist is to go through all these three Catechisms with the Catechumens in two Years Time, which may be done by explaining from two to six Questions every week; it being intended to continue this Exercise only for two Years in any one place.

IV. It is expected that the Catechist shall spend an Hour, at least, in every Week, or as much more Time as he may think proper, in this Exercise; and teach his Catechumens distinctly to understand the Sense of every Question and Answer the Week before they get it by Heart; and the next Week to examine them upon the past Questions, and then explain to them further onward. And it is to be preferred, that this Exercise be carried on upon the Week Days, rather than on the Lord's Days, and in the Meeting-House rather than in a private House; that so other Persons may have the Liberty of attending, if they think fit.

In explaining the Catechisms, the Minister need not make long Discourses upon each Question and Answer; but rather teach the Meaning of them in a way of Conversation, viz. (1.) By asking them what is meant by any of the particular Words, which they may be supposed not to understand. (2.) By breaking the Answer into several little Questions and Answers. (3.) By explaining the Scriptures, which belong to the Answers, and shewing how they are applied to prove the Answer itself.

N.B. As for the Proofs in the second Sett of Catechisms, and the Child's Historical Catechism at the end of the second Sett, the Catechumens are not expected to get them by Heart; but the Minister should recommend it to them to read them often at Home.

It is not fit that the elder Catechumens, or those who are more perfect,

should be kept back from learning the second Catechism, or the assembly's till the more backward have arrived at the same Perfection ; and therefore it is referred to the Minister to distribute the Catechumens into different Classes, as he finds occasion, according to their different Attainments.

V. *For the Encouragement of the Catechumens, the following Rewards are promised.*

1. *For learning the first Sett, or the Young Child's two Catechisms, one of Dr. Watts's Divine Songs and Six-pence.*

2. *For learning the second Sett, or the Child's Doctrinal Catechism half way, one of Dr. Watts's Preservatives from Sins and Follies.*

3. *For learning the second Sett throughout perfectly, a New Testament and Six-pence.*

4. *For learning the first Half of the Assembly's Catechism perfectly, shall be either Dr. Watts's Book of Prayers, or Dr. Guyse's or Mr. Jennings's Sermons to Young People.*

5. *For learning perfectly to the End of the Assembly's Catechism, a Bible and one Shilling.*

VI. *For the Encouragement of the Catechists,*

1. *Every Minister who fulfils this Work with fifteen or more Catechumens, shall have five Pounds a Year.*

2. *If he has twenty-five Catechumens or more, six Pounds a Year.*

3. *And if he has thirty-five, or more, seven Pounds a Year.*

N.B. *No Minister shall be allowed more than two of his own Children in fifteen to make up the Number of our Catechumens, which shall intitle them to the Rewards, or him to the Salary. And no Addition to be made to the List of Catechumens, after it is first fixed ; except that, if any die, or go off, or are turned out for Negligence, the Ministers may receive others in their room, provided they are likely to finish all the Catechisms along with the rest by the Expiration of the two Years. But such new Catechumens shall not be intitled to any others Books or Rewards which those have received, in whose room they come. And if at any time the Number of Catechumens falls short of Fifteen, from that Time no encouragement to the Exercise is to be expected from the Trustees.*

VII. *The Trustees expect that every Catechist should send them up once every half Year, viz. within one Month after Lady-Day and Michaelmas respectively, an Account of the Children's Names, and what Books have been distributed among them for the preceeding half Year ; such Account to be signed by the Minister, and attested by two of his Congregation.*

For this purpose, some blank Forms of the Account, or Certificates, together with Instructions how they are to be filled up, will be sent to each Catechist in due time.

This work being intended to begin next Michaelmas, you are desired to acquaint us in six Weeks time, whether you are willing to undertake it upon these Terms ; and the exact Number of Catechumens you can

depend on ; and to give the plainest Directions where the Books for the Catechumens are to be sent here in London, and how the Parcel must be directed, in order that it may come safe to your Hands in the Country. And you shall, at the same time, receive a Book of all Dr. Watts's Catechisms, bound up with his Discourse relating to them, for your own Use ; or if you have not seen that Book, you shall have one immediately sent you, for your Perusal, (or for your keeping, if you accept the Work) upon giving Notice how to send it.

It is not supposed that all the Catechumens, who may be enter'd, will be perfect Strangers to these Catechisms ; but such as have learnt any of them already are to be taught them over again, and to be made to understand them perfectly, according to these Rules, and in this way to become intitled to the Rewards above-mentioned.

If by Sickness, or Avocation of any kind, you should not be able constantly to attend this Service every Week, 'tis expected those Deficiencies shall be made up at other times, so that the Catechumens may be made perfect in the Catechisms within the limited Time of two Years. And if any of the Catechumens should, by Sickness, or other unavoidable Avocation, be prevented from constantly attending this Exercise ; yet if they make up those Defects by After-Diligence, so as to become perfect in the Catechisms, they shall nevertheless be intitled to the Rewards.

To render this Exercise more useful and edifying, the Trustees would earnestly recommend it to the Catechists, at the End of every Meeting, to talk over with the Catechumens, for a few Minutes, in the plainest manner, the practical Uses of what has been explain'd, or rehearsed, and the Concern of their own Souls therein, concluding with a short Prayer for a Divine Blessing.

And it is their earnest Desire and Hope, that a Sense and Experience of the great Usefulness of this Service, towards supporting and propagating the true Religion of Christ, will be a more engaging Motive to the Zeal and Diligence of every Minister therein, than the little Salary they are able to give.

And as this Exercise is carried on in a Variety of Places, it is desired, for the saving of Trouble to the Trustees, that the Catechists would send no Proposals relating thereto contrary to these Rules ; that they would insert nothing in their Letters, but what is necessary relating to the State and Success of this Exercise ; and that they would keep this Letter always by them, and consult it on every Doubt with the greatest Care and Attention, that they may not mistake any of the Directions, or give the Trustees the Trouble of receiving or answering any more Letters than necessary.

I. WATTS,
JOHN GUYSE,
DAVID JENNINGS, &c.

Direct all your Letters to Mr. Parker, at Mr. Brackstone's Bookseller, at the Globe in Cornhill, London.

John Angell James to David Everard Ford.

No date or address.

COPY.

MY D^r SIR,

You will be concerned to hear that Mr J T Parker your host has this week buried his younger son, and will be glad to see you, if you can call upon him. I fear there was little evidence of [?] for the change. His poor father and mother cling to some faint hope, which it would be cruel to extinguish. The living son is I think much softened and affected—a serious and affectionate admonition to him might be of service. I wish you could go and dine with them tomorrow and *say* something to him. He will take it well. Perhaps as one of your sermons you could give a solemn address to young men on the subject. There will be a hatband and scarf for you, so that you will appear in the pulpit in the habiliments of mourning. I expect to be back by two o'clock on Monday; perhaps you will be able to stay and dine with me. May the Lord bless your messages to the people

Yours vry truly

J A JAMES

Balance Sheet, 1935.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£ s. d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward, 31/12/34..	18 14 6	By Printing <i>Trans-</i> <i>actions</i>	36 13 0
Subscriptions, 1935 ..	34 15 6	Expenses, Dr. Peel ..	10 0
Subscriptions, Arrears	6 0 0	Hire of Hall for An- nual Meeting ..	1 1 0
Subscriptions in Ad- vance	1 15 0	Postages and Receipts	2 2 0
		Balance in hand, 31/12/35	20 19 0
	£61 5 0		£61 5 0

The account for printing one issue of the *Transactions* (£18 17s. 6d.) is outstanding.

Audited and found correct,

C. LEE DAVIS,

Hon. Auditor.

1/4/36.

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