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A table of contents for *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_tbhs_01.php

Baptists and Bartholomew's Day.

ON Bartholomew's Day 1662, the last Act of Uniformity took effect, and hundreds of clergy quitted their livings for conscience sake. The story has often been told, but seldom from the Baptist standpoint; nor has there ever been a critical examination of what part Baptists played in the matter of Uniformity and Nonconformity. Yet Baptists were not Nonconformists in the old sense of that word; and a Baptist with a thorough grasp of his principles never could be a Nonconformist. For a Nonconformist was a clergyman in the Established Church, who declined to conform to the conditions on which he was installed in his post, especially as to ritual. Thus he accepted the principle of the State controlling and regulating his work, yet repudiated it in practice. Baptists protested against the State interfering in matters where allegiance was due to Christ, and equally upheld the sanctity of a promise of obedience. Let us first look at the general conception of Uniformity, which produced Nonconformity; then examine to what extent Baptists were concerned in the troubles of 1659—1662.

Uniformity of ritual was never exacted by the Church of Rome, which even to the present day tolerates great variety, as was recently evinced at the Eucharistic Congress, when four different rites were employed to illustrate the diversity permitted. The book of Common Prayer records that until the days of Henry VIII. there were various types of service employed within the realm; the Use of Hereford, the Use of Bangor, the Use of Sarum, the Use of York. A new ideal was set up by the official Reformers under Edward, absolute uniformity of ritual. Any one with a knowledge of human nature would predict that the ideal would never be attained; and the first Act of Uniformity in 1552 never had a fair trial, for within a year Queen Mary undid all the ecclesiastical legislation of her father and brother. She adopted the principle, however, and ejected promptly eight bishops with some hundreds of clergy.

When Elizabeth became queen she at once sanctioned an Act of Uniformity, still printed in some prayer books. And two commissions were issued to see that the Act was enforced. It has been usual to say that the clergy who had acquiesced in all the shifts of legislation for the last thirty years, acquiesced in this too, only about two hundred dignitaries refusing. But a careful study has recently been made of the facts; putting together those who resigned, those who were ejected, those who fled, and those livings found vacant without natural cause, an actual list has been compiled of 1875 people who gave up their livings rather than submit to the new order of things. Nor does this list take into account any who held on for a few years till the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth and denounced the English ritual; it deals only with those who resigned because their consciences forbade them to stay. Granted that they belonged to the Romanist wing; at least they declined to pretend that they would submit, and they quitted their livings. This was the first wholesale ejection under the Acts of Uniformity, or the second since the changes in religion began.

Elizabeth never enforced the Act rigidly on the Puritan wing. If a Protestant would give a general agreement, he was allowed to disobey many of the plain directions for worship, and so the practice of forty years seemed to permit much laxity, although the High Commission is said to have deprived a third of the clergy in that time. The next trial of strength came with the new king, James I. All parties hoped that he would favour them, and it caused rather general astonishment when he made no important changes in the Prayer Book, but made them on his sole authority, and announced that when they were made, he would insist on absolute conformity to the type of worship thus prescribed. The result was that within a year there were three hundred clergy silenced for Nonconformity, and this time they were practically all of the Puritan wing. A few repented when they found the consequences, stifled their scruples and conformed, such as Richard Bernard; others stayed on in a mutinous state of mind and were always being brought before the court for Nonconformity; such were Dod and Hildersham. Many to their honour stayed outside the ranks of the official ministry, and if they felt still called of God to preach, ministered to conventicles, which sometimes organised into churches and ordained them pastors; of this type were John Robinson and Henry Jacob. This is the third wholesale ejection for Nonconformity.

Under Charles I. the administration of the Act fell into the hands of Laud. He never ejected men wholesale, but by a steady

minute inquisition which involved all sorts of punishment, including occasional deprivations, he succeeded in restoring discipline and bringing about tolerable uniformity on the lines substantially laid down by Elizabeth. When he fell the Puritans obtained control in Parliament and there was a period of uncertainty during which great debates were held as to the new lines of worship. It was regarded as axiomatic by nearly all people in power, that uniformity must be exacted. The struggle was as to the type which should be enjoined. While the armies were fighting, of course every man did what was right in his own eyes: *silebant leges inter arma*.

Where, however, the Puritans were in power, they instituted inspection of all the clergy, and applied two tests—Was the incumbent morally and spiritually fit? was he politically harmless? To the former point the Committee for Scandalous ministers attended, to the latter the Committee for Malignant ministers. A great many failed to satisfy the committees on one point or the other, and the result was an extensive ejection. Be it noted that the question this time was of conformity not to standards of ritual or dogma, but to standards of decency and non-intervention in politics. In this way the dismissals by the Long Parliament differ in character from those by Mary, Elizabeth, and James. Yet the fact remains that this change of rulers produced a fourth ejection. The numbers are a little uncertain. Dr. Walker, the Royalist Episcopalian, estimates that during the twenty years, 1640—1660, "the bishops and dignitaries, masters and fellows and scholars of colleges, clergy and school-masters" harassed in any way amounted to 8,000. This is the highest figure possible, and does not refer only to ejections; and the same writer admits that only 800 came forward under Charles II. for restoration. A careful scrutiny of the Journals of the Lords and Commons by Dr. Shaw, shows that in the eight years till January 1649, there were 1050 cases dealt with, including not only ejections, but filling places where the incumbent had died. Certainly the displacements by the Long Parliament were on the same large scale as by Mary, Elizabeth, and James. The Puritans began their constructive work by rendering it illegal to use the Book of Common Prayer, even in private, and they caused this prohibition to come into force on Bartholomew's Day 1645, a date some of them lived to rue.

For such constructive work, Parliament summoned an Assembly of Divines to advise on ecclesiastical questions. This was not elected, but packed by the Puritans, and though they indeed nominated some not of their extreme type, the members

with any episcopal leanings absented themselves, and only five were found who dissented from the general trend. The Assembly had expert wire-pullers in the Scotch commissioners, and by their dexterous management, reinforced by the military necessity of propitiating the Scotch, the plan evolved was largely on the lines popularized by Calvin and Knox, and generally known as Presbyterian. In the end this plan was adopted by the Long Parliament, and the new standard of Uniformity was erected.

If the old Act had scourged with whips, the new ordinance scourged with scorpions. Edward, Elizabeth, James and Charles had been content to fetter the minister by prescribing the forms of prayer and of ceremonial; Parliament went on to fetter the worshippers by prescribing a psalm book, though the Assembly freed the ministers to some extent in the conduct of worship, while attending rigidly to their doctrine and discipline. The sovereigns had left the enforcement to the few bishops supervised by the High Commission; Parliament set the ministers and elders to watch one another and hold frequent meetings for the maintenance of Uniformity, with Parliament itself as a supreme court. And in London and Lancashire, where the system was best observed, it worked with something of the thoroughness known in Scotland.

But there were forces against Uniformity. Since the fall of Laud, before the new standards were agreed upon and published, there had been great laxity. Conventicles had multiplied and had organised into Gathered Churches, which made no pretence whatever of paying any attention to the law of the land, for a Conventicle Act forbade their very existence. And the holders of livings in the Established Church had much excuse for Nonconformity, when half the realm was in the power of Charles, who held to the old type, and half was pervaded by the armies of the Parliament, who objected to it. The army that won the day was organised on a New Model, and it had been a cardinal principle that enlistment was not confined to those who took the Covenant to uphold a church settlement on Presbyterian lines. So in the day of peace, the paper settlement of the Scotch commissioners and the Parliament was not appreciated by the army, which alone had the physical power to enforce it. The second civil war was largely concerned with this very matter, and its issue decided that no Uniformity should be exacted.

The practical settlement was this. If a living fell vacant and the legal patron would acquiesce in the Commonwealth government, he might nominate whom he would. A Board of Tryers verified that the nominee was competent morally, intellectually,

and spiritually, and he was then installed. But no pledge was asked as to what type of service he would conduct, except that the forms in the Book of Common Prayer were still forbidden. Nor was any subscription asked to any doctrinal schedule. Variety of ritual and dogma was deliberately permitted. Under these circumstances all sorts of men were appointed to the parishes; a few of these were men who regarded the ideal to be Gathered Churches, where all the members were mutually pledged to holy living, in writing or orally or by baptism, yet they felt it possible also to minister in the Parish Church to all the inhabitants. Every now and again there was trouble when some one claimed to join in communion, who seemed morally unfit; and one judge humorously told a complainant who was refused, that he had an obvious remedy in withholding his tithes.

With the abdication of Richard Cromwell in 1659, there came anarchy, and many clergy were ejected by the local people. With the return of the Long Parliament in 1660, the Presbyterians regained authority, backed by the power of Monk's army; and an enforcement of the ordinances of 1646 led to the ejection of many more who would not accept the Presbyterian plan. After the return of Charles, these ordinances were treated as null and void, having never had royal sanction, and where the local people were episcopalian, they often turned out the Presbyterian. The royalist historian, Walker, tells that 800 lost their posts in this way. The old Act of Uniformity passed in 1559 was still on the statute book, but it was deemed wise to bring it up to date and to face frankly the situation created in the last twenty years. As a result a third Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662, and was appropriately made to take effect on Bartholomew's Day, exactly seventeen years after the prayer book had been proscribed. By that day at latest, the Presbyterians drank the cup they had brewed, and the livings of the Established Church were purged of all who would not promise to accept in every detail the prayer book, as newly revised. It has been customary to say that 2,000 clergy resigned on that day; but this is a dramatic compression of facts; the ejections began with 1659, and were going on constantly till August in 1662, if not indeed for a few months longer.

Under Mary, Elizabeth, James and the Long Parliament there had been four great ejections, and this makes the fifth; it did not affect more than had been touched under Elizabeth and the Parliament, but it has made a far deeper impression on the minds of modern Free Churchmen. Nor was it the last of its kind; for in 1689 Parliament once more intervened, this

time to exact from all holders of office in Church and State, an oath to acknowledge William and Mary as supreme. After some hesitation, seven bishops and about four hundred clergy refused to take the oaths, and were therefore ejected in 1690, this making the sixth and last wholesale purging of the offices in the Established Church. Since then, as the machinery of the High Commission has been abolished, the maintenance of discipline has devolved chiefly on the bishops. And despite a Public Worship Regulation Act, and an amendment of the Act of Uniformity, no striking occasion has presented itself for a thorough enforcement of the law. A recent enquiry has certainly shown that Uniformity is not generally practised, but it is hardly expected that any serious attempt will be made to insist upon a punctilious observance of the law.

Recognising now that the events of 1662 are not unique, that Mary had dealt thus with Protestants, Elizabeth with Catholics, James with Puritans, the Long Parliament with Episcopalians, and that William afterwards dealt thus with High Churchmen, we may confine ourselves to 1659—1662, when the Presbyterians were the chief sufferers, and ask how Baptists were involved.

Crosby in his third volume brought together all Baptists who suffered from 1640 till 1689, and his first chapter therefore simply supplies a list whence a few names are relevant here; he did not even limit himself to those who accepted official posts. Ivimey drew up a tentative list, and though he is notoriously inaccurate, it has lately been quoted as imperfect and under the mark, but treated as accurate so far as it goes. The fact is that he has considerably overstated the case, and even after adding some names he had not obtained, careful study will greatly reduce the number of Baptists who were ejected between 1659 and 1662. An examination of every case alleged may now be made.

First we may clear the ground by dismissing several who are unknown in Baptist circles, some of whom were demonstrably not Baptists at all. Robert BROWN, ejected from Whitelady Aston, was pastor at Westmancoat nine years later, but negotiations for Broadmead and Plymouth reveal him still a Pædo-baptist.¹ Gabriel CAMELFORD, ejected from Staveley in Westmoreland, was the first minister to a church at "Broughton, flurness fells and Cartmel," based on the principle of welcoming all true believers. In its covenant, baptism is defined as performed with water, in obvious opposition to the Friends at Swarthmoor near by, but there is no reference to immersion or to infants. The

¹ History of George Street Church, Plymouth, page 74.

church afterwards shifted its centre to Tottlebank, where John Sedgfield impressed upon it a Baptist stamp; but Camelford was no Baptist. Dr. Ichabod CHAUNCEY, of Bristol, who had never held any post but that of military chaplain, has been supposed a Baptist; but he belonged to the Independent congregation of Mr. Thompson.² William DELL, M.A., Army Chaplain, incumbent of Yeldon, and master of Caius College, Cambridge, is a little difficult to classify, but it is significant that the Society of Friends often reprinted and circulated his "Doctrine of Baptism reduced from its ancient and modern corruptions," while it is not denied that his own infants were baptised.³ Thomas ELLIS, was deprived of the rectory of Lopham, in Norfolk, by six justices, and in 1663 his successor was instituted. The register says that Ellis was ejected for Anabaptist dogmas; whether because he declined to baptise infants, by virtue of the Act of Parliament; or by the incapacity and deprivation of Thomas Ellis, last incumbent and lately rector; or by virtue of an Act of Parliament for Uniformity, &c., lately published and authorized; or for some other reason, &c.⁴ But while the registrar was sure as to the fact of deprivation, he was evidently hazy as to the exact reason; and supposing the first was correct, refusal to baptise infants is not peculiar to Baptists, nor even to Friends, but was a frequent Puritan scruple if the parents were not religious. The term "Anabaptist" is here used apparently as a mere term of opprobrium. Ellis is quite unknown in Baptist annals. Watkin JONES, ejected from Newport, in Monmouthshire, has been supposed a Baptist, but Pædo-baptists claim him, and Baptists do not know him. So also with Mr. QUARREL, the Congregational pastor at Shrewsbury and Oswestry. John SAINT NICHOLAS, ejected from Lutterworth, has been imagined a Baptist, apparently because he wrote a History of Baptism: but this argues forcibly for the baptism of infants.

A second group may be set aside, because although they were Baptists, they never held any post in the Establishment. Such were Peter CHAMBERLAIN, M.D., pastor of a London church; Abraham CHEAR, of Plymouth; Thomas EWINS, of Bristol, who indeed lectured in the Parish Church but declined to accept any pay for that service; Henry HAGGAR, of Stafford; Joshua HEAD, of Bourton on the Water; Joseph MAISTERS, of Cheshunt; John PENDARVES, B.A., of Abingdon; William RUSSELL, M.D., of High Hall; Edward STENNETT, of Walling-

² Broadmead Records, 213, 245.

³ Ivimey, II., 58-60.

⁴ Blomfield's Essay towards the Topographical History of Norfolk, I., 157.

ford; and Henry WILLIAMS, of Newtown. Most of these do not even figure in the pages of Calamy, and have not often been seriously claimed as parish clergy.

A third group may be exonerated on the ground that while they were indeed ejected, they had not then adopted Baptist sentiments. Thus Francis BAMPFIELD, M.A., as late as 1672 occupied such a singular position that he sued out a thoroughly exceptional licence. Richard CLARIDGE, M.A., who had been rector of Popleton, was baptised at Bromsgrove in 1691, and soon joined the Friends.⁵ Thomas HARDCASTLE, vicar of Bramham, was baptised in 1664 and joined the Church in Swan Alley, lately under Henry Jessey.⁶ Thomas JENNINGS, ejected from Brimsfield, was not baptised till 1667.⁷ William JONES, ejected in Carmarthenshire, was then an Independent, and was not baptised till 1665.⁸ Thomas PAXFORD, curate of Clopton, became Baptist after ejection.⁹ Lawrence WISE, once of Chatham Dock, is acknowledged by Calamy to have changed after 1662.¹⁰

A fourth group changed their opinions earlier, and as soon as they became Baptist quitted the Establishment. Of these was Edward BARBER, who embraced Baptist principles long before the civil wars, according to Crosby; a statement which it would be interesting to verify and expand: he became a leader of the General Baptists, who had been in London since 1614. Christopher BLACKWOOD, M.A., who resigned Staplehurst, and followed the army, became pastor at Dublin as early as 1653.¹ William BRITTEN in 1654 published "The Moderate Baptist," in the preface of which he mentions how he had resigned since 1649. Francis CORNWELL, M.A., did indeed hold the living of Marden a short time after his baptism, but when he had avowed his sentiments in a visitation sermon in 1649, which converted Blackwood, he voluntarily resigned.² Benjamin COX laid down his cure of souls in Devon before 1644.³ Henry DENNE left Pyrton soon after 1641, and was baptised at Bell Alley in 1643; and though he certainly was appointed afterwards to the living of Elsley for a short time,⁴ yet he soon devoted himself to evangelism as a General Baptist Messenger in the eastern counties. Samuel FISHER, M.A., laid down the vicarage of Lydd before 1649 to join the Baptist Church at Ashford.⁵ George FOWNES,

5 Ivimey, I., 596.

6 Broadmead Records, 108.

7 Broadmead Records, 91.

8 Thomas' History, 20.

9 Calamy, I., 533.

10 Calamy, II., 59.

1 Crosby, I., 350.

2 Crosby, III., 7.

3 Crosby, I., 353.

4 Crosby, I., 297.

5 Crosby, I., 359.

M.A., vicar of High Wycombe, "quitted the Parish Church voluntarily, before the Restoration."⁶ Edward HARRISON was at Petty France, as early as 1644, having left (Kensworth) near St. Albans.⁷ William KAYE, of Stokesley, was baptised in 1653⁸, and left the Establishment.⁹ John KEITH had the same experience, though date and place are unknown.⁹ George KENDALL, M.A., was appointed vicar of Hemel Hempstead in March 1643, after a brief period of lecturing there; but his successor was appointed in May 1644, so that if he became a Baptist, which is a doubtful point, he promptly put himself right.¹⁰ Hanserd KNOWLES, again, quitted the Establishment as early as 1638 and emigrated to New England for three years; he had adopted Baptist principles by 1643, and thenceforth declined to use parish churches, so that he showed no inconsistency.¹ Of Mr. R. LONDON, our only addition to Crosby's reference is contained in a circular letter of 1653, which he signed for the church in the City of Hereford, where Calamy tells us that four Presbyterian ministers did much to oppose the sectaries.² Mr. Henry MAURICE in 1675 mentioned himself as pastor-elect to the church at Llanigon in Brecon and Merthyr in Glamorgan, a church consisting mostly of Independents; he had conformed in 1662, being then barely of age, but voluntarily laid down his living when converted; Crosby and Thomas claim him as a Baptist.³ James SICKELMORE was rector of Singleton, near Chichester, but became Baptist; Crosby dates this act 1640, Taylor at 1648; both agree in saying that he retained his benefice for some time longer: but in 1647 the Long Parliament further endowed this parish, which was not likely if the incumbent was then a Baptist; and in 1662 it was a Mr. John Simmonds who was ejected: on the whole he seems to fall into this group.⁴ Colonel John WIGAN who held one or two chapelries at Birch, Gorton and Heapey, resigned when he went into the army and adopted Baptist principles, though it is clear that he used his influence at court to obtain large grants of public money for his ecclesiastical work.⁵

Now we come to three groups about whom our information is defective, so that we cannot be quite sure as to the verdict. The fifth consists of those who may or may not have been Baptists. Crosby mentions James or John BROWN of Oriel

6 Calamy, I., 244.

7 Edwards: Gangræna, III., 81.

8 Fenstanton Records, 292.

9 Crosby, IV., 251.

10 Shaw: History of the English Church, pp. 304, 309, 319, 448.

1 Life by Culross, pp. 27, 41.

2 Fenstanton Records, 345.

3 Broadmead Records, 511, 512.

4 Shaw: History, 493.

5 Shaw: History, II., 121, 128, 509, 589.

College, Oxford, as an author, and implies that he was a Baptist; but he has left no trace in our story. Thomas HORROCKES, M.A., of Maldon, is claimed by Evans on the strength of an extract from "Informations of Meetings in Hertfordshire," under date 1664.⁶ Yet though we read there of the Anabaptists of Hertford meeting in the house of Farmer Herles, called Brickingtonbury, there seems some likelihood of mistake, for these people do not appear as Anabaptists in the enquiry of 1669 or in the licences of 1672. Nor is Horrockes otherwise known in Baptist circles. Anthony PALMER, M.A., ejected from Bourton on the Water, ministered to a congregation at Pinners' Hall, London, which included both Baptists and Pædo-baptists. Although Calamy knew him as inclining to Baptist principles, it does not appear that he ever avowed them, and certainly he never associated with Baptist ministers or churches. John SMITH, ejected from Wanlip before 1662, preached near Charnley Forest, but apparently not in connexion with Baptists. Zephaniah SMITH from Wickham Market, afterwards had a few links with Broadmead at Bristol,⁷ but these are slender grounds for claiming him as a Baptist, since the church was open membership.

As to one man, John ABBOT, we do not know the dates. Calamy tells, without any hint of the time, or circumstances, that he was ejected from Fishborne, in Sussex. In 1655 this living had been augmented by £20, but the details hardly permit any inference as to the minister or the type of his theology.⁸ Crosby says briefly that he left the Established Church and joined the Baptists. In 1670 Vavasor Powell wrote to Bristol that he was a member of the church lately under Henry Jessey, which was now exclusively Baptist.⁹ It is therefore uncertain whether he was Baptist when he occupied a position in the Establishment.

A seventh group is of those Baptists whose names coincide to some extent with those of ejected clergy, but whose identity with them is not settled. Calamy says that Mr. BAKER, ejected from Folkestone, who died at Dover, had his understanding impaired. But this is hardly sufficient reason, even for Calamy, for assuming that he was the Baptist Elder at Chatham, known to Crosby. William BELCHER was ejected from Ulcomb, in Kent; there were two or three Baptist ministers of this name, of whom the earliest was at Ingham, in Norfolk, by 1672; there is no obvious connection. Two clergymen named HARDING were

⁶ Davids: Essex, 425.

⁷ Broadmead Records, 85, 244.

⁸ Shaw: History, II., 505.

⁹ Broadmead Records, 108.

ejected in Wiltshire, and Crosby thought it probable that one or other was "our" Harding, about whom he vouchsafed no details. Ivimey garbled this, and added that our Harding held a disputation in Ireland during 1652. The only Hardings known in Baptist circles then were James of Biddenden, licensed in 1672, Jonas of Amersham, baptised 1682, and Richard, a baker of Wycomb magna, delated to the bishop in 1669. A Mr. STEED was ejected in old age from the vicarage of Lamberhurst, in Kent; he cannot be the Robert Stead of Dartmouth, who in 1655 wrote "Sighs for Sion," and lived on till 1692 at least, as pastor of Broken Wharf. Nor is it probable that he was the Richard Steed who in 1692 represented Farringdon at the same Assembly. Yet Crosby suggests he was one or the other. As for William WOODWARD, Baptist pastor of Harlow, in Essex, "after his ejection," no proof of identity has been offered with either William Woodward, of Warminster,¹⁰ or with Mr. Woodward, of Southwold, in Suffolk, or with the rector of Popleton.

As regards these three groups, we go only on probabilities, and sometimes can hardly see the balance incline. We come however now to four more groups where certainty is attainable.

The eighth set of men consists of chaplains, in the army or navy or colleges, where there was no need to raise any question about infant baptism. Such was John CANNE, who in the course of a most versatile career acted as chaplain to Robert Lilburne's Regiment, in which the Baptist element was strong.¹ Such was John GOSNOLD, M.A., master at the Charterhouse, who on ejection retired to the General Baptist Church hard by on Paul's Alley, in the Barbican. Such was Paul HOBSON, who started life as a tailor, and after a most romantic career at London, Bristol, Newport Pagnel, Yarmouth, Hull and Newcastle, found rest for the sole of his foot as Fellow of Eton; being ejected, he was mixed up in a plot against the new order of things, and ended a disgraceful Baptist history by turning King's evidence and causing two members of Devonshire Square to be disciplined for wanton conduct with him. Such was Isaac LAMB, chaplain on the "Constant Warwick," which brought back Charles II., he became pastor at Virginia Street General Baptist Church. Such was his father, Thomas LAMB, the soap boiler, who though pastor of the chief General Baptist Church, in Bell Alley, seems to have acted awhile as chaplain, and so contributed to the hatred which showed itself in 1672 when to this church, almost alone, a licence was refused.

A ninth group consists of men who, while Baptists, held

¹⁰ Shaw: History, II., 547.

¹ Clarke Papers.

Welsh livings under Cromwell's tolerant scheme, which permitted any reputable minister to be installed. Anthony HARRY, member of the church at Abergavenny, was appointed by the commissioners for Wales to preach in the parish of Llanfihangel, in place of John Griffith, whom they ejected for scandalous life. Morgan JONES of Ilston Church, was appointed at Laleston, in Glamorgan, succeeding Theodore Price. For a knowledge of these men we are indebted to Dr. Walker, the royalist historian; as Calamy does not mention their ejection, we infer that they died or retired before the reaction began. We shall see that in Wales many Baptists were appointed. The reason is that Baptists were the most urgent in pressing the needs of the Principality, and when a commission of twelve was created to supply these needs, three of the most active were Captains Vavasor Powell and Jenkyn Jones, with John Miles. Whatever faults have ever been charged on the Welsh, forgetfulness of their friends does not figure on the list, and so several Baptists were put into livings.

The tenth, and most important group, is of those Baptists who really held office in the Established Church, and were ejected either by the Presbyterians in 1659, or by the local gentry, or by the previous royalist incumbent, or under the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Here we meet a Mr. ABBOT of Abergavenny, who had assisted Tombes in the debate there against Cragg. Here too is Richard ADAMS, M.A., vicar of Humberstone, who started a church at Mountsorrel after his ejection, then went to the General Baptist Church of Dockhead, and thence to the Particular Baptist Church at Devonshire Square. Evan BOWEN of Llanafan fawr, continued in the same place as a Baptist minister. David DAVIES of Kelligar, was a member of the Llantrisant Church. Daniel DIKE, M.A., of Great Hadham, one of Cromwell's Tryers, on his ejection went to Devonshire Square. John DONNE, M.A., of Pertenhall, settled over a church at Keysoe. John EDWARDS of Llangors, was at the same time a member of Abergavenny. Thomas EVANS, of Llanafan, stayed on as pastor of the Baptist Church. Benjamin FLOWER retired from Cardiff to Castlecomb, and after two ejections kept a school and ultimately settled over the Devizes Church. Paul FREWEN went from the living of Kempley to the pastorate at Warwick. John GIBBS quitted the vicarage of Newport Pagnell by the general desire of the town, before the Act, and took charge of a church at Stony Stratford. Henry JESSEY, M.A., who had been rector in Southwark and lecturer in the city, confined himself to his duties as pastor in Swan Alley. Captain Jenkyn JONES left the vicarage of Cadoxton and betook

himself to an itinerant ministry. A second Morgan JONES held the living of Llanmadoc, though like his namesake, a member of Ilston. Thomas JOSEPH retired from Llangeinwr, and in 1672 took out a licence for Bridgend. Jeremy MARSDEN, whose career was as curious as Paul Hobson's, laid down the chapelry of Ardsley and took to a life so dubious that he assumed an alias, Ralphson, under which name he was thrown into Newgate. George MARTYN from Weedon Beck, went to the Baptists in Stony Stratford. John MILES, rector of Ilston, was simultaneously pastor of a Baptist Church there, which he took to New England after his ejection. Mr. MILMAN, from Trelech, went to Tintern. Captain Vavasor POWELL was not only the great Baptist evangelist, but also one of the Approvers for Wales, and so earned deadly hatred. Walter PROSSER, rector of Tredynoc, belonged to the Hay Church. Thomas PROUD, rector of Cheriton, was of the Ilston Church. John SKINNER, of Weston Penyard, on the Welsh marches, had a Baptist Church there simultaneously. Howell THOMAS, of Glyncorwg, was a member at Llantrisant. William THOMAS, who apparently held a living in Carmarthenshire, was of the great church at Ilston. And in Cornwall Thomas TREGOSS, M.A., of Milor and Mabe, gathered a church at Trelevah, after working at Budock.

There remain two remarkable cases of Baptists who conformed. Samuel OATES, who had done fine work in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Bell Alley, as a Messenger of the General Baptists, made such an impression on the Duke of York that he was offered the living of Hastings. He succumbed to the temptation, but afterwards repented himself, surrendered the living and returned to end his days at Bell Alley. His son, Titus Oates, repaid the duke for the temptation. John TOMBES, B.D., of Leominster, one of Cromwell's Tryers, far the most learned Baptist of the age, who had never fallen into line with the Baptist churches and ministers, gave up his living and ended his days as a lay communicant of the Church of England, having married a rich widow at Salisbury.

Here we have examined every case where it has been supposed that a man was a Baptist and connected with the Establishment. After deducting some cases where the facts were misapprehended, it is certainly true that twenty-eight members or officers of Baptist Churches held parochial livings under Oliver's Establishment, and five more accepted public money as chaplains; and it may prove that eleven more should join their ranks. This is the extent to which the denomination is concerned in the movement whose crisis was on Bartholomew's Day. Welsh and

English alike must divide the honour of having had representatives in the Established Church, and even of having provided five governors of it; Particular Baptists and Generals alike must share the blame of having forgotten their fundamental principle, that allegiance in religious matters is due to the Lord alone, and to Him direct.

W. T. WHITLEY, Preston.

* * * The discussion that followed the reading of the paper at Bradford reduced the margin of doubt in a few cases. Private correspondence and further enquiry have elucidated other points. The corrections have been incorporated in the paper as printed. A tabular summary of results follows.

**Ministers charged with holding posts in the Established Church while being Baptists,
grouped in eleven classes.**

68

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Never Baptist. 2. Never in the Establishment. 3. Became Baptist after 1662. 4. Resigned from the Establishment on becoming Baptist. 5. Doubtful if Baptist. 6. Date of resigning living uncertain. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Not identified. 8. Chaplain. 9. Died as Baptist in the Establishment. 10. Ejected as Baptist from the Establishment. 11. Conformed though Baptist. |
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CLASS	MINISTER.	STATE APPOINTMENT.	BAPTIST CHURCH.	PALMER'S CALAMY.	CROSBY.	THOMAS.
6	Abbot, John	Fishborne, Sussex	Jessey's	2.462	4.253	
10	Abbot,	Abergavenny		2.629		20
10	Adams, Richard, M.A.	Humberstone	Mount Sorrel	2.116	3.37	
7	Baker,	Folkestone	Chatham	2.60	3.35	
3	Bampfield, Francis, M.A.	Sherborne	Pinner's Hall	1.468	1.363	
4	Barber, Edward		Spital		3.3	
7	Belcher, William	Ulcomb, Kent	Ingham, Norfolk	2.70		
4	Blackwood, Christopher, M.A.	Staplehurst	Spilshill		1,350	
10	Bowen, Eyan	Llanafan fawr	Llanafan fawr			8
4	Britten, William					
5	Brown, James	Oriel College, Oxford			4.251	
1	Brown, Robert	Whitelady Aston	(Westmancoat)	2.548	3.9	
1	Camelford, Gabriel	Staveley	(Broughton)	2.496		
8	Canne, John	Army chaplain	Bristol, London		3.38	
2	Chamberlain, Peter, M.D.		London			
1	Chauncey, Ichabod, M.D.	Army chaplain	(Bristol Indept.)	2.352		
2	Chear, Abraham		Plymouth		3.11	

CLASS	MINISTER.	STATE APPOINTMENT.	BAPTIST CHURCH.	PALMER'S CALAMY.	CROSBY.	THOMAS.
3	Claridge, Richard, M.A. ...	Popleton	Cripplegate		2, lviii.	
4	Cornwell, Francis, M.A. ...	Marden	Marden		1.344 ; 3-7	
4	Cox, Benjamin	Devon	Bedford		1.353	
10	Davies, David	Kelligar	Llantrisant	2.628		6-11
1	Dell, William, M.A.	Yeldon		1.201 & 225	1.323	
4	Denne, Henry	Pyrton	Bell Alley		1.297	
10	Dike, Daniel, M.A.	Great Hadham	Devonshire Square	2.42	1.355	
10	Donne, John, M.A.	Pertenhall	Keysoe	1.223		
10	Edwards, John	Llangors	Abergavenny			17
1	Ellis, Thomas	Lopham		2.194		
10	Evans, Thomas	Llanafan	Llanafan			8
2	Ewins, Thomas		Bristol	2.351		
4	Fisher, Samuel, M.A.	Lydd	Ashford		1.359	
10	Flower, Benjamin	Castlecomb	Devizes	2.624 & 500		
4	Fownes, George, M.A.	High Wycombe... ..	Broadmead	1.243		
10	Frewen, Paul	Kempley	Warwick	1.540	3.11	
	Froude (misprint for Proud)					
10	Gibbs, John	Newport Pagnell	Stony Stratford	1.242		
8	Gosnold, John, M.A.	Charterhouse	Barbican	1.150	3.61	
2	Haggar, Henry		Stafford		3.38	
3	Hardcastle, Thomas	Bramham	Jessey's	2.557		
7	Harding,	Wilts	Ireland	2.499 & 507	3.10	
4	Harrison, Edward... ..	Kensworth	Petty France		[Goadby,	340]
9	Harry, Anthony	Llanfihangel	Abergavenny			18
2	Head, Joshua		Bourton	1.551		
8	Hobson, Paul	Eton	Newcastle	1.236		
5	Horrockes, Thomas, M.A.	Maldon	Hertford	1.510	[Davids'	Essex, 425]
3	Jennings, Thomas	Brimmsfield	Bristol	1.531	[Broadmead,	91]
10	Jessey, Henry, M.A.	St. George's	Swan Alley... ..	1.108	1.307	
10	Jones, Captain Jenkyn	Cadoxton		2.624		19

CLASS	MINISTER.	STATE APPOINTMENT.	BAPTIST CHURCH.	PALMER'S CALAMY.	CROSBY.	THOMAS.
10	Jones, Morgan	Llanmadoc	Ilston	2.626		18
9	Jones, Morgan	Laleston	Ilston			18
1	Jones, Watkin	Newport		2.629		17
3	Jones, William	Llangellbithen	Rushacre	2.621		20
10	Joseph, Thomas	Llangeinwr	Bridgend	2.624		19
4	Kaye, William	Stokesley			4.251	
4	Keith, John... ..				4.251	
4	Kendall, George, M.A.	Hemel Hempstead				
4	Knowles, Hansard	Humberstone	Broken Wharf		1.334	
8	Lamb, Isaac	"Constant Warwick"	Virginia Street		3.101	
8	Lamb, Thomas	Army chaplain	Bell Alley		3.54	
4	London, R.		Hereford		4.251	
2	Maisters, Joseph		Cheshunt	1.192	4.342	
10	Marsden, Jeremy	Ardley				
10	Martyn, George	Weedon Beck	Stony Stratford	2.234		
10	Miles, John... ..	Ilston	Ilston	2.624	3.31	
10	Milman,	Trelech	Tintern	2.629		17
4	Maurice, Henry	Stretton	Llanigon	2.331	4.251	
11	Oates, Samuel	Hastings	Bell Alley		3.61	
5	Palmer, Anthony, M.A.	Bourton	Pinner's Hall	1.532		
3	Paxford, Thomas	Clopton	Bourton	1.533	3.36	
2	Pendarves, John, B.A.		Abingdon			
10	Powell, Captain Vavasor	"Approver"	Newtown		1.373	20
10	Prosser, Walter	Tredynock	Hay	2.629		15
10	Proud, Thomas	Cheriton	Ilston	2.624	3.31	19
1, 2	Quarrel,		Oswestry			
	Ralphson, pseud. for Marsden					
2	Russell, William, M.D.		High Hall			
4	Sickelmore, James... ..	Singleton... ..	Chichester	2.474	4.245	
10	Skinner, John	Weston	Weston	2.38	3.32	

CLASS	MINISTER.	STATE APPOINTMENT.	BAPTIST CHURCH.	PALMER'S CALAMY.	CROSBY.	THOMAS.
5	Smith, John	Wanlip		2.130	3.35	
5	Smith, Zephaniah	Wickham		2.444	[Broadmead,	85, 244]
7	Steed, Richard	Lamberhurst, Kent	Farringdon	2.62	3.10	
2	Stennett, Edward		Wallingford			
1	St. Nicholas, John	Lutterworth		2.119	3.33	
10	Thomas, Howell	Glyncorrwg	Llantrisant	2.624		15, 19
10	Thomas, William	(?) Carmarthen	Ilston			9, 14, 19
11	Tombes, John, B.D.	Leominster		2.34	1.278	
10	Tregoss, Thomas, M.A.	Milor and Mabe	Trelevah	1.286		
4	Wigan, Colonel John	Birch	Manchester			
2	Williams, Henry		Newtown	2.618	3.10	
3	Wise, Laurence	Chatham Dock	Goodman's Yard	2.59	3.32	
7	Woodward, William	Southwold	Harlow	2.437	3.34	