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Historical Points of Contact between English and Scottish Congregationalism

THE pedigree of Congregationalism in the United States of America, Australia, and most parts of the British Empire, cannot be traced to the fountain-head without taking note of what transpired in England while one of the most stirring and memorable pages of its history was in the making. It is not so with Scottish Congregationalism. The Congregational pilgrim from across the Atlantic, intent upon keeping in lively remembrance the beginnings of the form of church life which is associated with much that is strenuous and noble in the history of the new world, wends his way to Scrooby, Gainsborough, or some of the other places which derive their chief lustre from the memory of men of faith and courage who contended for the spirituality and freedom of Christ's Church and were treated as the offscourings of the earth for their pains. But the Scottish Congregationalist finds his shrine in Airthrey, near Bridge of Allan, which, more than a hundred years ago, was sold by the proprietor, Robert Haldane, to give effect to the Congregationalism that became in Scotland the chosen sheath of the revived evangelicalism of which he was one of the chief promoters. Congregationalism was vaguely known in Scotland long before that time as a foreign and dangerous thing which now and again ventured

to shew its head across the border. At every ordination, and even communion service, it was up to a comparatively recent period specially mentioned as one of those deadly things to be shunned. Independency was denounced along with popery, prelacy, Arminianism, Erastianism, Quakerism, as a heresy, the holding of which was sufficient to debar from the table of the Lord.

Presbyterianism Scotland's Early Friend

Before holding up our hands at the incredible narrowness and intolerable fanaticism of Scottish Presbyterianism it may be well to keep fully in view a few notable facts relating to the history of that land. It has to be remembered that national independence was at that period, and long before, the sovereign idea of the Scottish mind. A small nation, not numbering more than half a million at the time of the Reformation, placed alongside a powerful and aggressive race, Scotsmen had to fight more or less for centuries for their bare existence, and they had ever to be on their guard against encroachment. That, of course, intensified their sense of nationality and heightened their appreciation of all their distinctive institutions. Since 1560 Presbyterianism (at first it must be owned not very pronounced, and through the influence of the large-minded and practical Knox having a little of the savour of Congregationalism) had been their constant companion and faithful partner in all their struggles, first with Romanism, and afterwards with episcopacy; and hence it came in a sense to be bound up with their nationality and their patriotic defence of it. Presbyterianism, through Andrew Melville and its other valiant promoters, had done much for them

as a people in securing emancipation from tyranny civil and ecclesiastical ; and made almost desperate by incessant aggression they were not in a mood to split hairs about modes of church government, nor were they disposed to do anything else but look askance at all newfangled systems which threatened to displace what they regarded as the bulwark of their liberties. Not only so, but it has to be remembered that it was only through their Presbyterian religion that there was for long any recognition of popular rights of any kind. Scotland, politically, was far behind England at that time. The Scot is slow to move, and as Hugh Miller testifies—and he should know, for he is a typical Scot, if there is one—he was never roused to action except by the big interests of country and religion. In ordinary politics, such as contention for right of way, Scotland was immeasurably behind England. The Scot could turn against his king now and again when his blood was up ; but seldom in olden times against the laird. Thus it came about that the General Assembly of the Church was practically the only Parliament of the people, the indirect but only form of popular representation which the nation then had. Take in connection with that the fact that at least as a dogma and polity religion was the great overshadowing interest of that time. It was the only thing, as historians have pointed out, for which Scotland was then known. It was by the working of a kind of rough and ready theocracy that Scotland won its fame among nations. Can we wonder then that Presbyterianism, which came to be intertwined with what was most sacred and precious in the eyes of the people, should be able to put at a disadvantage every competing form of church life ?

Invasion of England's Independency

Long before it had any appreciable footing there were casual appearances of Independency in Scotland, for which England was responsible as it was for other unsuccessful invasions. Browne himself, that arch-heretic, was for some time there; but, poor man, he must have felt himself indeed to be a pilgrim and a stranger. Intermittent growls against "Brownism" are heard in presbytery and Assembly. In 1647 an Act of Assembly was passed clearly indicating the fear of church rulers that Independency, like any other plague, might extend to Scotland—"Considering how the errors of Independency and separation have in our neighbour kingdom of England spread as a gangrene, and do daily eat as a canker, and how possible it is for the same evils to invade and overspread the kirk and kingdom by the spreading of erroneous books, pamphlets, libels, and letters, and by conversing with them that are infected by these errors, the Assembly inhibited and discharged all ministers of kirk and kingdom to converse with persons tainted with such errors." If we are to judge of the propagating zeal and industry of English "sectaries" in the 17th century by the numerous allusions to them in Scottish ecclesiastical deliverances, there must have been much done that is unchronicled. There were points of contact between Scottish Presbyterianism and English Independency in the great Westminster Assembly which are exceedingly interesting, but not such as many on this side of the border care to dwell upon. Principal Baillie, in his letters to the General Assembly, admitted that the Independents at Westminster were men most able and of great credit. Yet he bitterly complained of their "unreasonable obstinacy." His special grievance

was that they aimed at "toleration," or "full liberty of conscience to all religions without exception." Further on in one of his letters Baillie said that he and his co-presbyters proposed not to meddle with Independency in haste "till it please God to advance our [Scottish] army, which we expect will much assist our arguments"! But alas for Scottish pride!—the army was as little able to withstand the Ironsides as the presbyters were the Westminster arguments. The public prominence given to Independency through the accession to power of Cromwell did not tend to lessen the dread of it in the breasts of Scottish ecclesiastics, as it gave them less hope than ever of the idol of Scotland obtaining its place—enforced uniformity of religious belief and practice after the Presbyterian pattern. It has been matter of wonder to some that the presence of General Monk and his Cromwellian army in Scotland did not give an impetus to the spread of our principles in this part of the island. But how could it ever be expected that a proud—not to say stiff-necked—people like the Scots could be prevailed upon to accept their religion from the hands of a conqueror? And it has to be remembered that Cromwell had not the spirit of a proselytiser. He was an Independent, but, like every true man bearing that name, he was a Christian first, and where the Christianity was really experimental and spiritual he was so much at home with its professors that he had no wish to introduce disturbing polemics. He was a man ages before his time, and, if she did not take his Independency, Scotland took some of the other benefits of his sagacious rule, for even historians prejudiced against him are obliged to admit that the government of Cromwell was just and enlightened as well as strong, and left a mark for good that is not yet effaced.

Scotland and Cromwell

That was a beautiful coming together of Scottish Presbyterianism and English Independency in the persons of Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, Cromwell, and Dr. Owen. After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar, Jaffray the captive, in conversation with the general and his chaplain, was won over to Independency, which he brought with him to the granite city, where it blossomed into Quakerism, so congenial to his gentle, mystic spirit. William Clarke,* who was secretary to General Fairfax, gives us glimpses in his letters of what was going on when the dogged and somewhat self-complacent Presbyterians of the day were brought face to face with a religion less formal but brimful of vitality, drawn directly from Scripture and personal experience. We are indebted to the recent publications of the Scottish History Society, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, for a most interesting lightening up of that period.† We read of army chaplains conducting private religious meetings and occasional disputations on knotty theological points between them and Scottish ministers, when for tenacity of belief and pertinacity of assertion it was truly Greek meeting Greek. "If but few converts were made in the south, it was reported in the north, in Sutherland, there was a very precious people, and when Deane marched into the Highlands, news came from his forces that some of the Highlanders have heard our preaching with great attention and groanings and seeming affection.‡" So reports the secretary already referred to. A

* Born about 1623. His manuscript collections are now in the library of Worcester College, Oxford.

† *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 53-4.

‡ *Scotland and the Commonwealth* pp. 31: 364.

few Independent congregations or "gathered churches"—that is the favourite designation—were established in the Lowlands in 1652. The names of eight ministers are given who became converts to Independency. An important letter from General Monk to the Protector bearing upon this point cannot be omitted :—

"May it please Your Highnesse,

The enclosed, expressing the desires of sundery Congregationall ministers who have been instruments of much good in Scotland, I shall only present to your Highnesse considerations that your Highnesse will please to give such further orders or explanations of the former ordinance as may incurrage them to goe on in that good worke, which they have begun, which may tend to the advantage of the Kingdome of Jesus Christe and promote the interest of your Highnesse and the common wealth of England in this nation.

Dalkeith, 19 September, 1654."

Bitter complaints were made by the members of the "gathered churches" and their foster-parents from England that more countenance was not given at headquarters to such propagating work. It is evident that Cromwell and his officers, as time went on, saw very plainly that, supposing they were inclined to become sowers of Congregational seed, Scotland was not a promising field for their operations, and that the principal effect of such interference would be to arouse the jealousy of the Presbyterian Church and add to the numerous difficulties which beset those responsible for the government of the country. All the evidence goes to shew that while those little "gathered churches" in various parts of Scotland did good in offering for a time choice spirits like Jaffray of Aberdeen an opportunity of enjoying a freer and

more spiritual communion, they were short-lived, the members generally going back to Presbyterianism and a few becoming absorbed in Quaker communities. There may have been little obscure fellowships in Scotland more or less upon the lines of the "gathered churches" for years after the death of Cromwell; but the next time that Congregationalism appears upon the scene in notable and historic form was through the action of John Glas, parish minister of Tealing, near Dundee. The sect of which Glas was the founder (somewhere about 1730) bore his name till a follower and son-in-law named Sandeman developed and extended the views held, and then the competing and overshadowing designation, "Sandemanian," was introduced. The testimony of this little body, while mainly doctrinal and practical, had also its ecclesiastical side, Congregationalism being set forth as the Scriptural form of church government. The Congregationalism and other departures from orthodox opinion brought upon Glas expulsion from the Church of his fathers. That Congregationalism was not transplanted, but grew from seed. It was, however, carried to England and America, where it still exists, but there, as in Scotland, attenuated and at the last gasp.

The Haldanes and the Evangelical Revival

Passing over other little bodies more or less defunct, in which our polity plays a part, let us come to Congregationalism, which is still a spiritual force in Scotland. Little more than a hundred years old, it is the outcome of a great evangelical revival in that land associated with such honoured names as Robert and James Haldane, John Aikman, and Greville Ewing. It was entirely

a spontaneous and indigenous product, in the sense of not having been planted by any sectarian proselytiser from the south or any other quarter of the globe. It came into existence through the force of Providentially ordered circumstances and the reverent study of God's Word. Congregationalism came because the men who brought it were determined to have freedom in the use of lay and other Gospel agencies, including Sabbath schools; and also that they might have better scope for their conception of a spiritual fellowship than many existing Churches allowed at that time. Many of the best members of our infant churches were godly seceders who longed for more missionary enterprise both at home and abroad. We owed not a little to the informal prayer meetings—"praying societies"—scattered over the land, which were one of its most persistent and potent spiritual forces, the precursor of the Reformation, the Secession, the Disruption, and all our great religious movements.

Still, English Congregationalism had a very considerable hand in giving shape to things as they are amongst us, particularly in the north of Scotland. One of the founders of the mother church in Aberdeen was converted to our views by an English book bearing the long title of *An inquiry into the constitution, discipline, unity, and worship of the Primitive Church that flourished within the first three centuries after Christ faithfully collected out of the extant writing of those ages*. The author of this treatise was Peter King, the near kinsman of John Locke, who became Lord High Chancellor of England. Varily this is a strange conjunction of orbs in the ecclesiastical firmament! The highest legal dignitary in England two hundred years ago puts himself to the pains of publishing a book advocating Independency! A

hundred years later a humble Aberdonian gives practical effect to Lord King's ideas, drawn from the writings of the early Church, which I am afraid the Lord High Chancellor of England had not the moral courage to do, and the minister of the church thus founded is here to-day to tell you the story! Dr. Bennett of London, Dr. Bogue of Gosport, and other eminent English Congregationalists of that time, acted as advisers and nursing fathers to some of the infant churches of our order. English Non-conformist students attending Scottish universities, denied the privileges at home which they had here (Robert Hall, the famous Baptist preacher, was a student at King's College, Aberdeen, and had as a bosom friend James Macintosh, the philosopher and politician,) rendered valiant service to the rising churches. A standing proof of the influence English Congregationalism had in shaping, to some extent, our churches in Aberdeenshire lies in the fact that in that part the observance of the communion has ever been monthly, whereas in other churches of our body in Scotland it was from their origin weekly, and is so still in some of them. English Congregationalism helped also to temper the rigorous literalism and narrow, petty dogmatism into which many of our fathers fell after the aggressive ardour of early days began to cool, and a pragmatism, divisive spirit, which for generations was the weakness of Scottish religious life, began to shew itself. Dr. Lindsay Alexander of Edinburgh tells us that not a few Scottish Congregationalists went "astray in holding that they were religiously bound to conform their ecclesiastical usages in the minutest particulars and under all circumstances to what is supposed to have been the practice of the primitive churches, and that it was also the imperative duty of every man who has embraced an opinion to make use of all means in

his power to bring everybody else to that opinion." The following were some of the questions which agitated our churches in those early days—Whether collections should be made at the church door on Sabbath; whether the Lord's Supper may be observed by the church without the elders; whether that ordinance should be observed once a week or once a month; whether the mutual exhortation of the brethren be not a bounden duty; whether church discipline should be exercised only on Sabbath. Such microscopic conscientiousness and misplaced intensity did much mischief at the time, and would have done more but for the steadying effect of the older and soberer Congregationalism of common-sense England, whose friendship our fathers proved at a very early period. In those early days of struggle, rendered all the more intense as the founders of our Scottish churches were not ecclesiastical leaders but spiritual heralds, and planted churches not where there was the prospect of a "rising cause" but where there was clamant spiritual need,—at that time English Congregationalism acted a most generous part.* Deputations went from time to time to England to plead the cause of our rural churches and the missionary operations of our Congregational Union. We read of Ewing of Glasgow visiting Norfolk and Suffolk, Orme of Perth, latterly of Camberwell, London, going through Essex and London, and Wardlaw in Lancashire and northern counties doing for the saints in Scotland what Paul did for the saints at Jerusalem. Winter, Burder, Waugh, Clayton, Raffles, were conspicuous among our helpers.

* See *Biography of Rev. John Watson*, by Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., and also *Memoir of Greville Ewing*, by his daughter.

Scottish Contributions to English Congregationalism

By and by our Scottish Congregationalism became so strong, at least in the men it reared, that it was able to pay back to England what it had received in better coin than that of the realm. We are familiar with Dr. Johnson's characteristic observation that the loveliest scene a Scotsman can behold is the high road that leads to England. Be that as it may, it is matter of history that many of our ablest men took the road which led to influential spheres in English Congregationalism. Campbell of Kingsland, Morrison of Chelsea, Kennedy of Stepney, Spence of the Poultry, Legge of Leicester, his brother of China, latterly of Oxford University, Raleigh, Hannay, in more recent times Fairbairn, Hunter, Forsyth, are some of the names which can readily be recalled. A host of missionaries went from our little country churches to various parts of the world. Milne, Philip, Moffat, Livingstone, Kennedy, Chalmers, and many more of the London Missionary Society, owed not all, but most of them what was best in them, to the training they had received in Scottish Congregational churches. Distinguished laymen also, who have taken an important part in the public life of England, belong to our stock. Birrell, the well-known essayist and member of Parliament, is the grandson of one of the founders of our church in Kirkcaldy. Daniel Macmillan, of the famous publishing firm, acknowledges how much he owes to the early Independents of Arran, as we find in the biography of him by Thomas Hughes. Adam Black, the founder of another publishing firm, was for the greater part of its history identified with the church in Edinburgh which had Dr. Lindsay Alexander as its pastor. Can we not believe that the coming together of

North and South in the past is the shadowing forth of some sort of alliance or federation which shall enable them to a still larger extent to have the full benefit of each other ?

JAMES STARK.

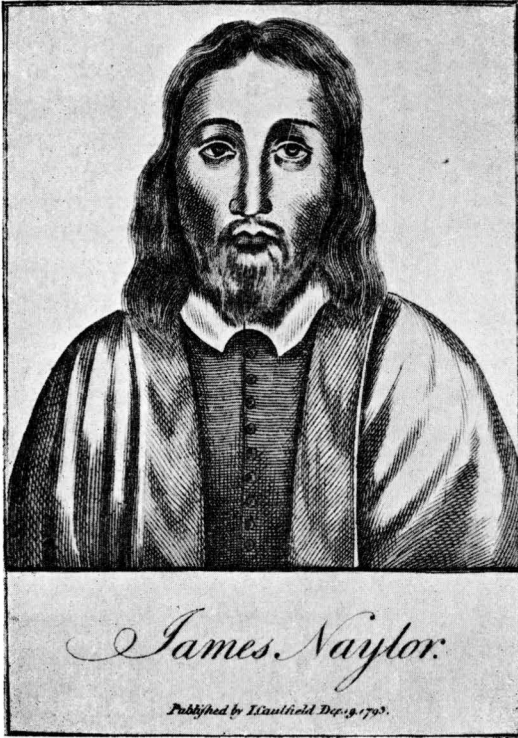
James Nayler, the Mad Quaker

THE middle of the seventeenth century was marked by the prevalence of a great number and variety of religious opinions opposed to the doctrine, worship and discipline of Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, no less than to the Episcopal Church, which was overthrown in the Puritan Revolution.

This was due to many causes, such as the excitement of the public mind on religious matters, the lessening of traditional authority in faith and practice, the relaxation of the power of the State in enforcing uniformity, the reaction from dogmatism and formalism, and the incapacity to make a sober use of liberty, arising from previous neglect of religious teaching.

Thomas Edwards, the Presbyterian minister of Christ Church, London, in a book entitled *Gangrana; or a catalogue of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of this time*, (1646), arranged the sectaries under sixteen general heads. But, as Neal remarks, "very few of these were collected into societies; his business was to blacken the adversaries of Presbyterian Uniformity, that the Parliament might crush them by sanguinary methods. Among his heresies there are some which do not deserve that name; and among his errors some that never grew into a sect, but fell occasionally from the pen or lips of some wild enthusiast, and died with the author."

"In these times," wrote Richard Baxter, "sprang



From an old print kindly lent by J. Avery, Esc., Forest Gate.

up five sects at least, whose doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several shapes and names: 1. The Vanists, 2. The Seekers, 3. The Ranters, 4. The Quakers, 5. The Behmenists." His account of these sects is, however, singularly confused and in many respects incorrect. Sir Harry Vane was no doubt much of a mystic, but his adherents could not be properly described as a sect. The writings of Jacob Bœhme, the German mystic, were comparatively little known in England. The Seekers set aside the Scriptures and outward ordinances and waited for further revelations. The Ranters, says Baxter, "made it their business to set up the light of nature, under the name of *Christ in men*." They were a sort of Pantheists, regarding themselves as so completely one with God and Christ as to be without sin, whatever their actions might be, and often indulged in wild excesses. The Quakers, according to Baxter, "were but the Ranters turned from horrid prophaneness and blasphemy to a life of extreme austerity," and "James Nayler was their chief leader." How far this representation of them is correct we shall presently see. My principal purpose is to furnish an "exact history" of Nayler, whose name finds a place in the general history of this period on account of his extravagant conduct, his State trial, and his severe punishment under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

1. Of the *early life* of James Nayler little is known. He was born in 1616, and, according to his own statement, at Ardsley near Wakefield. There are two Ardsleys, East and West; and his birthplace was probably West Ardsley, which is commonly called Woodchurch or Woodkirk. He was the son of a substantial yeoman, received a good English education, married at the age of

22, and settled in the neighbouring parish of Wakefield, where several children were born to him. At the commencement of the Civil War he entered the Parliamentary army, served nearly seven years in a foot company under Fairfax, and two years as quartermaster in Lambert's horse. While in the army he became an Independent, imbued with religious fervour and zealous for liberty of conscience. He also often preached with great impressiveness to a crowd of people who gathered around him in the open fields. During Cromwell's campaign in Scotland (1650) one of the officers, who heard him, declared "I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies without being able to help ourselves. The people there in the clear and powerful opening of their states cried out against themselves imploring mercy." (*Diary of Alexander Jaffray*).

On returning from Scotland the same year, disabled by sickness, he found an Independent society or "gathered church" at Woodchurch under the pastorate of Christopher Marshall, the incumbent. Of this church Captain John Pickering of Tingley and others who had fought in the Parliamentary army were members, and Nayler joined its fellowship. Christopher Marshall was a Lincolnshire man, emigrated to Boston, New England, became a member of the Congregational church of which the notable John Cotton was teacher, and having been trained by him for the ministry returned to England and was appointed to this living. He is mentioned in the Parliamentary Survey (1650) as minister at Woodchurch with a stipend of "£30 a year, allowed by Lord Savile."

(Sir Thomas Savile, first Earl of Sussex), improperiator of the rectory.*

Of Nayler's connection with the church at Woodchurch there can be no doubt. Oliver Heywood says, "James Naylour and other three Quakers turned off from them and were turned out of their communion." (*Diary ii.* 244). This testimony is confirmed by a list of church members (see *Transactions*, No. 1., p. 18) in which it is recorded that "Brother Elyard, Bro. Legine, Bro. Carter, James Nailor [not called Brother], Sister Oxley, Sister Hannah Cassley, Sister Easther Cassley departed from us and some under church censures." And Nayler himself, when subsequently asked whether he had not been a member of an Independent church at Sowerby, and excommunicated for his blasphemous opinions, replied that he had been a member of a church at Woodchurch, and knew not what they had done since he came forth, but that he was not before to his knowledge.† It is commonly said that he was expelled from the church for blasphemy and "wanton carriage" with a Mrs. Roper; but the truth is that he first left the church of his own accord on becoming a Quaker, and was afterwards "excommunicated;" meanwhile suspicions of his immorality were expressed, but nothing is heard of them until several years later (1656), and then on no other authority than a copy of a letter said to have been written by Mr. Marshall to a friend; and Nayler indignantly repudiated

* He may have been previously minister of Horbury, a chapelry of Wakefield parish. He is referred to as such in the Parish Register; some of the members of the society at Woodchurch resided there; and he had intimate relations with the place at a later date. The Report of the Committee of Parliament (1654) stated that Nayler was "a member of an Independent church at Horbery in Yorkshire, of which church Mr. Christopher Marshall was pastor." (*State Trials*, v. 803).

† *A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles and Papers*, written by James Nayler, 1716, p. 14. *Exact History of James Nayler*, by John Deacon; *from my lodging at Bunhill*, London, Dec. 30th, 1656. *A True Narrative of the Examination, trial and sufferings of James Nayler, &c.*, 1657. For other Nayler literature see *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, by Joseph Smith, 1867.

the charge as a "priest-lie."† Similar charges were subsequently brought against him by his enemies, but they had not adequate foundation.

It should be here noticed that Christopher Marshall was a *moderate* Independent or Congregationalist of the New England type. He was not opposed to a National Church, such as existed under Cromwell, or to the control of the civil magistrate in religious matters, and was content to hold a parish living and preach in a parish church, whilst he had liberty to act as pastor of a society formed on Independent principles in connection with the parish assembly but not confined to it. On the other hand there were many *extreme* Independents, especially in the army, who, like the old Brownists and most of the Baptists, were opposed to the interference of the magistrate, no less than that of bishop or presbytery, and to all forced payments for religion, and who advocated an unlimited toleration; and these sometimes formed themselves into religious societies entirely outside the parish assemblies.

2. The *conversion* of James Nayler to Quaker views took place under the influence of George Fox during his first visit to Yorkshire in 1651. Of this remarkable man something must be said. He was born at Drayton, Leicestershire, in 1624, so that he was eight years younger than Nayler. As a young man he was noted for his Puritan seriousness, and was driven well-nigh to despair by spiritual perplexity and trouble, from which he could get no relief by his consultation with parish

† It is stated, without any authority being given (*Miall's Congregationalism in Yorkshire*), that "he was brought before the church on a charge of adultery; the meeting was held at Haigh Hall, in a room called the Lord's parlour; Nayler went afterwards to London and joined the Baptist church of which Hanserd Knollys was minister, whence he was again expelled." The meeting that censured him may have been held at Haigh Hall, which belonged to Lord Savile, was occupied by one or more members of the church, and made use of for the convenience of the members who came from a distance; but it is altogether improbable that he joined a Baptist church.

ministers or others. While the army was fighting for liberty he "walked abroad in solitary places, or took his Bible and sat in hollow trees till the night came on." (*Journal*). At length he found guidance and assurance, and in 1647 began to testify openly of the Word, Christ, the Spirit, in all men. This *Inner Light*, he taught, is superior to the letter of the Scriptures, independent of ministers, churches and outward forms, opposed to all worldliness and wickedness, and makes those who follow it perfect. The thoroughness with which he held this doctrine and his practical applications of it made his teaching peculiar and revolutionary. His aim was the revival of primitive Christianity. No oaths were to be taken. Yea or Nay was sufficient. The hat was to be taken off to no one, and no courtesy titles given. Every person was to be addressed in the singular as *Thou* or *Thee*. War and physical violence were wrong, injuries to be borne with patience, and active benevolence practised. Fox went from place to place denouncing in unmeasured terms a "hireling ministry," "steeple houses" or "idol temples," formal worship, tithes, unfaithful magistrates and popular vices. His preaching produced extraordinary effects; and notwithstanding the opposition and persecution with which he met he went on his way undismayed. Justice Bennet, of Derby, he says, "was the first that called us Quakers [Tremblers], because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650."* In his *Journal* (1651) we read :

So travelling through several places I came into the parts about Wakefield where JAMES NAYLER lived ; he and Thomas Goodyear came to me and were both convinced and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife and many more.

* Robert Barclay, in his *Apology for the Quakers* (1675) attributed the origin of the name to the violent physical agitations which were not infrequent in these early meetings, and which arose, as he considered, from an inward struggle between light and darkness.

After travelling in the East and North Ridings, where he gained many converts, Fox returned to the West Riding, and at "a great meeting of many considerable men" James Nayler, Thomas Good-year, and William Dewsbury, "who had been convinced the year before," were present (1652).

From hence I went to Wakefield, and on the First-day after, I went to the steeple-house, where James Nayler had been a member of an Independent church; but upon his receiving truth he was excommunicated. When I came in and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the Word of life to them and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me suddenly, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried "Let us have him to the stocks." But the Lord's power restrained them that they were not suffered to put me in.

The priest of that church, whose name was Marshall, raised many wicked slanders about me . . . The Lord soon after cut off this envious priest in his wickedness.

Good George was too credulous of the reports that reached him, his judgments did not always proceed from the pure light, and he was strangely misinformed concerning the fate of Christopher Marshall; for Marshall lived over twenty years subsequently, was one of the ejected nonconformist ministers in 1662, and after long and faithful service died in peace, February, 1673, aged 59.

Shortly afterwards Fox went into Craven, was "moved of the Lord" to go up to the top of Pendle Hill, where he had a vision of the places in which there was "a great people to be gathered;" travelled through the Yorkshire dales and arrived at Swarthmoor Hall in Furness, beyond Morecambe, the residence of Judge Fell (whose widow Fox subsequently married); and here a little later he was joined by James Nayler, who, "having heard the voice of the same living God that spoke to Abraham," had now left his occupation and his

family and come forth as an itinerant preacher of the doctrine of the *Inner Light*.

3. Nayler's own account of his *call to the itinerant ministry* (1652) is as follows :

I was in the fields at the plough in barley seedtime meditating on the things of God, and suddenly I heard a voice saying unto me, "Get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house," and I had a promise given in with it ; whereupon I did exceedingly rejoice that I had heard the voice of that God which I had professed from a child, but whom before that day I had never known. [He afterwards said to John Deacon that "it was not a carnal, audible voice, to be heard of the earthly ear, for it was a Heavenly."]

So I went home and stayed there a good while ; and not being obedient to the Heavenly call I was in a sad condition, as my friends knew, and those that knew me wondered at me, and thought I was distracted, and that I would never have spoken nor eaten any more.

But after I was made willing to go I gave my estate away [to his wife and children], and I began to make some provision, as money, apparel, and other necessaries for my journey ; but awhile afterwards going with a friend from my house on some business, having an old suit of clothes on without any money, a voice spake again commanding me to go into West [Westmorland], and then it was revealed to me what was appointed for me to do. And not knowing whether I should go or what was appointed for me to do, neither having taken leave of her whom the world calls my wife, and those children which according to the flesh are mine, I was obedient, and after I had been there awhile it was given me what I should declare ; and ever since I have been obedient to that which is pure in me and in you all, Christ manifest in mortal flesh.

He was one of the first of a zealous band of travelling preachers, who gathered around George Fox and numbered in 1654 about sixty persons. They went forth, more or less under Fox's direction, usually in pairs, on a propagandist or evangelistic mission. "The Quakers, it was said, would not come into any great towns, but lived in the Fells like butterflies." (*Life of Ambrose Barnes*).

We find Nayler disputing with parish ministers in Westmorland, writing pamphlets jointly with Fox, and accompanying him in his preaching tours. They were together at Lancaster, and Nayler wrote *A Letter to some Friends in Yorkshire giving a brief account of the proceedings at Lancaster Sessions against him and G. Fox*, from "Kellet the 30th. day of the 8th month, (October), 1652." On one occasion they went to Walney Island, opposite Furness, where they were attacked by "about 40 men with staves, clubs, and fishing poles;" Fox was knocked down and stunned, and Nayler nearly killed. They were treated very much like Wesley and the early Methodist preachers a century later. Towards the end of the year Nayler was at the instigation of the parish ministers committed for trial at the sessions at Appleby, (Jan., 1652-3), and indicted for "saying that *Christ was in him* and that there was but one Word of God." Justice Benson declared that the words spoken by him were neither within the Act against blasphemy, nor against any law; but it was ordered that he should remain in prison until certain petitions against him and others were answered; and after 20 weeks' confinement he was discharged, and "continued in the service of the Truth in the north." While in prison he wrote a *Letter to Friends about Wakefield*, and a little treatise entitled *A Discovery of Wisdom from Beneath and the Wisdom from Above*. He also afterwards wrote *A Letter to Friends in Holderness* (from Nuby, Sept. 30, 1653); *A Lamentation (by one of England's Prophets) over the Ruins of this Oppressed Nation* (Nov. 9), and about 20 other tracts and treatises. One of his epistles, *To all Friends in London*, is dated from "Wakefield, the ninth day of the 4th month," (June, 1654 ?); soon after which he found his way to the metropolis.

Already two of the ablest of the northern band of evangelists, Edward Borrough and Francis Howgill, had gone to London in furtherance of their mission. Fox himself, also, had been arrested in Leicestershire by Col. Hacker, and sent under the care of one of his life-guards to the Lord Protector at Whitehall (1654). After his interview with Cromwell Fox says, "he caught me by the hand and with tears in his eyes said, 'come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer one another,' adding that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul." There was "a great convincement in London." Nayler's coming strengthened the hands of his fellow labourers. The meetings were crowded. One of them was held at the Bull and Mouth, Aldersgate; and such was Nayler's popularity that many from the Court, various titled ladies, and officers of the army, came to hear him. Among his occasional hearers was Sir Harry Vane, who had considerable sympathy with many of his views. Nayler also visited various parts of the country. In company with Thomas Goodyear he preached several times at Kidderminster, and there came into contact with the renowned controversialist, Richard Baxter, who wrote, in consequence, *The Quaker's Cat chism*, (April 20th, 1655), to which Nayler published a reply. Among numerous other tracts written by him this year was one entitled *Satan's Design Discovered; who under pretence of worshipping Christ's Person in Heaven would exclude God and Christ, the Spirit and Light out of the world, &c., in answer to Thomas Moor*. He met Fox in Derbyshire, and was encouraged by him to encounter "seven or eight priests who had challenged him to a dispute; in which he proved so successful that the people seeing the priests

foiled cried out "a Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted them all." He frequently disputed at the meetings in London with various gainsayers, such as Jeremiah Ives in Beech Lane (May 1656), and at the Bull and Mouth (June 22, 1656). He was often spoken of as "the Quaker's Great Apostle." "Freeborn John" (Lilburn) called him "that *tall man* in Christ." About this time he also wrote one of his best treatises, entitled *Love to the Lost*. It is not surprising that he should have been called by Baxter the "chief leader" of the Quakers.

In his personal appearance Nayler is said to have borne a striking resemblance to the traditional portraits of Jesus Christ, and to the description (once popularly supposed to be genuine) given by Publius Lentulus to the Senate of Rome. He was of medium stature, his face of oval shape, with ruddy complexion and broad forehead, his hair auburn, parted on the brow and hanging a little below his cheeks, his nose slightly aquiline, his beard short, his eyes beaming with a benignant lustre, his aspect grave, with "a sad, down-looking and melancholy countenance." He usually wore a little band close to his collar, with no band strings; his hat hanging over his brows. His voice was musical and he possessed a natural gift of oratory. Thomas Ellwood, who met with him at Isaac Pennington's, Chalfont, Buckinghamshire, and heard him discussing with his father on predestination, says "he handled the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration that his reasoning seemed to be irresistible;" and this surprised him the more as "the appearance of Nayler was that of a plain simple husbandman or shepherd." (*Life of Ellwood*). His writings display an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, and are often well-reasoned, but they are for the most part hortatory, and on account of their peculiar

phraseology and repetition somewhat wearisome to read. A recent writer has remarked that "for depth of thought and beauty of expression Nayler deserves the first place in Quaker literature." (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

4. His *aberrations* appear to have commenced in London some time in the year 1656. "I entered this great city," he afterwards wrote, "with the greatest fear than ever into any place I came, in spirit foreseeing somewhat to befall me therein, but not knowing what it might be." According to an early historian of the Quakers :

He preached in such an eminent manner that many admiring his great gift, began to esteem him much above his brethren, which, as it brought him no benefit, so it gave occasion to some difference in the Society ; and this ran so high that some forward and inconsiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons [wife of Thomas Simmons, a bookbinder] was the chief, assumed the boldness to dispute with F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly on their preaching and thus to disturb the meetings ; whereupon they who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty, to reprove this indiscretion. But these women were so disgusted that Martha and another woman went and complained to Nayler ; but this did not succeed. . . . Hereupon Martha fell into a passion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and bitterly crying out with a mournful, shrill voice, "I looked for judgment and behold a cry" . . . which entered and pierced J. Nayler, so that it smote him down unto so much sorrow and sadness that he was much dejected in spirit or disconsolate. Fear and doubt then entered him, so that he came to be clouded in his understanding, bewildered, and at a loss in his judgment, and became estranged from his best friends, because they did not approve his conduct, insomuch that he began to give ear to the flattering praises of some whimsical people, which he ought to have abhorred and reproved them for. (William Sewel, 1725).

This account is taken from *An Impartial Relation*, written by George Whitehead (1716), who says that he had it from Nayler's own lips "as we were walking together in the field at Great Strickland

in Westmorland, 1657" [1659]. Another writer, of the Society of Friends, remarks, "Having lost his spirit of discernment he was in a situation to accept almost anything as truth, more especially that which was gratifying." (Joseph Gurney Bevan, *A Life of James Nayler*, 1800). A more recent author says that "it was doubtless the excitement of the work and his popularity as a preacher in London which turned the poor man's head and resulted in temporary insanity ;" and that his *long fasting* is "either sufficient to shew that he was insane at that time, or to account on the strength of physical causes alone for a temporary aberration of intellect." (Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life*, pages 349, 427). He is commonly spoken of as "The Mad Quaker." But was he really mad? Neither Fox nor Whitehead suggested any suspicion of his insanity. He himself subsequently described his condition as one of temptation and darkness, which came over him "through want of watchfulness and obedience to the Pure Eye of God and diligent minding of the Reproof of Life," and says, "Having in a great measure lost my own Guide, and Darkness being come upon me, I gave up myself wholly to be led by others. And in the time of my darkness and night of temptation (which darkness I had let up over my head and my judgment being lost) there got up many wild Spirits, *Ranters* and such like, acting many evil things against the Life and Truth and Name of Christ." (*To the Life of God in All*, 1659).

It is only by a large extension of the definition of "madness" that it can be attributed to him. The doctrine of immediate revelation is beset by the danger of mistaking natural impressions and impulses for the divine voice, and the temptation to presumption and fanaticism. And into this danger and temptation Nayler fell.

The level-headed and honest-hearted Fox discerned about this time that there was something wrong with him, and tells us, on leaving London for the West of England in the summer of 1656: "As I passed from him I cast my eyes upon him and a fear struck me concerning him." It was when Nayler was on his way to visit Fox in Launceston gaol that his spiritual aberrations became more marked. He was arrested at Exeter under the old Acts against vagrancy by Major Saunders, and placed in gaol, where he was visited by Martha Simmons, of whom we have heard before, and several others, men and women. One of them named Dorcas Erbury (widow of a minister in Wales, who had become a Seeker) knelt before him and kissed his feet; she also fell into a swoon, and Nayler cried over her "Tabitha, I say unto thee, Arise;" she revived and believed that he had raised her from the dead, as she testified before the Committee of Parliament. A letter was also found on him written by John Stranger, a comb maker, of London, containing the words, "Thy name shall be no longer James Nayler, but Jesus." About the same time similar letters were written to him; one by Hannah Stranger (the wife of the former) calling him "the fairest of ten thousand," "the only begotten Son of God," "the everlasting Sun of Righteousness;" another by Thomas Simmons calling him "the King of Israel," and so on. It is said that he usually sat in a chair, whilst women knelt before him, bowing and singing "Holy, Holy, Holy."

When released at Launceston Fox visited Nayler at Exeter, but "I saw," he says, "he was out and wrong; and so was his company. He slighted what I said, and was dark and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said since he had turned against the power of God I could

not receive his show of kindness. There was now a *wicked spirit* risen up among the Friends to war against." This is the last mention of Nayler in Fox's Journal.

Having been discharged from Exeter gaol by an order of Council (Oct. 2) he set out in company with six or seven men and women. They formed a little procession in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; passed through Glastonbury, Wells, and Chew Stoke, and at length came to Bristol. Nayler rode on a horse, led by a young man bareheaded, preceded by another young man, and followed by two men on horseback each with a woman riding behind him, whilst one or two women walked beside his stirrups; and as they moved forward, drenched with rain and wading through muddy roads "up to the knees," the women cast their scarfs and handkerchiefs in the way and cried "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Israel," or sang "with a buzzing, melodious noise," which the surrounding crowd could not understand. Nayler's admirers were infatuated enough to believe that he was really Christ, or a new incarnation of Christ, and deemed themselves "moved of the Lord" to pay him divine honour. And Nayler "suffered them," as George Whitehead says, "so to follow and expose him to make a fool and gazing-stock of him without reprehending them, which gave his adversaries and persecutors the chief advantage against him." (*Impartial Relation*). He was the chief actor in a public scene or "miracle play" which was abhorrent to sober Christians, tended to mislead the people, and to create a disturbance of the peace. He justified the honour given to him, indeed, as given not to himself as a creature, but to *Christ in him*, and long obstinately refused to condemn his companions or acknowledge his own fault; but he can

hardly be considered "insane," or undeserving of serious blame. He took the matter very seriously; and as others had in former days suffered death for personating Christ, so he was prepared for a similar fate. "There was never anything since I was born," he declared at the Bar of the House of Commons, "so much against my will and mind as this thing, to be set up as a sign on my going into these towns; for I knew that I should lay down my life for it." The Justices could not be expected to do other than take the matter also very seriously. They had been much troubled by the conduct of Ranters and Quakers (whom they did not clearly distinguish), were horrified at what was reported to them, and sent for Nayler and his company; who on arriving at the High Cross were arrested, and went to the Court singing as before. In ordinary cases of public disturbance it would have been deemed sufficient to confine them in gaol for a while, but on examination their words and actions appeared so extravagant that the Justices thought proper to give information thereof to the Parliament, and they were ordered to send the offenders to London.

5. The Parliament before which Nayler was *tried* was the second Protectorate Parliament, which met September 16, 1656. It consisted nominally of 400 members, but only about 300 ever took their seats; and there was no Upper House. A Committee of 55 was appointed (October 31) "to consider the information touching the great misdemeanours and blasphemies of James Nayler and others at Bristol and elsewhere, and to examine the truth thereof; and to report the matter of fact, together with their opinion therein." Nayler and his companions were accordingly examined before the Committee on three successive days, with the result that the facts above stated were proved beyond dispute. Nayler

said finally, "I do abhor that any of that honour which is due to God should be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the Righteous One, and what hath been done in my passing through the towns, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer such things to be done to the outward as a sign." But the Committee was not disposed to heed this explanation, or the motives by which he said he was actuated. They had the facts before them. His own bearing was not adapted to conciliate their respect. They took the matter as seriously as himself; and they deemed it needful to make an example of him, to prevent similar extravagances. They agreed to report: "That he assumed the gesture, words, honour, worship, and miracles of our blessed Saviour; and His names, incommunicable attributes and titles."*

This Report was presented before the Parliament by Mr. Bamfield, M.P. for Exeter, on Friday, December 5, and the debate which ensued thereon occupied so much of its time and attention that it has been not inappropriately called by Carlyle "the James Nayler's Parliament." It was the first and only occasion on which a Protectorate Parliament interfered with the Quakers or those whom they deemed such; and it was not long before most of its members found out their mistake therein. On hearing the Report the members sat in silent horror. Then old Major-General Skippon rose to his feet, and gave his counsel. "It is come to your doors," said he, "this outrageous conduct of Ranters, Quakers, and others. I have often been troubled in my thoughts about the issue of Liberty of Conscience [given by the Instrument of Government, Dec. 16, 1653]. Their great growth and

* *State Trials*, vol. v.; *Burton's Parliamentary Diary*, vol. i.; *Carlyle's Cromwell*.

increase is too notorious. Their principles strike at the ministry and magistracy. Shall we not vindicate the honour of God? Shall we suffer our Lord Jesus thus to be abused and trampled upon? I am of opinion that it is *horrid blasphemy*, and ought to be punished as such." Other members followed in the same strain. They could not find words strong enough to express their detestation of Nayler and his company. Almost the first word of moderation and compassion came from Major-General Lambert, member for Yorkshire.

It is matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness also to mine, especially in regard to his relation to me. He was two years my quartermaster, and a very useful person. We parted with him with great regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation, a member of a very sweet society of an Independent church. How he comes (by pride or otherwise) to be puffed up to this opinion I cannot determine. But this may be a warning to us all, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

The debate went on till almost four in the afternoon; and early next morning (Saturday) it was resumed. How shall we proceed against him? By what law? "However others look upon Nayler," said Capt. Baynes, member for Leeds, "I look upon him as a man, an Englishman. I would have him so tried as to bring in a bill of attainder against him, or leave him to the law. Let him be called to the Bar." On being brought accordingly Nayler refused to kneel, or put off his hat. The House did not insist upon his kneeling, but commanded the serjeant to take his hat off. He was questioned, and answered to the same effect as he had done before the Committee. "I am of opinion with Nayler in one thing," said Major-Gen. Goffe, "that he is set up as a sign. He has fulfilled a Scripture that false Christs should arise; Lo! here, lo! there is Christ, but do not believe them." And it was resolved: To agree with the Committee in the Report, and to adjourn the debate till Monday.

On the resumption of the debate (Monday morning, Dec. 8) one member said, "Seeing Nayler *must die*, I desire what manner of death it must be;" but Sir Wm. Strickland, a Yorkshire member, replied, "Do not go to the punishment, but go to the matter of fact." What is his offence? Is it blasphemy? "If we judge by Christian rule," suggested one, "the other persons are more guilty of blasphemy in that sense than he." "My motion," said another, "is to vote this offence horrid blasphemy;" and another, "He is under a sad delusion of the devil, but to say he is a blasphemer I cannot agree." "I wonder," said Lord President Lawrence, "why any one should be so amazed at his saying that *Christ is in him*. Is not God in every horse, in every stone, in every creature? Your Familists* affirm that they are Christed in Christ, and Godded in God. If you hang every man that says *Christ is in you the hope of glory* you will hang a good many. I do not believe that James Nayler thinks himself to be the only Christ; but that Christ is in him in the highest measure. This I confess is sad. But if from hence you go about to adjudge it or call it blasphemy, I am not satisfied." The debate was adjourned till three o'clock, and it was resolved that candles should be called for in order to its continuance. "What sticks most with me," said Col. Sydenham, one of His Highness' Council, "is the nearness of this opinion to that which is a glorious truth, that the Spirit is personally in us." "Consider," cried Col. Holland, member for Lancashire, "the state of this nation, what the price of our blood is. Liberty of conscience, the Instrument gives it us. We remember how many Christians were formerly martyred under the

* Or "Family of Love," founded by Henry Nicholas, of Munster, 1502-1570 (*Barclay-Ducor Life, &c.*).

notion of blasphemy ; and who can define what it is ? I am wholly against the question." Nevertheless it was ultimately resolved : "That James Nayler upon the whole matter, in fact, is guilty of horrid blasphemy ; and is a grand impostor and a great seducer of the people."

On the following morning (Tuesday, Dec. 9) commenced the debate on the punishment that should be inflicted upon him, and it continued from day to day for more than a week. Some fifty members spoke, but it is impossible to follow them in their "divinity lectures," aimless digressions and diverse opinions ; for they were (as one of themselves observed) "like the Tartars, who fight flying and come to no fixed point whereon to ground a debate." "It is against the Instrument of Government," said Lord Strickland, "to proceed to further punishment upon this business." "Nayler prophesied of his death," said Capt. Baynes, "let us make him a liar by saving his life." "It is the strain of the Gospel all along," said Major-Gen. Packer, "to use meekness and moderation. It matters not what people say, so we do our duty ; give every man a free exercise of his conscience. The Spanish Inquisition may rise up in judgment against us. Tares may turn to wheat, he may be converted ; let us not cast him into hell." "If you have a law," said Col. Hewitson, "I desire you will put it in execution. If you have no law the Scripture tells you there is no transgression." "God has made a law against blasphemy," exclaimed Major-Gen. Whalley, "and what are we poor worms going about to repeal that law ?" "If," said Mr. Ashe, "you adhere to your former vote that he is a horrid blasphemer you cannot go to less than the punishment by death. It is death by the common law ; and although there was no statute against it till

2 Henry IV. (*De heretico comburendo*) the law is the same." "I should be sorry," said Secretary Thurloe, "to see those old laws against heretics put in execution now. I know no law in force at this day against blasphemy; unless it be that of the old Parliament." [Ordinances in 1648 and 1650]. "Make a speedy law, then, against blasphemers," said Mr. Bamfield, "and you may soon overtake him by it; and in the meantime keep him close prisoner." At length, on Tuesday, Dec. 16, it was decided that Nayler should not be put to death, by a majority of 96 to 82.

What shall be done to him? Let his tongue be bored through. "You had better take his life," said the Lord President, "that tongue may afterwards praise the Lord." Cut off his long hair. Brand him. Whip him. Let him be pilloried. Let his Bridewell be at York, whence he came. "Yes," said Mr. Highland, member for Southwark, "those that come out of the North are the greatest pests of the nation." "I hope," said Mr. Robinson of York, "that gentleman does not mean us." "We are all weary of him," said Mr. Bamfield, who brought up the Committee's Report, "he came from the North. It verifies the proverb *ab aquilone nil boni*. I hope it will be a warning to them never more to send such cattle among us." It was at last resolved: That he be (1) set in the pillory at the New Palace, Westminster, for two hours on Thursday next, and thence whipped over every kennel as far as the Old Exchange; (2) pilloried at the Old Exchange on Saturday next, his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and stigmatised on the forehead with the letter B; (3) afterwards sent to Bristol and conveyed through the city on a horse bareridged, with his face back, and publicly whipped; and finally (4) committed to

prison in Bridewell, London, and kept to hard labour till released by Parliament.

This sentence was horribly cruel and altogether disproportionate to the offence. But it must be remembered in mitigation of our severe condemnation of the Parliament by which it was passed, that they had not the advantage of viewing the whole matter in the same light as ourselves; that they reflected the prevalent dislike of sober Puritanism to wild excesses and an improper use of liberty; that they had mistaken notions of the application of the law of the Jewish theocracy to modern government, and of the proper relation of the civil magistrate to religious opinion and practice; that the milder methods of punishing offenders of all kinds with which we are familiar were almost unknown in those days; that many members of the Parliament were opposed to the sentence, and pleaded for the simple confinement of the offender and even his release; and, finally, that although many persons, like Cromwell, were in favour of the utmost religious liberty consistent with the stability of the government and the peace of the country, the nation as a whole was not yet ripe for the complete toleration that afterwards became possible and has since proved so beneficial.

The next morning at 10 o'clock (Wednesday, Dec. 17) Nayler was called to the Bar, and addressed by the Speaker of the House, Sir Thomas Widdrington, as follows: "Now ten or eleven days have been spent in debating your crimes, which are heinous. You have troubled the counties up and down, and now you have troubled the Parliament. Yet in your sentence mercy is mixed with judgment. It is a sentence, not of death. They desire your reformation rather than your destruction." Nayler said he did not know his offence; but the Speaker

replied that he should know his offence by his punishment; and forthwith proceeded to pronounce the sentence; on hearing which Nayler further said, "He that hath prepared the body will enable me to suffer; I pray that He may not lay these things to your charge."

Certain petitions of ministers, magistrates and others in several counties were presented, complaining of the growth of the Quakers, and praying that more stringent measures might be taken against them, and after some debate they were referred to Nayler's Committee. To the same Committee, also, it was referred to propound the punishment of the "three women and the man" who had partaken in Nayler's offence, but these appear to have been soon afterwards discharged.

6. Of the manner in which the *punishment* of Nayler was inflicted and endured some account must be given. On Thursday, Dec. 18, he was set in the pillory at Westminster, surrounded by a multitude of people, among whom Richard Rich, a London merchant and well-known Ranter, went singing and shouting, until his brother, a Councillor, caused him to be taken away. Nayler was then tied to a cart and whipped along the streets, receiving on his bare back 310 stripes. "The hangman told the Sheriff that he was to have had one stripe more, for there were 311 kennels, but his foot slipping, it fell on his own hand and cut him much." There are contradictory accounts of the physical effects of his punishment; but his sufferings must have been severe, and they were endured with extraordinary fortitude and patience.

The second part of his sentence was to have been carried out on the following Saturday (Dec. 20); but on the morning of that day a petition

was presented to Parliament praying for a suspension thereof on account of his exhausted condition, and it was resolved to suspend it for a week. It was also resolved to send five divines: Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, Dr. Reynolds (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), and Mr. Griffith, to confer with him and endeavour to bring him to the acknowledgment of his offence. On Tuesday a petition of "divers peaceable and well affected persons in and about the City of London" was presented at the Bar of the House stating that "their moderation and clemency in respiting his punishment had refreshed the hearts of many thousands," and praying them to "remit the remaining part of his sentence, and leave him to Gospel remedies as the proper way to reclaim." A debate followed thereon, but the House being weary of the business the Speaker rose without question. The visit of the five divines to Nayler in Newgate on Wednesday (Dec. 24) was fruitless. Petitions were then addressed to the Protector, and on Friday, 26th, came a Letter from his Highness stating:

Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler We, being entrusted with the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations, and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it, Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded. Given at Whitehall the 25th of December, 1656.

He doubtless disapproved of the course taken with Nayler. He was jealous of any infringement of the Liberty of Conscience assured by the Instrument of Government. And since the Parliament, as a Supreme Court of Judicature, had acted without him, which some "gentlemen of the long robe" thought unjustifiable, he felt bound to

seek an explanation of their procedure. "If you have done what you cannot justify," said Mr. Rouse, one of his Highness' Council, "you must be whipped for whipping James Nayler." "We assert our power," said the Lord Chief Justice, "and he asserts his; no doubt but in a fair way by a meeting this may be understood." "This," said Mr. Robinson, "is the most unfortunate business that ever came into this House. I was against it at first." "If," said Mr. Goodwin, "you be a Parliament you have judicatory power to pass this sentence. You ought to assert it, and not to admit any debate against it." "We should return this short answer," said another member, "We had power to do so. I doubt not you will satisfy my Lord Protector with it." So the debate went on the whole day. The next morning it was decided, by 113 to 59, that Nayler should not be further respited. But the business of his Highness' letter was not ended. Once and again the debate upon it was resumed until January 2nd; when we read "the business of the day was jostled out, and nobody said a word of it. I hear it will never be mentioned again; if it be I dread the consequence." We know not what answer was given to the letter, or whether Cromwell was satisfied therewith. But he did not consider it expedient to make the judgment an occasion of serious conflict with the Parliament; and it was now too late, even if he felt disposed, to save Nayler from his punishment.

On Saturday, Dec. 27, he was conveyed from Newgate to the pillory near the Old Exchange, and stood therein for two hours. The three women who had caused all the trouble, Martha Simmons, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury, came up to the platform and sat down beside him; and Rich, the Ranter, stepped up and placed over his head a paper with the inscription "This is the King of the

Jews." On being set free Nayler was bound with his back to the pillory, and the executioner asked him to put forth his tongue, which he did very willingly; then having hoodwinked his face and taken hold of his tongue, he took a red-hot iron about the size of a quill and bored a hole quite through the same; finally placing his left hand on his head and taking the red-hot iron letter B in his other hand he put it to his forehead, which gave a little flash. "He shrunk a little when the iron came upon his forehead," says the Diarist; "he was pale when he came out of the pillory, but high coloured after tongue boring. Being unbound he embraced the executioner and behaved handsomely and patiently. Rich, the mad merchant, sat bare at Nayler's feet all the time. Sometimes he sang and cried, kissed his hand, and sucked the fire out of his forehead," and led him by the hand from the pillory. "I am," said he, "*the dog that licked Lazarus his sores.*" Many thousands of people stood bareheaded and quiet, exhibiting no signs of antipathy towards the offender, who was taken back to Newgate.

But the sentence was not yet entirely fulfilled. Three weeks later (Jan. 16, 1656-7) he was conveyed to Bristol, made to ride through the city on a horse bareridged with his face backward; and then alighting he was whipped through the streets. The whipping this time, however, was little more than formal; for someone was suffered to hold back the executioner's hand so that his strokes fell lightly. While he passed along his old friend Rich rode bareheaded before him singing "Holy, Holy;" and no one interfered with him. After this Nayler was brought back to London and placed in Old Bridewell "to remain in custody without being visited or relieved of any; neither to have the use of pen, ink or paper, nor to be allowed anything

but what he gets by his own labour." At first he was silent and sullen, and would eat no food, or do anything to obtain it, but afterwards submitted patiently to his fate. Among the petitions presented on his behalf was one from his wife Ann (Feb. 24), who begged that he might have fire and candlelight, and that she might attend him with necessaries out of his own estate, but rather that he might be released (Barclay, *Inner Life*, p. 427); and the first part of her request was granted. On May 26, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one of his Highness' Council, said, "I move on behalf of that reckless person Nayler. If you care not for him so as to have a keeper he will die in your hands. His Highness has recommended it to us to move you in it." It was ordered that the governors of Bridewell should assign him a keeper, and permit a minister or ministers to attend him. This is the last order concerning him recorded as passed by the second Protectorate Parliament; which was dissolved by the Protector a few months after (Feb. 4, 1657-8). Cromwell himself did not long survive. In August, 1658, he sent a person to see Nayler; who, although told of the fact and pressed to say anything which he wished Cromwell acquainted with, remained perfectly silent and took no notice. A slight expression of his sorrow would probably have procured his immediate discharge. Early in the following month (Sept. 3) Cromwell was no more. Twelve months later, when the remnant of the Long Parliament had come back, Nayler was set at liberty, Sept. 8, 1659.

7. His *restoration* to a better frame of mind took place while he was in Bridewell. "The one bright spot of the whole dreary business is the fact that in the long hours of his solitary confinement Nayler recovered his spiritual sanity, and in

deepening contrition of soul retracted the claim to a kind of Messiahship which the extravagance of his followers had led him to set up." (*Dic. of National Biography*). The part of the sentence which required that he should not be allowed writing materials in prison was not strictly enforced, for he wrote there and even published several papers and pamphlets. In one of these he declared, "My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's Truth and People." In another, "To ascribe His Name, Power and Virtue to James Nayler (or to that which had a beginning and must return to dust), or for that to be exalted or worshipped, to me is great Idolatry." He also wrote, in one of the numerous pamphlets which he subsequently published, "Condemned for ever be all those false worships with which any have idolised my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above; all their casting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions which did in any way tend to dishonour the Lord." (1659).

On his release from Bridewell he repaired to George Fox at Reading, and was received back into his confidence. He then proceeded to Bristol, where, in a public meeting of the Friends, he made a full confession of his offence and was restored to their fellowship. He was also restored, under Fox's sanction, to his mission work, and went into various parts of the country, preaching as before. "He and I," says George Whitehead, "for some time lodged together at William Travers his house in Watling Street, London, about *anno* 1659 and 1660; and we had innocent, loving and comfortable conversation together, he being revived in the Lord's Power, and in measure restored to his ancient

testimony, and to bear the same publicly in divers parts of the nation, as the Lord enabled him both in his ministry and writings." He was with Whitehead in Westmorland in 1659 ; and again in London at the Restoration of Charles II., May 29, 1660.

In the autumn of this year he set out from London intending to return to his family at Wakefield. When he passed through Huntingdon he was noticed by one of the Friends as being in a very "exalted" state of mind. Having gone some distance further he appears to have sunk exhausted by the wayside, and was seized by footpads, robbed, and left bound in an adjoining field. He was found there by a rustic and taken to the house of a Friend at Soam, near King's Ripton, where he was visited by Thomas Parnell, a Quaker physician, and finished his earthly course. His remains were interred in the Friends' burial ground at King's Ripton, October 21, 1660.

To those who cared for him he said, "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls ;" and shortly before his death he is said to have expressed himself in the following language:

There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong ; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations ; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it ; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness ; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor doth it murmur at

grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal, holy life!

BRYAN DALE.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

IV

FROM the accession of Charles I. to the meeting of the Long Parliament was the Golden Age of despotism. So effective was the control of the press that it was not only dangerous, but almost impossible, to publish anything offensive to the heads of Church and State. As an illustration it may be mentioned that George Wither, who at this time was anything but a Puritan, was constrained in 1628 to print his poem "Britain's Remembrancer" with his own hands, having vainly striven for more than two years to get it licensed. This poem contains a remarkable prognostication of civil war as the probable outcome of the endeavours of one faction among the clergy to exalt the royal prerogative.

To this period, indeed, belong the original issues of several valuable works of the conforming "Doctrinal Puritans." But these, treating only of speculative and practical divinity, or of devotional topics, to the exclusion of matters ecclesiastical, are outside the purpose of this register. It may suffice to instance Thomas Adams, Robert Bolton, Nic. Byfield, Thomas Gataker, Arthur Hildersham, etc., etc.

It was early observed that the Puritan clergy were far more strongly attached to the high Calvinism defined by the Synod of Dort than were the Courtly party. It therefore seemed expedient, in the interest of the latter, to emphasize the Dordrechtian orthodoxy of the Established Church. To this consideration we probably owe:—

A joynt Allestation avowing that the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synode of Dort. 4to., 1626. In the Bodleian.

Suffragium Collegiale Theologorum Mag. Brit. de quinque Controversis Remonstrantium Articulis, Synodo Dordrechtanae Exhibitum. A° M.DC.XIX. *Judicio Synodico Praevium.* 4to., 106pp., 1626. Reprinted 1627, 1633, 1646. All the editions are in the Bodleian, and that of 1627 in the British Museum.

The Collegial Suffrage of the Divines of Great Britaine, Concerning the Five Articles controverted in the Low Countries, &c. Apparently a translation of the foregoing. 4to., 4-178pp., 1629. Copies in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries, &c.

It may be convenient here to note the most important publications of the period in defence of those ceremonies to which the Puritans objected, and on one or two kindred topics.

GILES WIDDOWES. *The Schysmatical Puritan, &c.* 8vo., 46pp., Oxford, 1630. Reprinted 1631; both editions in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Lawlesse, Kneelesse, Schismaticall Puritan. Or a Confutation of the Author of an Appendix concerning Bowing at the Name of Jesus. 4to., 2-90pp., Oxford, 1631. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and York Minster.

W. PAGE. *A Treatise of Justification of Bowing at the Name of Jesus, with an examination of such considerable reasons as are made by Mr. Priune in a reply to Mr. Widdowes concerning the same Argument.* 4to., Oxford, 1631. In the Bodleian.

J. BURGESS, D.D. *An Answer Reioyned To that much applauded Pamphlet of a Nameless Author, bearing this Title: viz. A Reply to Dr. Morton's Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies; the Innocency and Lawfulness whereof is againe in this Reioynder vindicated.* 4to., 30-75 654pp., 1631. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The Lawfulness of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Lords Supper. Wherein (by the way) also, Somewhat of the Crosse in Baptisme etc. 4to., 10-120pp., 1631. In; the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

FRAS. WHITE, Bp. of Ely. *A Treatise on the Sabbath Day.* 4to., 1635. In the Congregational Library, &c.

W. QUELCH. *Church Customs Vindicated: in two Sermons, &c.* 4to., 6-56pp., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

JOHN WILLIAMS, D.D., successively Bp. of Lincoln and Abp. of York. *A Coale from the Allar, or an answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of G. against the placing of the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, etc.* 4to., 4-18pp., 1636. Reprinted 1637; both editions in the Bodleian and British Museum; the second in the Congregational Library.

The Holy Table, Name & thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, then that of an Allar, &c. 4to., 4-234pp., 1637. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

P. HEYLYN. *A Briefe and Moderate Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Challenges of H. Burton.* 4to., 32-196pp., 1637. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Antidotum Lincolnense, or an Answer to a Book entituled The Holy Table, &c., 4to., 32-132-132-79pp., 1637. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

J. POCKLINGTON. *Sunday no Sabbath*. (Against the Puritanic idea as to the due observance of the Lord's Day). 4to., 2-46pp., 2nd. edn. 1636. In the Congregational Library.

Allare Christianum, or the dead Vicar's Plea. 4to., 8-196pp., 1637. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

JOS. MEDE, B.D. *The Name Allar, or Συνασθησιον, anciently given to the Holy Table*. 4to., 6-40pp., 1637. In the Bodleian. Reprinted with his *Diatrobe*, 1642; and in his collected *Works*, 1648. All the editions in the Congregational Library.

C. DOW. *Innovations unjustly charged upon the Present Church and State; or an Answer to the Most Materiall passages of a Libellous Pamphlet made by Mr. H. Burton, &c.* 4to., 12-214pp., 1637. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Examination of the following is desirable; as the title leaves it uncertain whether it is for or against the ceremonies.

The opinion, judgment, and determination of two divines of the Church of England concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus; the one Sometime a member of the University of Cambridge, the other Sometime of Oxford. 8vo., two editions, Hamborough 1632 and 1634; both in the Bodleian.

Mention should next be made of three official publications, which together constitute a Defiance of Puritanism on the part of Charles and Laud:—

- (i.) *Articles agreed vpon by the Archbbs. and Bps. of both Provinces and the whole Clergie in the Conuocation holden at London, 1562. for the avoiding of diuersities of opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, reprinted by his Maiesties Commandment: with his Royal Declaration, &c.* 4to., 29pp., 1630. This is the first issue with the "Declaration," which is still printed in the Book of Common Prayer, reaffirming "the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established; from which We will not endure any varying or departing in the least Degree." The original edition is in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.
- (ii.) *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to his Subiects, concerning Lawfull Sports to bee vsed*. 4to., 2-17pp., 1633. This is the reissue, with a new preface, of the notorious *Book of Sports*. Copies are in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.
- (iii.) *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, Treated vpon by the Archb. of Cant. and York,.....and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy,.....and agreed vpon with the Kings Majesties Licence in their severall synods begun at London and York, 1640.....and*

now published for the due observance of them, by his Majesties Authority under the Great Seal. 4to., 2-10-42pp., 1640. These are the irregularly enacted Canons which imposed the "et cetera oath," and required all ministers periodically to preach non-resistance and the Divine Right of Kings. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The following are more or less connected with the Exiled Church in Holland.

JOHN CAN, or CANNE, was the successor, after an interval, of Ainsworth. Subsequently he became a Baptist; and, returning to England, had a part in the organizing of Broadmead Church, Bristol. His principal works are:

The Way to Peace; or good Counsel for it. Preached upon the 15th Day of the 2d Moneth, 1632, at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences. 12mo., 1632. Hanbury quotes from this, but neither he nor Dexter appears to have seen an original copy, or to know where one may be found.

A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, prooved by the Nonconformists principles, specially opposed unto Dr. Ames his Fresh SuitAlso Mr. Laiton, Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Bradshaw are here answered, wherein they have written against us, &c. 4to., 264pp., 1634. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. Reprinted 1849 by the Hanserd Knollys Society. (For Laiton, i.e., Leighton, see below; Dayrel had written *A Treatise of the Church.....against them of the Separation, Commonly called Brownists, &c.* 4to., 266pp., 1617.)

A Slay Against Straying, &c. Printed at Amstersdam, 1639: is quoted by some of Canne's antagonists. The only known copy is in the University Library, Cambridge.

The Informer: or a Treatise to shew what Authority and Government is lawfull and true according to the Scriptures... Also, Here is added a briefe discription of the true visible Church of Christ. 16mo., 40pp., no pl., 1641. Copies at Trinity College, Camb., and in Dr. Dexter's collection.

Syon's Prerogative Royal; or a Treatise tending to proove that every particular congregation hath from Christ absolute and entire power, etc....., and is an independent body, etc. 12mo., 64pp., Amsterdam, 1641. In the British Museum.

The rest of Canne's works were published after he became a Baptist. They include:—

The Snare is Broken; wherein is proved by Scripture, Law, and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was unlawfully given and taken. 4to., 1649. In the British Museum.

A Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers. 4to., 8-39pp., 1653.
Truth with Time; or Certain Reasons proving that none of the Seven last Plagues are yet poured out. 4to., 14-102pp., 1656.

The Time of the End. 12mo., 32-276pp., 1657.

The Time of Finding, shewing when the Lord will be found, and by whom. 12mo., 18-296pp., 1658.

A Seasonable Word to the Parliament Men. 4to., 2-6pp., 1659.

The last five were written after Canne had become a Fifth Monarchy man. They are all in the Congregational Library.

Brook also mentions the following among his works :—*Two Sets of Notes*, accompanying editions of the Bible printed at Amsterdam in 1647 and 1654, (a reprint of the latter, 12mo., 1682, is in the Rylands Library, Manchester); and another earlier and briefer set not identified: *A Query to William Prynne*, printed with *An Indictment against Tythes*, by John Osborne, 1659; *A Twofold Shaking of the Earth*; and *The Churches Plea*. About these I have no information.

[*The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament*, published under the name of John Canne in 1659, is a satirical fabrication by Samuel Butler, author of *Hudibras*. It is in the Rylands Library, Manchester.]

WILLIAM BEST, apparently a member of the Exiled Church, was evidently the editor, and probably the author, of

A Iust Complaint Against an Vnjust Doer; wherein Is declared the miserable slaverie and bondage that the English Church of Amsterdam is now in, by reason of the Tyrannicall Government and Corrupt doctrine, of Mr. Iohn Pagett, their present Minister. 12mo., 24pp., 1634. This pamphlet was the occasion of Davenport's *Protestation*. (See *Transactions*, No. III., p. 183). Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Best avowed the authorship of *The Churches Plea for her Right, or a Reply to an Answer made of Mr. Iohn Paget, Against W.B. and others, wherein the maine points of our present differences are handled: And the principall causes of our troubles declared.* 4to., 8-100pp., 1635. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Queens' Colledge, Cambridge.

JOHN PAGET, already noticed as an antagonist of Ainsworth (see *Transactions*, No. II., p. 110), replied to these and other writings favourable to Congregationalism in

An Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best, and of such others as have subscribed thereto. Also an Answer to Mr. J. Davenport, touching his report of some passages, etc. 4to., 156pp., 1635. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Libraries.

A Defence of Church Government exercised in Presbyteriall, Classicall, and Synodall Assemblies, according to the practice of the Reformed Churches. 4to., 32-256pp., 1641. Copies in the British Museum and Congregational Library.

To the same author belongs a posthumous work, *Meditations of Death*, 24mo., 12-432pp., Dort, 1639. In the Congregational Library.

This appears to be a convenient place for noting a small group of treatises of historical importance.

ED. SANDYS. *Europæ Speculum, or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World, etc.* 4to., 12-248pp., Hagæ-Comitis, 1629. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and York Minster.

[An incomplete edition, entitled *A Relation of the State of Religion*, had been surreptitiously printed in 1605, 4to., 182pp., n. pl. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.]

There were reprints in 1632, 1637, 1638, 1673, 1687; and an edition in Italian, 1625, is in the Bodleian. The Congregational Library has the edition of 1637.

J. WHITE, (of Dorchester). *The Planters Plea. Or the Grounds of Plantations Examined, and vsual Objections answered. Together with a Manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in Nevv-England.* 4to., 88pp., 1630. The only known copy is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Partly reprinted in A. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 1846.

T. MORTON. *New English Canaan, or New Canaan. Containing an Abstract of New England. Composed in Three Bookes..... Written by T. M. of Cliffords Inn, Gent., upon ten Years knowledge and experiment of the countrey.* 4to., 1632. I find no account of an original copy. A reprint, 4to., 188-4pp., Amsterdam, 1677, is in the Bodleian. Another reprint is in vol. 2 of P. Force's *Tracts relating to the Colonies in North America*; Washington, 1838.

E. PAGITT, a Presbyterian Royalist. *Christianographie, or the Description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the World not subject to the Pope, with their Vnitie, etc.* 4to., 24-156-72pp., 1635. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. An enlarged edition, 4to., 210-88-115pp., 1636, is in the British Museum; and a third edition, folio, 1640, in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Herestography; or a description of the Herelicks and Sectaries of these latter times. 4to., 24-131pp., 1645, in the Bodleian and British Museum; second edition, 4to., 22-160pp., 1645, in the British Museum; reprint, 1646, at Queens' College, Cambridge; third edition, 4to., 14-167pp., 1647, in the British Museum; fourth edition, 4to., 18-170pp., 1647, in the Bodleian and British Museum; reprint, 1648, in the Bodleian; fifth edition, 4to., 18-150-8pp., 1654, in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries; sixth edition, 16mo., 28-287pp., 1661, in the British Museum and Congregational Library; seventh edition, 8vo., 1662, in the Bodleian.

The Mysticall Wolfe; set forth in a Sermon, etc. 4to., 4-39pp., 1645. In the British Museum.

Brook also assigns to Pagitt *A Treatise of the Ancient Christians in Britany*; 1640. Of this I have no knowledge.

We now come to the memorable group of Puritan confessors who alone dared to controvert the pretensions of a dominant ecclesiasticism; and whose atrocious punishment by the High Commission did more than anything else to embitter the strife which it failed to avert, and to bring vengeance on the head of Laud as its chief instigator.

ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University, and father of the amiable Robert Leighton, Abp. of Glasgow.

An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sions Plea against the Prelacie. Printed in the year and month wherein Rochell was lost. 4to., 16-344pp., 1628; in the British Museum and Williams's Library. For writing this book Leighton was whipped, branded, mutilated, and imprisoned for eleven years! After his release he wrote

An Epitome, or Brief Discovery, from the Beginning to the Ending, of the many and great Troubles that Dr. Leighton suffered in his Body, Estate, and Family, for the Space of Twelve Years and upwards: etc. 4to., 93pp., 1646.

In this *Epitome* Leighton mentions an earlier book, *The Looking-glass of Holy War*, for which he had received punishment, apparently about 1624. Of this I can learn nothing further.

JOHN BASTWICK, M.D., was a Presbyterian. He wrote *Elenchus Religionis Papisticae*. 12mo., 8-259pp. 2nd edn., 1627, is in the Congregational Library.

Πραξεις των ἐπισκοπων: sive Apologeticus ad Praesules Anglicanos criminum Ecclesiasticorum in Curia celsae Commissionis, Quaesitores. 16mo., 10-222pp., 1636. For this book, commonly called *The Practice of Prelates*, Bastwick was pilloried, ear-cropped, branded, and imprisoned for more than three years. Copies are in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

The Letany of John Bastwick; in which there is an universall challenge to prove the parity of Ministers, that the Bishops are neither Christs nor the Apostles Successors, etc. 4to., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum, and reprinted in Somer's Collection of Tracts.

The Confession of the Faithfull Winesse of Christ, Mr. J. B., wherein he doth declare his education, and the grounds of his conversion, and constancie, etc. 4to., 1641. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

Independencie not Gods Ordinance; or a Treatise Concerning Church Government, etc. 4to., 2-168pp., 1645; in the British Museum. There is a *Second Part*, 4to., same year, likewise in the British Museum; also an enlarged edition, entitled

The Utter Routing of the Whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the Totall overthrow of their Hierarchy that New Babel,

more groundless than that of the Prelates. Or Independency not Gods Ordinance, etc. 4to., 130-662pp., 1646. In the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The Church of England a true Church, proved in a disputation held by J.B. against Mr. W. Montague in the Tower, etc. 4to., 1645. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

A Just defence of J.B. against the Calumnies of John Lilburn. 4to., 1645.

The Storming of the Anabaptists garisons, with a brief Discovery of the weaknesse of the same. 4to., 1647. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

HENRY BURTON, Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, first comes before us as a Conformist, with high-flying notions about the Divine Right of Tithes, and kindred matters; but he gradually developed into an Independent of a pronounced type, and is honoured as the founder of the ancient Congregational church in Stepney. Of his numerous works the following are most noteworthy:—

A Censure of Simonie; Or, A most important Case of Conscience, concerning Simonie, briefly discussed. 4to., 134pp., 1624. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

A Plea to an Appeal. 4to., 24-93pp., 1626. In the Congregational and Williams's Libraries.

The Baiting of the Popes Bull. Or an unmasking of the Mystery of iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Breve or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, etc. 4to., 52-96pp., 1627. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries, etc.

Israel's Fast; Or A Meditation upon the Seventh Chapter of Joshua, A fair Precedent for these Times. 4to., 38pp., 1628. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

A Trial of Private Devotions: Or A Dial for the Hours of Prayer. By H.B., Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street.—Matt. vi. 7. 4to., 93pp., 1628. This appears to have been a severe criticism on Bp. Cossin's *Private Devotions*, a manual adapted from the *Hours* in the Sarum Breviary. Extracts are given by Hanbury.

The Pouring out of the Seven Vials. 1628. This was suppressed.

Truth's Triumph over Trent: Or, the Great Gulf between Sion and Babylon. 4to., 373pp., 1629. A polemic against the Church of Rome, written several years earlier. In the Congregational Library, etc.

Babel no Bethel; That is, The Church of Rome no true Visible Church of Christ. 4to., 1629. This I know only by the title; a copy once in the Congregational Library is missing.

A Reply of H. Burton, defending what he hath set down in his Sixt Viall concerning Doctor Jackson, etc. 4to., 1629.

Exceptions against a passage in Dr. Jacksons Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. ? 1630.

The Law and the Gospel Reconciled, Against the Antinomians. 4to., 70pp., 1631.

The Christians Bulwarke Against Satans Battery; or The Doctrine of Justification. 4to., 10-373pp., 1632. In the Congregational Library. (This is *Truth's Triumph over Trent* reissued with a new title.)

The Grounds of Christian Religion. 1636. In the Rylands Library, Manchester.

For God and the King—the Summe of Two Sermons. 4to., 8-106pp. In the Congregational Library.

An Apology of an Appeale. Also an Epistle to the True-hearted Nobility. 4to., 6-32pp., 1636. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. [For this and the preceding Burton was pilloried, ear-cropped, and imprisoned.]

Laud having published *A Relation of the Conference between W.L. and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit*, Burton, soon after his release, issued

A Replie to A Relation of the Conference, etc.....by a Witness of Jesus Christ. 4to., 48-405pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

England's Bondage and Hopes of Deliverance. A Sermon preached before the Parliament. 4to., 1641.

Self-Denvall; A godly Sermon at S. Albans, Wood Street. 1641.

The Protestation Protested. 4to., 24pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

Jesu-Worship Confuted; or Certain Arguments against Bowing at the Name of Jesus. 4to., 2-6pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets. 4to., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

A Narrative of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton. 4to., 51pp., 1643. In Williams's Library.

Satisfaction for Mixt Communion Unsatisfactory. 4to., 2-14pp., 1643. In the Congregational Library.

A Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent. 4to., 4-74pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Libraries.

Parliament's Power in Laws for Religion. 4to., 18-95pp., 1645. In the Congregational Library.

Vindicia Veritatis; Truth Vindicated against Calumny. In a Briefe Answer to Dr. Bastwicks two late Books entituled Independency not Gods Ordinance, with the second part styled The Postscript, etc. 4to., 4-34pp., 1645. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

The Grand Impostor Unmasked. 4to., 20pp., 1645. In the Congregational Library. The publication of this tract is much to be regretted. It is an intensely bitter and spiteful review of the speech uttered by Laud immediately before his death; and must

have produced an effect altogether contrary to what was intended. *Truth Shut out of Door; or a brief Narrative of the... proceeding of some of Alderman-bury Parish, in shutting their Church-door against me.* By me, H.B. 4to., 8pp., 1645. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

Ed. Calamy having replied to this under the title *The Door of Truth opened; or narrative how H. Burton shut himself out, etc.* (4to., 2-18pp., 1645, in the British Museum and Bodleian), Burton rejoined with

Truth still Truth, though shut out of doores. 4to., 1646; in the British Museum and Williams's Library.

Conformities deformity. In a dialogue between Conformity and Conscience. 4to., 1-28-24pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Rylands Library, Manchester.

A Relation of Mr. Chillingworth is ascribed to Burton by Brook; but I can learn nothing of it.

WILLIAM PRYNNE, barrister, was a Presbyterian Royalist, and equally remarkable for his austere piety, his immense industry, his hatred of tyranny, and his devotion to constitutional precedent. His works, large and small, run to about 200 titles on a great variety of subjects; and the collection of them which he presented to the library of Lincoln's Inn was comprised in 40 volumes, folio and quarto. About 50 of his treatises are in the Congregational Library; but only a small part of them need noting in this place.

The Perpetuallie of a Regenerate Mans Estate. 4to., 40-41 11pp., 1626. In the Congregational Library.

Healthes; Sicknesse..... proving the Drinking and Pledging of Healthes to be Sinful. 4to., 32-86pp., 1628. In the Congregational Library.

Anti-Arminianism: The Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianism. 4to., 56-140pp.; bound up with it is *God no Impostor or Deceiver*; 4to., 34pp., 1629. In the British Museum and Bodleian. An enlarged edition, with an appendix *Against Bowing at the Name of Jesus*, together 4to., 54-280-11pp., 1630. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Giles Widdowes having replied to these tracts (see above), Prynne retorted with

Lame Giles his haultings: or a bricfe survey of Giles Widdowes his Confutation of an appendix concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus. Together with a short relation of the Popish Originall and Progresse of this Groundless novel ceremony. 4to., 1631; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragaedie. 4to., 34-1006-40pp., 1633. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. This is the book for which Prynne lost his ears.

A Breviate of the Prelates intolerable usurpations. 1635. No original copy known ; but reprinted, 4to., 325pp., 1637. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Williams's Libraries.

The Vnbishoping of Timothy and Titus..... proving Timothy to be no Bishop (much less any sole, or Diocaesan B.) of Ephesus, nor Titus of Crete. 4to., 4-176pp., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum. A reprint, 4to., 2-52-149pp., 1660, is in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

A Looking Glasse for all Lordly Prelates. 4to., 20-104pp., 1636 : in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

[?] *Newes from Ipswich, discovering certain Practices of some lordly Prelates.* 4to., 8pp., 1636. This was published under the pseudonym of M. WHITE, but is generally supposed to have been written by Prynne. A copy is in the Congregational Library.

A Quench Coale.....in what place of the Church or Chancell the Lord's Table ought to be situated. 4to., 78-358pp., 1637. In the British Museum and Bodleian. This was an answer to Bp. Williams's *Coale from the Altar* (see above).

A Catalogue of such testimonies in all ages as plainly evidence Bishops and Presbyters to be both one, jure Divino. 4to., 1637. Reprinted 1648 ; but I cannot learn where either is to be found.

Lord Bishops none of the Lords Bishops. 4to., 78pp., 1640 ; in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Libraries. (Reprinted 1648.) Annexed is *Good Counsel for the present state of England.* 12pp. The authorship of these tracts is doubtful ; Prynne does not acknowledge them ; and some authorities assign them to Bastwick.

The Antipathic of the English Lordly Prelacie, Both to Regall Monarchy, and Civill Unity. 4to., 822pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Mount Orgueil : or Divine and Profitable Meditations. Raised from the Contemplation of.....¹Rocks, ²Seas, ³Gardens.....A Poem of the Soule's Complaint against the Body ; and Comfortable Cordialls against the Discomforts of Imprisonment, etc., are hereto annexed. 4to., 16-184-4-16pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library. This was written during his imprisonment in Mount Orgueil Castle, Jersey.

A Pleasant Purge for a Roman Catholic. 1641 or -2. I know nothing of this but the title.

A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, in their late Prosecutions of Mr. Wm. Pryn, an eminent lawyer ; Dr. John Bastwick, a learned Physitian ; and Mr. Henry Burton, a reverent Divine ; 4to., 48-228pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

A vindication of Psalm 105, 5 ver., from some false glosses. 4to., 8pp., 1642.

A Sovereign Antidote to determine our Unnatural Civil Wars. 4to., 23pp., 1642 or -3.

The Popish Royal Favourite. 4to., 8-76pp., 1643.

Rome's Masterpiece. 4to., 2-36-2pp., 1643.

The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes; Divided into Fovre Parts, Together with An Appendix. 4to., very irregularly paged, but in all 632pp., in various registers. There is a sub-title, *The Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists to their Sovereigns in Doctrine and Practice.* 1643. This and the four preceding are in the Congregational Library.

Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government. 4to., 8pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

A Full Reply to certain briefe Observations and anti-Queries on M. Prynnes Twelve Questions, etc. 4to., 24pp., 1644. In the British Museum and the Bodleian.

A Breviate of the Life of W. Laud, etc., fol., 6-36pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational and other libraries.

The Falsities and Forgeries of the Anonymous author of a late Pamphlet, entituled, The Fallacies of Mr. W. Prynne; 4to., 8pp., 1644. In the British Museum, and at Yale College.

Truth Triumphant over Falshood, Antiquity over Novelty,.....in refutation of Mr. J. Goodwin's Innocencies Triumph, etc. 4to., 12-156pp., 1644; in the British Museum. Reprint 1645, in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Independency Examined, Vnmasked, Refuted by twelve New Particular Interrogatories. 4to., 12pp., 1644. Two editions the same year. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. There is also a reprint 1651.

A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandring-Blasing-Stars and Firebrands, stiling themselves New Lights, etc. 4to., 12-48-28pp., 1645; in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. An enlarged edition, 4to., 12-88pp., 1646, in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Hidden Workes of Darkenes brought to Publike Light. Or a Necessary Introduction to the History of the Archbishop of Canterburies Trall, etc. fol., 6-264pp., 1645; in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

Canterburies Doome; or the First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of Willian Laud, late Archb. of Canl. fol., 6-580pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

New Presbyterian Light Springing out of Independent Darkness. 4to., 12pp., 1647. In the Congregational Library, &c.

[*W. Prynne, his Defence of Stage Plays, or, a Retraction of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix.* 4to., 8pp., 1649.] In the Bodleian. This is a not very clever forgery—a mere lampoon, though several respectable writers have accepted it as genuine. It was reprinted in 1822 and 1868. A facsimile in the Congregational Library.

A Brief Apologie for all Non-subscribers and looking-glasse for all apostate perjured prescribers subscribers of the New Engagement. 4to., 2-14pp., 1650. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

A Gospel Plea for the Lawfulness and Continuance of the Ancient Settled Maintenance and Tenths of the Ministers of the Gospel. 4to., 28-155-2-168-4pp., 1653.

The Quakers unmasked. 2nd edn., 4to., 42pp., 1655.

A Short Demurrer to the Jews long discontinued Remitter into England. 4to., 10-105pp., 1656.

The Bounden Duty of Ministers to Administer the Sacrament to their Parishioners. 1656.

Re-Republicans and other Spurious Good Old Cause. 4to., 2-18pp., 1659.

A Seasonable Vindication of the Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of Christian Kings, Lords, Parliaments. 4to., 8-118pp., 1660.

A Short, Sober, Pacific Examination of some Exuberances in, and Ceremonial Appurtenances to, the Common Prayer. 4to., 10-136pp., 1661. The last seven are all in the Congregational Library.

A Moderate, Seasonable Apology for indulging just Christian Liberty to truly Tender Consciences, Conforming to the Publike Liturgy. In not bowing at, or to, the Name of Jesus, etc. 4to., 1662. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library.

With Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Prynne we naturally associate the proverbially disputatious JOHN LILBURNE, who was whipped for circulating some of their pamphlets. Only the earliest of his own effusions—most of which were political or personal—are antecedent to the meeting of the Long Parliament. The following call for notice:—

Come out of her, my People: or an Answer to the Questions of a Gentlewoman... about Hearing the Public Ministers... Also a Just Apology for the Way of Total Separation, commonly but falsely called Brownism. 4to., 35pp., 1639. I only know of this by the extracts in Hanbury.

A copie of a Letter to Mr. Prinne, Esq., upon the coming out of his last booke, intituled, Truth Triumphant. 4to., 1645; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Engagement vindicated and explained, etc. 4to., 1650. In the Bodleian.

The intimate relations which grew up between the English Puritans and the Church of Scotland demand that the following should be noted; they are all in the British Museum and the Bodleian:—

General Demands concerning the late Covenant; propounded by the Ministers and Professors of divinitie in Aberdene, to some Rev. brethren who came thither to recommend the late Covenant to them. 4to., 1638.

The Answeres of some brethren of the Ministerie to the replies of the

Professors at Aberdeen. 4to., 44pp., 1638. [By A. Henderson and D. Dickson.]

Duplyes of the Ministers and Professors of Aberdene to the second answeres of some reverend brethren concerning the late Covenant. 4to., 1638.

The following should be examined, as it seems only to be known by its title :—

A Guide unto Sion ; or certaine positions concerning a true visible church, etc. 8vo., 1639 ; an enlarged edition u.d. ; both in the Bodleian.

It is not always clear whether anonymous tracts dated 1640 were issued before or after the meeting of Long Parliament. The following, in any case, is best noticed here, from its relation to the *Unconstititional Canons* referred to above :—

Englands Complaint to Fesus Christ, against the Bbs. Canons, of the late Sinfull Synod, a seditious Conventicle, a Packe of Hypocrites, a sworn Confederacy, a Traitorous Conspiracie against the true Religion ; 4to., 50pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

ADDENDUM TO BIBLIOGRAPHY IN
TRANSACTIONS NO. 3.

P. 179, l. 28. *Abstract or [error for of] the Lawes of New England.* Rev. Dr. Brown of Bedford informs me that there is a copy in the British Museum ; and a MS. in the Duke of Bedford's library at Woburn Abbey is *supposed* to be the original.

King William III and the Nonconformists

The following letter was lately found, amongst a forgotten bundle of old papers, in the Congregational Library.

London 9th July 1692

Sr The Kinge before his last goinge beyond the Seas was pleased to direct that Inquirey should be made of the moneys formerly Levied on Dissenters by vertue of ye Penall Statuts made in that behalfe ; and the Lds Comitioners of the Tresury pursuant thereunto. havinge Considered and Debated the methods proposed for doing thereof. were pleased to approve of that proposed by Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin: and accordingly by there order of the 31th May last. appointed the said Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin to proceed forthwith in there discovery and recovery of the said monies. wherein they have aleready made a Considerable progresse in and about this City—and do desire the aid and assistance of all persons that have been Sufferers in this matter : and others that have aney knowlidge thereof. which they do not doubt of in y^e least but that all persons whatsoever that know aneything thereof will readily afford it : beinge a Service that will be acceptable to his mati. and probably a meanes to procure from his Mats. bounty a Considerable part thereof. upon recovery for the use of the poorer sort of the Sufferers ; his Majtie. having given ord^r that after the Compensacion to the prosecutr. the residue thereof when recovered shall be paid into the Privey Purse upon there Seasonable application to his Matie for the same. It is desired a list be taken of every person that hath paid or bin distreined for aney the said monies. and of the persons to whome the same were paid. and the yeare when. I know you are able to do good service therein : and therefore att Mr Bakers request I send to you to desire you to take such a List in maner aforesaid of all within your Neighbourhood and knowlidge : and what charge you are at in so doing will be remited from hence to you they not

King William III and the Nonconformists 267

desireing to put any Sufferer to aney charges in the least in making there discoverys : and for your readiness and trouble herein the said Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin will gratifie you out of ye same. Pray make ready a list as soon as posable and send it to them at there Chambers in Mr Kelleys buildings over against the East end of the Kings bench office in the Inner Temple. I am—Sr. y^r Lo. friend :

Joseph Boson.

Addressed "To Mr Mathew Stresley in Otrey Stt Marey nere Exon. these." Endorsed "Mr Bosons letter of Enquiry about ye Losses of those yt had been persecuted."

The Seal, (of which only a fragment remains), bore a Shield with much mantling; the charge looks like three arrows palewise, two and one.

This letter seems to imply ¹that some magistrates or other persons had not accounted for fines levied upon Dissenters, of which indeed there is otherwise abundant evidence; ²that they had withheld from informers the shares to which they were legally entitled; and ³that King William had an idea, after meeting the legal claims of these informers, of returning the balance to the victims of legal persecution. It would be interesting to know whether in any case this kindly project was realised.

Incipient Congregationalism in Halifax

The following letter, carefully transcribed from the original in the Congregational Library, relates to the origin of the Square Church, Halifax, (at first located in Chapel Fold), and the ordination of its first pastor.

Halifax June 3^d 1763

Dear Sir,

Since our comⁿ Friend Mr Armitage in his Return from Manchester signified to me y^e kind Intention of seeing us at Halifax, I have greatly longed for the intended Time, not doubting that such an Interview w^d answer sev^l valuable Ends to me —

I have not hitherto had the Happiness of a personal Acquaintance wth you, w^{ch} to have wth the dear Children of y^e Cov^t, is to me y^e highest Hon^r I wish in this World, & Part of Heaven possess below. My Heart is too cold, & too much unaffected wth y^e dear Redeemers Love, I therefore want to catch ye Flame, to get more heavenly seraphick Fire from my dear Brethren in y^e Lord. To talk wth y^e Angels of his Churches, to consult ab^t y^e Affairs of his Kingdom here below, is sweet & profitable, is a noble Work; may our Hearts be more and more delighted wth it & engaged in it! Our dear Lord accord^s to his gracious & eternal Purposes, hav^g raised up in Halifax a few Children to Abr^m from lifeless Stones to be to y^e Praise & Glory of y^e Redeemer, we seem to thirst for a full Enjoy^mt of those Privileges peculiar to God's People, in y^e religious Use of his Ordinances. We are already collected in a Body & have in some measure or manner formed a Church, as near to y^e Pattern given, as our Judgm^{ts} directed; of this I need not enlarge: but as I have not yet been set apart for ye great Work I am chosen to, (first I trust by God, & secondly) by y^e People, ye Cause we are engaged in necessarily starves; and amidst a World of Opposition from every Quarter, a Deficiency of this kind is not inconsiderable—Therefore together wth

a few of my Brethren whose Names are underwritten I desire you w^d hasten and fix y^e intended visit to Yorkshire ; and if y^e Fav^r can be granted, assist us in that Solemnity of my Ordination. Our dear and much hon^d Broth^r Edwards is ready to join wth you in y^e sacred Work ; and I am the rather encouraged to apply to you wth more Boldness, from y^e universal Report of y^e Christianlike disinterested Sp^t you are happily posses'd of. Thanks be to God for every Star. As I expect my dear Friends from Leedes will write to you on y^e same, I forbear to enlarge, & only beg to subscribe Myself y^r unworthy yet affectionate Brother in Xt.

Joseph Robertshaw
Jonas Ingham
Joshua Smith
George Hanson

TITUS KNIGHT
John Plats
John Bates
Stephen Rawson
Jonathⁿ Hodgson
William Smith
John Ackroyd

To Mr Warhirst

The Bourton Church-Covenant

Amongst a bundle of forgotten papers lately discovered in the Congregational Library is the original MS. of this interesting covenant. Though the church is Baptist by its traditions it is remarkable that the document makes no allusion to Baptist peculiarities. It was locally published in 1861 ; but the volume which contains it, *Pictures of the Past*, is scarce and difficult to procure. It seems desirable therefore to reproduce it direct from the original, with a few historical notes from material kindly furnished by the Rev. G. A. Ambrose, the present pastor.

Quite early in the seventeenth century Puritans were accustomed to meet for prayer and religious converse at a place called Slaughter, three or four miles from Bourton-on-the-Water. In 1750 an old man of Bourton named Reynolds reported that his grandfather, who was of a great age when he was a boy, used to tell that in his youth he was accustomed to take *his* grandmother to such a meeting. It does not appear that the attendants at this conventicle were Separatists ; but in 1655 there was a regularly constituted Baptist church at Bourton, which sent messengers to an Association meeting at Warwick. Seven churches were represented : Alcester, Bourton, Derby, Hook-Norton, Moreton-in-the Marsh, Tewkesbury, and Warwick ; and on 4th March, 1655, they drew up a distinctly Baptist Confession of Faith in 16 articles.

In 1660 Rev. Anthony Palmer, M.A., rector of Bourton, being ejected from his benefice, joined

the dissenting society ; and though not a Baptist became their pastor. He afterwards removed to London, probably about 1669 ; there he ministered for some years at Pinner's Hall, and died 26 July, 1678. Subsequently the Revs John Collett and Joshua Head became joint pastors at Bourton. The congregation was gathered from villages five or six miles round, and endured much persecution ; in which two local magistrates, Benjamin Hyett and Richard Parsons by name, distinguished themselves ignobly. Fines amounting in all to £190 17s. were levied on 33 of the members ; and of this total fifty pounds was paid, in 1685, by Edward Bulstrode Esqr., of Tewkesbury, on behalf of fourteen of the victims, including the two pastors. The Revolution brought relief ; and in 1701 a meeting-house was built, at a cost of something less than £90. Under circumstances of which no memorial remains the society divided. Mr. Head being pastor of the Baptists, and Mr. Collett of the Paedobaptists. The latter section, however, had ceased to have a separate existence before 1748. Mr. Head died in the year 1719 ; and the church was reorganised 30th January, 1720, when the following covenant was subscribed.

For twenty years after the date of this covenant the records of the church are incomplete. A Mr. Flower was pastor for some time, and there was a vacancy of several years' duration. At length the celebrated Benjamin Beddome was called to the pastorate. He was ordained 23 Sept., 1743, and ministered for the long period of 52 years, dying 3rd September, 1795, in the 79th year of his age. Since that time the church has had varying fortunes under several pastors. It is now in a flourishing condition, with several out-stations ; and has of late reverted to its ancient constitution by admitting Paedobaptists to membership.

The Covenant

We whose Names are underwritten, having been Members & much the Major Part of a Church or Seperate Congregation late under the Pastoral Care of the Revd Mr Joshua Head, decd., & still desirous to walk together in all the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, as much as may be, blameless, (seeing that Church, by reason of different apprehensions of some of the Brethren about the Choice of a Pastour, hath been, in the presence & by the Advice of some neighbouring ministers, peaceably dissolved,) do now freely & heartily give up ourselves afresh to God the Father and his Only Son our Lord and Lawgiver, & to one another according to His Will. And so becoming a new Church or Sacred Society incorporated by the Gospel Charter, do now in the presence of God and those that are here Witnesses of our Order unanimously agree in the Name & fear of Christ

John 15. 12 14

Rom: 13. 8

Ephes: 5. 2

1 Thes: 3. 12

1 Job: 4. 21

Jude: 3

Gal: 5. 1, 13

2 Tim: 1. 13

Rev: 2. 25

Phil: 2. 1-3

1 Cor: 1. 10

Ephes: 4. 8

2 Cor: 13. 11

2 John 10

1 Tim: 6. 3

Rev: 2. 14, 21

Gal: 6. 2

Heb: 13. 3

1 Cor: 12. 25

2 Tim: 1. 16

Ephes: 4. 2

Rom: 14. 13 &
15. 1

Col: 3. 12

1 Cor: 13. 4, 7

1st. That we will, to the utmost of our Power, walk together in One Body, & as near as may be with one mind, in all sweetness of Spirit & saint-like Love to each other, as highly becomes the Disciples of Christ.

2dly. That we will jointly contend & strive together for the Faith & Purity of the Gospel, the Truths of Jesus Christ. & the Order, Ordinances, Honour, Liberty, & Priviledges of this his Church against all Opposers

3dly. That we will with all Care, Diligence, & Conscience labour & study to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, both in the Church in general, and in particular between one another

4thly. That we will carefully avoid all Causes & Causers of Divisions as much as lyes in us, & shun those that are Seducers & false Preachers of Errours & Heresies

5thly. That we will sympathize & have a fellowfeeling (to our power) with one another in every Condition, & endeavour to bear each others Burthens, where we are joyfull or sorrowfull, tempted, or otherwise; that we may be mutual Helps to one another, & so answer the End of our near Relation

6thly. That we will forbear, & bear wth one anothers weaknesses & Infirmities, in much Pity, Tenderness, Meekness, & Patience, not daring to rip up the weakness of any to those without the Church; nor to those that are within, unless it be according to Christ's Rule & Gospel Order, endeavouring all we can for the glory of the

Gospel, and for the credit of this Church; willing to cover & hide one anothers Slips & common failings that are not sinful

7thly. That we will, as our God shall enable us, cleave fast to each other to the utmost of our power; & that if perilous Times should come, & a Time of Persecution (which God for our non-proficiency may justly send), we will not dare to go back from our holy profession, but will endeavour to strengthen one anothers hands, & encourage one another to Perseverance, let what will fall to our Lot

8thly. We do promise to keep the Secrets of our Church entire without divulging them to any that are not Members of this particular Body, tho' they may be otherwise near and dear to us; for we believe that the Church ought to be as a Garden enclosed & a fountain sealed.

9thly. Those of us that are or may be single persons do fully design never to enter into conjugal Bonds with any that are Unbelievers; for we believe it to be a sin to be unequally yoked, that it is contrary to the Rule of Christ, & the ready way to hinder our souls' peace, growth, & eternal welfare.

10thly. That we will communicate to one another of the good Things of this Life, as God hath or may prosper us, so far as our Ability will suffer, or any of our Necessities shall be thought to require.

11thly. That we will endeavour to watch over one anothers conversation for Good, not for each others halting; yet so as not by any means to suffer sin to rest in the bosom of our Brother, but to remove it by using all possible means to bring the person to repentance & Reformation of Life; & that we will endeavour to provoke one another to Holiness, Love, & good Works.

12thly. We do all purpose constantly to attend the Meetings appointed by the Church, both on the Lord's days & other Days; nothing hindering except Distance, Sickness, or the Works of Mercy & Necessity.

13th. That we will make Conscience of praying for one anothers Welfare at all times; but especially in Time of Distress, as Poverty, Sickness, Pain, Temptation, Desertion, or the like; & that we will pray for the Peace and Growth of the whole Church in general, & for our Ministers & the success of their ministry in an especial manner.

Signed at Bourton on the Water the 30th Day of January 17th₂₀

The Bourton Church-Covenant

The mark of Willm \wedge Arkull	Richard Straing
Thomas Blizard	John Rubee
James Roberts \times	Jonathan Turner
Andrew Paxford	Howard Fox
Rebekah Paxford	Mary Hunt (?)
Powis Collett	Mary Collett
Thos Bishop	Eliz. Hinman (?)
Samuel Fox	Denis + Ruby (?)
John Farmar	Jan Limbard (?)
Thomas Edgerton	Mary Hayward
James \Rightarrow Strang his mark	Ann \times Egerton
John Collett	Sarah Rawbone
Joseph Straing	Hanah Cook
	Eliz. C. Renolds
Anne Collett	Hannah Paxford
Ruth Collett	Ann Cooke
Ann Strainge	Elizabeth Farmar
Mary Beart	Elizabeth Rowe
Elizabeth Pinock	Mary Hathaway
Mary (Richins	William Fox
Mary [<i>illegible</i>]	Jane Collett
Mary Rafe	Elizabeth Charlob (?)
Thomas Collett	Ann Collett
John Reynolds	Ann Coombs (?)
Estar Haynes	Thomas Ellis
John Walker	Sarah Morris
John Mabbs (?)	John Fluck (?)
Mary Walker	Robert Fluck
Catherine Bishop	Elizabeth Wane
Sarah Farmar	Mary Humphris
) Elizabeth Blisard	[<i>illegible</i>] Love Collett
Joyce Collett	Ann Gibbs
John Charlwood	Ann Farmar
Aubery \times Moris	Samuell Fox
John Strainge	William Nickol
John Straing	Sarah Kite
Mary Roberts	Martha Bosner (?)
William Roberts	Sarah Preston
Henry Humphris	Sarah Ffox
Sarah Harris	Elizabeth Reynolds
Lawrance Dyer	
Sarah Straing	

[NOTE.—The Covenant is clearly written, but many of the signatures are very rude; some of them can only be guessed at. Of 34 men, 6 sign with marks; and of 47 women, 3 sign in like manner.]

Isaac Watts's Family Bible

FROM the will of Dr. Watts, (see Milner's *Life* pp. 729 *et seqq.*) it appears that—after numerous legacies—he bequeathed the residue of his library and other effects to the son and three daughters of his sister, Sarah Brackstone. Amongst these effects were two Bibles ; which, towards the end of the 18th century, were sold by auction in Southampton, together with a portrait of Dr. Watts and one of his father ; and were purchased by one T. Izod. The Bibles are now in the possession of Mr. Izod's great-granddaughter, Miss M. Izod, of Park View, Far Cotton, Northampton ; who has kindly furnished transcripts of the interesting genealogical and other matter which is written on their blank leaves. Some at least of this appears to be unpublished.

The more important of the volumes is a quarto Bible, "Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most excellent Majesty, 1614." It was solidly bound in oak boards, covered with leather ; and by Miss Izod's account was originally silver-mounted ; but the silver was torn off before the book came to auction, and has been clumsily replaced by sheet-brass or copper, which is stamped T. IZOD, 1794. Preceding the title page is the Book of Common Prayer ; also Speed's (?) Genealogies, and a Description of the Land of Canaan and the bordering countries, with a curious map.

On the fly-leaf is written, in two places,

"Isack Watts His Booke Which was Gave Him* By His Granfather Evan Culverden In the yeare of Our* lord God 1659"

Below is written, "William Stride, 1777."

On the other side of the fly-leaf, "Mrs Brackstone" ; and below three lines have been erased, not completely, but so as to be quite illegible.

On the first blank page of the Prayer-book is written,

"Isaac Watts, borne June the 6th 1650.

Mary Watts, borne July the 14th 1654."

On the next page, "Mrs Brackstone."

On the back of the title page of the Bible is written "Isaac and

* In the second inscription, *him*, and *our*.

Sarah Watts were married y^e 11th of September 1673, being Thursday.

Isaac the eldest son of Isaac Watts was borne Friday y^e 17th of July 1674 at 5 night.

Richard y^e second son of Isaac Watts was borne Thursday y^e 10th of February 1675 [? 167 $\frac{1}{2}$].

Enoch y^e third son of Isaac Watts was borne Monday y^e 11th of March 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Thomas the fourth son of Isaac Watts was borne Tuesday the 20th day of January 16 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Sarah the daughter of Isaac Watts was borne Munday the 31st October Ann. Dom. 1681. at 5 morn.

Mary y^e 2nd daughter of Isaac Watts was borne Saturday y^e 13th February 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ and was buried y^e 1st January 168 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Mary the 3rd daughter and 7th child of Isaac Watts was born Saturday the 10th of Aprill 1687 near 11 at night

Elizabeth the 4th daughter and 8th child of Isaac Watts was borne Thursday the 15th of August 1689 at $\frac{1}{2}$ ho^r past 9 att night "

The next entry is on a blank page opposite 1st. Genesis.

" In the year of our lord god 1660
upon y^e 10 day of May
Charles y^e Second now King
of England Scotland France and
Ireland was proclaimed in
Sonthampton.

The other volume is a pocket Bible. of which Miss Izod does not mention the date. On the first page is written " Isaac Watts, 1669" ; and on blank spaces the following metrical effusions :—

" Contemplations."

Here lyes unfolded in this booke Divine,
Gods love to man, free graces magazine ;
Here lyes unfolded in these sacred lines,
Free grace in Christ, that only mine of mines ;
Here lyes unfolded in each page alone,
Some spirituall food, for saints to feed upon ;
Here flows that fountain, that doth far excell,
Euphrates streams, or good old Jacobs well.
No Jordaus floods may be compared to this,
For these are waters, of eternal bliss :
Hence flow those streams, whose virtues passing rare
Admitt no equall, are beyond compare ;
From all distempers whatsoe'er they bec,
These christall streams, will sett y^e (sinner ?) free.
The whitest leprosy that e'er was seen,
By this sweet fountains stream, have cleansed been.
Here flows whatever may be calléd good,
For 'tis the fountain of our Saviours blood ;

More worth than all the pearls of Indias shore,
 Here's healing salve, for each believers sore ;
 Yea more than this, heres greater excellence,
 Dead souls are raised, by waters flowing thence.
 Christ's blood's the bath that cures each souls disease.
 Whence flow these streams, the precious promises.
 Where's food divine, where's everlasting pleasure,
 Where saints may taste, and eat and live for ever.
 What more than this can in a fountain flow ?
 What more than this can God or man bestow ?
 Yett more than this, yea more than men can tell,
 Is found in Christ, whom none can paralell ;
 For He's Immortall, how can man express.
 That is but mortal, everlastingness.
 His glory's far too bright for mortal eyes,
 His virtues, Heaven and earth cannot comprise,
 His excellences doe so far extend,
 No human retorick it can comprehend.

Acrostick Pettitions.

Eternal Founta | n, heavens triune Jehove ;
 Thou Compren S | ve, all containing good :
 Whose pleasant stre A | ms, are mercy, grace, and love,
 Surpassing wine, surp A | ssing angels food :
 Sweetly con C | rring in a sea of blood.

My heart with W | isdom o Jehova fill,
 Lett me part A | ke of thy Diviner treasure ;
 Teach mee arigh T | to chuse y^e good from ill,
 And lett mee T | ast the rivers of thy pleasure,
 That I may live to prai S | e thy name for ever.

Acrostick Pettitions.

I mortall God in persons three,
 S | weetly convey thy grace to mee,
 A | id mee with wisdom from above,
 A | nd compasse mee about with love,
 C | over my failings blest Jehove.

W | ash off my sins, make clean my heart,
 A | nd righteousness to me impart ;
 T | each me to understand aright
 T | hy sacred word, and with delight,
 S | hall I peruse it, day and night.

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