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Editorial

The Autumnal Meeting of our Society was held at Sheffield, in the library of the Victoria Hall, on 13th October, 1909. As usual the attendance was meagre. The Union Week is so crowded with engagements that it seems quite impossible to fix a time for our meeting when many—perhaps most—of our members are not otherwise occupied. A paper on *The Attercliffe Academy* had been prepared, in which several hands had collaborated. It was hoped that this would be read by the Rev. G. S. Smith, of Bradford; but in his unavoidable absence the task fell to the Secretary. Contrary to our usual custom this paper will not be printed in the *Transactions*; partly because so much of it as relates to Frankland and his pupils has already appeared in substance (*Trans.* ii. 422, iii. 21), and partly because we hope to embody most of the remainder in a continuation of the current series of papers on the *Early Nonconformist Academies*.

* *

We have read with much pleasure a handsome pamphlet by Dr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, of Hartley College, Southampton, on *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*. It is designed to further a movement for the erection of a monument at Southampton, near the quay from which the Mayflower set sail. Especial prominence is given to the connection of the Pilgrims with Southampton, of which town John Alden was a native. The whole narrative is remarkably concise, well written, and impartial; and the publishers would confer a boon on the community if they could reproduce it in a handier shape, at a low price, for circulation by tens of thousands among the young people of our Sunday schools, guilds, and similar societies.

* *

There has been unexpected delay in the issue of the Rev. B. Dale's long promised book on *Yorkshire Puritanism*; but we understand the sheets are in the hands of the binder, and publication may be expected at an early date.

* *

In *Trans.* ii. 353, 410, are important documents from the "Gould MSS." at the Baptist College, Regent's Park. We are glad to learn that some new facts have come to light bearing on these narratives; and that they are to be reproduced by the Baptist Historical Society with annotations embodying the recent discoveries. There

will also be given a paper from the same collection, in which are briefly set forth the considerations which led Henry Jessey to adopt the Baptist position. We heartily commend the work of the Baptist Historical Society; and hope that they and we may long flourish in cordial co-operation and friendly rivalry.

* *

The account in our present issue of Major-General Skippon's *Salve for Every Sore* is designed to be the first of several papers dealing with forgotten works of Puritan worthies. It is time that justice was done to the memory of such men as Hugh Peters, Samuel Chidley, and others; whose foresight was unappreciated by their contemporaries, and was therefore repaid with oblivion or contempt.

* *

Many churches have printed brief sketches of their history, nearly a hundred of which are enumerated in *Trans.* ii. 119, 337; and some others have since become known to us. We should be glad to receive any such accounts as have not hitherto come to our knowledge.

* *

We deeply regret to hear, just on the eve of going to press, of the sudden death of Dr. S. B. Atkinson, M.A., J.P. Others are better qualified to estimate his valuable services to the public as borough councillor, magistrate, and specialist in medical jurisprudence. We are particularly mindful of his careful research into the history of some of our older London churches, the fruits of which appear in several papers in our *Transactions*. We need workers who will follow in his footsteps.

A Militant Saint : Philip Skippon

“*Stout Skippon hath a wound.*”—Macaulay

THE name of Major-General Skippon is familiar to schoolboys in Macaulay's well known ballad. By their elders he is generally thought of as the sturdy Parliamentarian who assisted Cromwell in remodelling the army, and carried home honourable scars from Naseby field. Very few think of him as the author of a devotional manual, of a type more common indeed in the days of our great grandsires than to-day, but one of the best of its kind. Yet such is the fact; and we have much pleasure in introducing his *Salve for Every Sore* to the members of our Society.

The main facts of Skippon's life may first be concisely stated. He was the son of Luke Skippon, of West Lexham, Norfolk; but the exact year of his birth is unknown—it was probably a little before 1600. In 1622 he was in the Netherlands, where he married Maria Cowes, who died in 1655. He was admitted a freeman of the City of London in 1642; and was one of the most popular of the Parliamentary commanders. His military exploits are part of our national history, and need not be here recited. He was a member of both the Councils appointed by Cromwell, and represented Lyme in the Parliament of 1656, but his Parliamentary career was not distinguished. Late in life he married Katherine Philips, but the date is uncertain. He died in 1660.

We now revert to his devotional manual: the book is of great rarity, but a well preserved copy lies before us, a 12mo volume of 20 + 335 pages. The title, within an ornamental border measuring 5 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$, reads as on the page opposite.

On the leaf next to the title we read as follows:

"In extremitate maxima, Me juvit & juvabit Jehovah.
Lord by the help of thy most gracious Spirit
Which I crave, rest on, wait for through Christ's merit,
With heart, hand, tongue, in life to death I am
Spirituell for truth, to which I set my name.

Phillip Skippon.

Reader at adventure.

Hast thou a misconceit of this or me,
Suspend thy censure till that heard I be;
'Tis Conscience, Justice, Reason, Charity,
'Tis all I crave, you may it not deny.
Wherein I faile, I'll not myselfe excuse;
Guilty to cry where needs not, I refuse.
Where need requires, amend what is amisse,
Where it is well let it be as it is."

Next these Scriptures quoted at length; Dan. 10. 21, Job 5. 27.

"Therefore search the Scriptures whether these things be so. Job 5. 39, Acts 17. 11.

Can he be poore whose portion is
God's free and faithful Promises?
Much I have lost, and still may lose,
Farwell to all; These, these I choose.
Beyond Sea service me undid,
Because to shark conscience forbid.
I am not like (as 'tis) to gaine
Except my labour for my paine.
I then did trust, and still will make,
God's promises my surest stake:
His promised help I then did finde;
More of the same is still behind.
Can I be poore whose portion is
God's free and faithful promises?"

Two dedicatory prefaces follow:

(1) "To all Souldiers of reall honour and honesty of what degree soever, P.S. wisheth all grace and good now and alwayes.
Fellow Souldiers; take it not ill I give you no other Titles, I conceive customary complements, in such a case as this, to be

A S A L V E
FOR
EVERY SORE
OR,
A Collection of PROMISES
out of the whole Book of God,
and is

The Christian Centurions Infallible
ground of Confidence

or,

His poore Soules most assured comfortable
companion at all times, and in all things.

PSALME 94 19.

*In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy
comforts delight my Soule.*

PSALME, 119. 50.

*This is my comfort in my affliction ; for thy
word hath quickned me.*

And is for more breuity, and better portage a very
brief extract out of a much larger written Copy.

By PHILLIP SKIPPON.
Serjent Major Generall, &c.

MAT. 8. 6. *Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter
my rooffe.*

VERS. 7. *Wherefore neither thought I my selfe worthy to
come unto thee.*

COLOS. 3. 11. *Christ all in all.*

LONDON,

Printed by E. G. for Samul Enderby living in Popes-
head-Alley, at the signe of the Starre, 1643.

uncomly : out of my reall respect unto you I present you with this small Treatise, which cost me no small labour, let the wise and honest judge ; well, as it is, if you have a share among those that mourne in Zion, Isa. 61. 3. you will relish it ; howsoever, knowing there are many among you that understand the Language of Canaan, Isa. 19. 18. I desire all may be judiciously perused before any part be rashly censured : be not too curious or captious ; I am no Schollar, I desire to be a Christian, looke to the matter more than the handling ; be wise among yourselves, my soule wisheth you all well. I aime neither at thankes, commendations nor benefit. I sleight envy, scorne, and censure : I shall avoyde needlesse circumstances and apply myselfe to brevity, truth, and plainnesse. I desire to honour God, not to humour men ; if our poore soules get any good hereby, I have enough ; your good is intended, neglect it not, despise nothing because of my insufficiency ; if in judgement and sincerity any will informe mee, I promise thankfulnessse, and (by God's grace) amendment : for good received blesse God and pray for me, (unworthy). The Lord of hosts, the great Jehovah who is a man of War, our Chief Captaine, be intreated to governe, strengthen, preserve and prosper you all as mine own selfe, Amen."

(2) "To my wife and children. My most dearly beloved, for your and mine owne private use this Treatise was at first especially intended, and this is the best provision I can make for you : though outward comforts should fayle you, these will alwayes be most usefull to you, for Piety hath the promises 1 Tim. 4. 8. And Promises in your hearts are better than pearles in your chests : but I counsell, beseech, and charge upon every one of you most earnestly (as it most nearly concerns you, and the neglect whereof will the more condemne you) that as You love God, and your owne Soules, as you tender my affection, and will answer before the Judgement Seate of Christ 1 Tim. 6. 13. to remember, apply, and practise, to read, study, and observe what I by God's grace, with so much care and paines have thus collected for you ; endeavour to get and keep the Testimony of a good conscience in all things, Acts 24. 16. Sinne not against the light thereof willfully for any respect, 1 Sam. 15. 22, 23. Away with knowne sins whatsoever you doe, for those are most haynous, uncomfortable, dangerous, and (without repentance shewed by amendement) damnable, Num. 15. 30, 31. Deut. 19. 19, 20, 21. In well doing commend all to the Lord, Ps. 37. 3, 5, 7. And be content with his good pleasure, Heb. 13, 5, 6. Yea, trust him most in greatest extremity, Isa. 50. 20. As he is God he will send help in every need, Ps. 50. 15, & 9. 9, & 46. 1, & 142. 4, 5, & 72. 12. And goe all how it will, all

shall (through the Lords free mercy in Christ) goe well with you, Hos. 14. 4, Col. 3. 11, Ro. 8. 28, Eccl. 8. 12, Isa. 3. 10, Ps. 37. 37. For so run all the Promises through him unto you, 2 Cor. 1. 20, 1 Cor. 1. 30, 1 Tim. 4. 8, Peruse them I pray you.

Now I most humbly and unfaindly beseech the Lord God our heavenly Father, with his most holy Spirit, thoroughly to Sanctify every one of you, that you may walk with, call upon, and trust in him aright; and by his infinitely wise, Almighty, most merciful, faithfully promised, never fayling helpe to make every one of you every manner of way truly happy here and for evermore through our alone all-sufficient Saviour and perpetual intercessor, the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

The next section is entitled "A few helpfull Meditations concerning the use of the following Promises"; but it is for the most part a prayer, apparently designed as a pattern; for it continues without break

"Thus turning the words into a prayer will no doubt be found a most warrantable, comfortable, acceptable, and prevayling way of praying: and so I conceive, (witout a thought of giving offence, or any way limiting Christian liberty) one may take one chief head or more at a time, or such places as most especially concerne his especiall occasions, some one time and some another, and turne them into prayers; so speaking to God in his owne Language, in reverend, affectionate, distinct and earnest manner with a judicious believing heart will wonderfully direct, cherish, settle, and further us."

The "Meditations" conclude with these verses:

"And look what promise he doth make his household to defend,
For just and true they shall it take all times without an end,
God's Promise I doe mind and prayse, O Lord I stick to thee:
I doe not care at all assayes what flesh can do to me.

I glory in the Word of God; to praise it I accord
With joy I will declare abroad the promise of the Lord."

"Though heaven and earth and all should vanish quite,

Rely upon my mercy, truth, and might;

Not the least tittle of my word shall fayle thee,

But be fulfilled whatsoever may ayle thee;

Yea, I have said it and will doe it too,

Spight all in Earth or hell that dares say No.

Well, Lord, I trust thee on thy word, and it

Make good unto me as thou see'st most fit;

Thy promised grace and glory I implore,

It is enough, 'tis all, I'll have no more."

The prefatory matter ends with an Abridged Table of Contents of about four pages, and a crowded half-page of errata. Annexed to the Table of Contents is the following supplementary Index to passages scattered up and down the book :

- “Where readily to finde out such Promises as I conceive concerne Souldiers more especially.
1. That we shall have direction, sufficiency, and valour.
 2. If wee bee wounded or Captives.
 3. Against Perils in Generall, in particular of Fire, Water, Storms at Sea, or in and against any perilous employment of War.
 4. The Lord will give us advancement, and bless our warrantable proceedings and journeys.
 5. If we pray in any feare, or danger, or being prisoners, or hungry or thirsty, or if we pray for direction in our courses.
 6. To governing our affairs wisely ; to courage, diligence, and faithfulness.
 7. To avoyding evil company, adultery and all other uncleanness, injuring others, wrath, contention, lying, evil speaking, swearing, being among many other the common crying sinnes of our calling.”

We now come to the Treatise, which consists in the main of about 2,000 Scripture passages—more or less—given at length with references, and grouped under various headings. These headings, principal and subordinate, form an elaborate scheme whereby almost every condition and circumstance of life is fitted with a Scriptural promise, precept, warning, or encouragement. A few notes are interspersed. The limitations of available space forbid a *verbal reproduction* of the scheme, the *substance* of which we proceed to give in order :

- I. Twenty eight Undeniable Proofs of the Infallibility of the Promises (pp. 1-20).
 1. They are freely made by the Lord notwithstanding our unworthiness.
 2. They belong to us as well as to our forefathers.
 3. They are called one, and as easy to be performed as if one.

4. They were made before the world was, and God has never yet failed one word of his goodness.
 5. They are on record in Scripture . . . we have God's own hand for it.
 6. The Lord has bound himself by oath to fulfil his promises.
 7. He has enjoined his ambassadors to teach that he will be as good as his word.
 8. Christ employed his ministry to confirm the promises.
 9. We have the Death of the Testator to confirm the Testament.
 10. The graces of God's Spirit are an earnest of all promises.
 11. The Law cannot disannul the promises.
 12. The Lord has sealed his promises to us ^a In his counsel, ^b In his Son, ^c By his Spirit, ^d In the Sacraments.
 13. They are confirmed by the experience of past ages ; ten Scripture examples of promise and fulfilment.
 14. The patriarchs embraced them as the chief stay of their lives.
 15. The Lord who promiseth is the fountain of all goodness.
 16. He is willing to give the good he has promised.
 17. He is almighty, therefore able to perform.
 18. He is True and Faithful to his word.
 19. He is present in every place.
 20. He is most wise, therefore knows when, where, and how best to show us the truth of his word.
 21. He is omniscient, therefore knows all our needs.
 22. He is most holy, therefore cannot break his promise.
 23. He is just, and even a just man will fulfil his promise.
 24. He abhorreth and destroyeth the unjust : how can he be unjust.
 25. He "decreed, willeth, worketh all things for his own glory" ; but to fail of his word would dishonour him.
 26. He orders all things by his providence.
 27. He is unchangeable.
 28. He would not be God if he kept not his word.
- II. To whom the Promises in Christ doe assuredly belong, (pp. 21-43). Their characteristics :—
1. They examine themselves impartially by the rule of God's Law.
 2. They sincerely desire Him to reveal to them their misdeeds.
 3. They confess their sins with godly sorrow.
 4. They resolve to sin no more.
 5. They seek that all their ways may be ordered according to God's word (in about 20 particulars).
 6. They have respect to all God's commandments.
 7. They are troubled by nothing so much as by sin.

8. They rely only on the direction and power of God for the discharge of duty.
 9. They desire in prayer, and apply by faith, the free Grace of God in Jesus Christ.
- “This is that faith that purifieth the heart, that worketh by love, that is full of good works, that procures us peace, and that entitles us to the promises.”
- III. To whom the promises belong not ; viz., “All unregenerate men that live in their sins without repentance” (pp. 44-46).
 - IV. Divers necessary Rules for the right applying of the Promises (pp. 47-55a). “But for further help . . . I most earnestly commend Master Culverwell’s and Master Ball’s Treatises of Faith, also Master Byfield’s Treatise called The Promises, and Doctor Gouge’s Whole Armour of God. . . .”
 - V. “Now follow the Promises themselves, as fitly and orderly as I was able to digest them.
- (A) The first maine part, containing Generall promises to be applied upon any occasion, in case for the present we cannot remember the particular promises concerning our present necessities ; and this part hath these foure Branches,
1. Safety from Evil,
 2. Removal of Evil,
 3. Supply of all Good,
 4. A turning all to our Good.” (pp. 55b-58a.)
- (B) The second maine part, containing such Promises as assure us freedom ¹from the Pollution, ²from the punishment, ³from the power of sin.”
- I. From the Pollution of Sin ; as
 - ^a That we shall know, remember, be ashamed of, loath ourselves for, be confounded in ourselves from our sin.
 - ^b That we shall confesse our sinnes with diligence, and the sinnes of our fathers ; that we shall be humble and mourn and weep for our sins, and acknowledge God’s judgments to be due unto us for them.
 - ^c That the Lord will forgive all our sins in general, our backslidings, these particular sins viz. Original sin, ignorance, blasphemy, idolatry, uncleannesse, unrighteousnesse, vowing, swearing rashly, lying, fraud, robbery, violence, oppression, perjury, the sins of our holy duties, yea, every particular sin although our sins be never so hainous, yea, that all our sins are forgiven us, only for Jesus Christ his sake who suffered for them (pp. 58b-65).

2. From the Punishment of sinne ; as
- ^a That the Lord will have compassion upon us, and be gracious and merciful unto us ; that he will deferre his anger and turne away the same from us, and will spare us, and forgive the punishment of our iniquities and not destroy us.
 - ^b That we are saved from the wrath of God only through Jesus Christ.
 - ^c That the Lord justifies us from all sin only through Jesus Christ, by imputing our sins to him and his righteousness to us, all being apprehended by faith.
 - ^d That our God is reconciled to us in Christ Jesus (pp. 66-70).
3. From the Power of sinne, that we shall not serve any sinne in the lusts thereof,
- ^a That the Lord will mortifie our sinnes, and convert us from them, that sin shall not reign in us.
 - ^b That the Lord will heale the evill of our natures, and recover us in our backslidings, and bring us to newnesse of life.
 - ^c That the Lord will convert us from, or mortifie in us, or preserve us from falling into any particular sin ; from evil company, from whoredom, from adultery, idolatry, hardnesse of heart, pride, lying, uncleannesse, unrighteousness, worldly lusts, family sinnes, and from backslidings ; all which are promised us in Christ Jesus (pp. 71-76a).

(C) The third maine part containeth such promises as assure us many excellent gifts from the Lord.

1. Many saving graces are promised unto us ; as
- ^a That the Lord will give us his holy Spirit . . . and will sanctifie us to himselfe.
 - ^b That the Lord will cause us to know him and our duty to him, and give us faith in him.
 - ^c That the Lord loveth us with . . . unchangeable love, of which he will assure us (and) confirme us unto the end.
 - ^d That the Lord will give us inward peace . . . joy . . . yea all the consolations of the holy Ghost.
 - ^e The Lord will give us his feare, which shall never depart from us, will cause us and our seed to love him with all our hearts, . . . will make us both willing and able to obey him, yea . . . zealous to serve him (pp. 76b-87a).
2. Ability to worship the Lord aright is promised unto us (pp. 87b-89).
3. The Lord promiseth us divers abilities for our particular callings ; as

- ^a Direction and sufficiencie to discharge our duties.
 - ^b True valour . . . or courage of heart . . . to fight resolutely against his and our enemies.
 - ^c Contentment, self-control, and grace to deal justly in our common dealings and in executing justice (pp. 90-95a).
4. The Lord will increase good gifts in us (about 20 particulars; pp. 95b-101).

(D) The fourth maine part conteineth such promises as concerne Affliction.

1. Concerning Affliction in generall (pp. 102-112a).
 2. Concerning divers particular afflictions, as
 - ^a To such as are persecuted for the Truth.
 - ^b To such as are hated for God and goodness' sake.
 - ^c To such as are cast out of the congregation for the same cause.
 - ^d To such as are reproached, reviled, railed upon, and evil spoken of for the same cause.
 - ^e To such as are tempted to sin, or troubled in mind.
 - ^f To such as are desolate, and forsaken of friends.
 - ^g To the Fatherless,
 - ^h To Widows.
 - ⁱ To Strangers.
 - ^k To these, or any of these, or any other any way injured by others.
 - ^l To such as are Banished for the Truth.
 - ^m To such as forsake whatever is nearest and dearest to them for the same cause.
 - ⁿ To such as suffer the loss and spoiling of their goods for the same cause.
 - ^o To such as are Wounded in the same cause.
 - ^p To Captives.
 - ^q To such as are Sick.
 - ^r To such as suffer Hunger and Thirst.
 - ^s To such as are Naked.
 - ^t To such as are in any kind of outward want (pp. 112b-140a).
 3. Concerning Perils in General; and divers Perils in particular.
 - ^a Of Perils in General.
 - ^e Of Famine.
 - ^f Of Pestilence.
 - ^g Of Inchantment.
 - ^b Of Fire.
 - ^c Of Water.
 - ^d Of Storms at Sea.
 - ^h Concerning our Enemies, "to comfort, settle, and encourage us against and in a day of battell . . . or against any other employments of Warre, with the several dangers thereof" (pp. 140b-157).
 4. Concerning Death (pp. 158-163).

(E) 'The Fift[h] maine part, assures us many outward blessings as the Lord sees best for us.'

1. Such as concern Ourselves (16 particulars, pp. 164-183a).
2. Such as concern Ours—Children, Cattle, &c. (pp. 183b-187a).
3. Such as concern the Church of God ; viz :—
 - ^a 'Of general restauration after general desolation.'
 - ^b That the Lord will restore his pure worship among us.
 - ^c That the Lord will restore good government among us.
 - ^d 'We shall see the wealth of God's church and peace upon Israel' (pp. 187b-192a).

(F) 'The Sixth and last maine part, conteining such promises as assure plenty of mercifull rewards to severall saving graces, and other good gifts.'

- i. In General (pp. 192b-244).
 1. Sanctification, Uprightness, or Consciabie obedience.
 2. To Saving Knowledge.
 3. To Confession of sins.
 4. To an humble heart, and godly sorrow for sin.
 5. To our mourning for the sins of the times.
 6. To true Faith in Jesus Christ.
 7. To turning from or forsaking of sin.
 8. To watchfulness over our ways.
 9. To hope in, or patient awaiting for, God's help.
 10. To Trust in God.
 11. To such as have Inward Peace.
 12. To such as have joy in the holy Ghost.
 13. To such as fear God.
 14. To such as fear God's Word.
 15. To such as love God and Christ.
 16. To delight in God's Word.
 17. To love to God's Word.
 - ¹19. To our love to God's Church.
 20. To our love to God's Ministers.
 21. To our love to God's Children.
 22. To our love to Christ's coming.
 23. To live in unity, peace, and concord.
 24. To those that counsell others for peace.
 25. To those that make peace with others.
 26. To the humble-hearted.
 27. To the meek in carriage.
 28. To such as bear affliction aright.
 29. To our increasing in goodness.
 30. To perseverance in grace and goodness.

¹ By error head 16 is repeated as 18.

ii. Promises to divers particular workes of charity (pp. 245-249).

1. Lending to the Poor.
2. Restoring the Pledge.
3. Leaving gleanings of Corn or Vintage.
4. Selling Corn to the Poor.
5. Feeding the Hungry, Giving Drink to the Thirsty, Lodging to the Harbourless, Clothing to the Naked, visiting the Sick and Prisoners, and receiving poor Strangers.
6. Relieving our Poor Kindred.
7. Comforting the Souls of others.

iii. Promises to our Conscionable Worshipping of God (pp. 250-287a).

1. In General.
2. In His house, in our families, or with others.
3. To receiving the public blessing.
4. To sanctifying the Sabbath.
5. To our Prayers in General.
6. In any of these particulars . . . he hath promised to hear and help us (23 particulars).
7. He heareth our inward groanes in our extreamest miseries.
8. To our Thanksgiving to the Lord.
9. To our conscionable hearing God's Word.
10. To our reading God's Word.
11. To meditation on God's Word.
12. To holy Conference.
13. To holy Fasting.
14. To Swearing Religiously.
15. Promises to comfort and settle us against our weake (if sincere) performing holy duties.
16. The Lord will make our holy duties profitable to our Soules, so that our labours neither are nor shall be in vaine, but shall be rewarded.

iv. Promises to avoyding divers particular Sins (pp. 287b-297a).

1. To avoyding Sin in General.
2. " " Evil Company.
3. " " Evil Counsel.
4. " " Idolatry.
5. " " Adultery.
6. " " Dealing with a Separate Woman.
7. If we avoyd all Sorts of Uncleanness.
8. " " Oppression, and injuring others.
9. " " Covetousness.
10. " " Usury.
11. " " Bribery.

12. " " Slandering of others.
 13. " " Receiving Slanders.
 14. " " Scorning others in Heart.
 15. " " Scornful Mocking Gestures.
 16. " " Mocking Words.
 17. " " Justifying ourselves and others in Sin.
 18. " " And the Scornfull.
 19. If we cast out the Scorner.
 20. If we avoyd Judging others.
 21. " " Wrath, Anger, Passion.
 22. " " Discord, Strife, and Contention.
 23. " " Lying.
 24. " " Evil Speaking.
 25. " " Swearing Falsely.
 26. " " Suretyship.
- v. Promises to imbracing many Duties Specified (pp. 297b-330a).
1. If we Receive and Imbrace Instruction.
 2. " Instruct and Reprove Others.
 3. " be Instruments to Convert Others.
 4. " pass by Offences.
 5. " Forgive Others.
 6. " Do Good for Evil.
 7. " be Secret.
 8. " keep Silence.
 9. " Speak the Truth.
 10. " Deal Truly.
 11. " Perform our lawful Oaths, Covenants, Contracts, and Promises, though made to our own hindrance.
 12. " Instruct our Children.
 13. " Correct our Children.
 14. " Obey our Parents.
 15. " Obey Superiors.
 16. " have a Good name.
 17. " Govern our minds.
 18. " Govern our Tongues.
 19. " Order our affairs wisely.
 20. Promises to Courage in a good cause.
 21. " Diligence.
 22. " Faithfulness.
 23. " Contentation.
 24. " Thriftiness.
 25. " Executing Justice in Judgment.
 26. " Dealing Justly with others in our Common Course.
- Lastly, Such places of Scripture as assure us of infinite and endless Happiness in Heaven.

At the end of this "Collection of Promises" the little poem "Can he be poore, &c." (see above), is repeated, followed by a short prayer; and the treatise concludes with an original poem which well deserves reproduction. Every line is justified by one or more Scripture references noted in the margin.

A Soliloquy (sic) betweene the most gracious Lord and his most unworthy servant.

- LORD.** Alone, at home, abroad, in thought, word, deed,
To do what's good, and fly what's ill, take heed.
With whom thou hast to doe, where ere thou art,
In all thy wayes from God's wayes never start.
All by respects abhor, regard them not ;
A bad man's censure is a good man's lot ;
If good and bad men both should judge amisse,
Keepe conscience cleare, thou needst not care, I wisse.
When, and wherein thou fayl'st with me make peace ;
Be wise, warn'd, watchfull, Labour me to please ;
Be confident, thy cause I will maintaine,
Peace, credit, comfort, welfare thou shalt gaine.
- Ser.** Lord, make me humble, circumspect, upright ;
Guide, govern me, in darknesse be my light ;
Make me, my God, as thou would'st have me be,
And give me all thou knowest good for me.
Forgive, give faith, on thy ne're fayling word
Cause me rely, thy promised aid afford.
O that I could in doing well commend
All unto thee ; thou surely help wilt send ;
In Christ, thy Christ, my Christ, heare, helpe, grant, doe,
Speak but one word, it must, it shall be so.
- Lord.** I the Lord say it, therefore it must be ;
My grace alone shall be enough for thee,
It was, it is, it shall be so for ever,
My mercy, power, truth, decayeth never.
Take courage then, through all that cau be named
Should it oppose, thou shalt not be ashamed :
Believe, await, submit unto my wil,
I'lle help in neede, and bring good out of il.
- Serv.** So then my Soule, doe not feare, faint or doubt ;
No woe so great but God wil help thee out ;
All that he is, hee's thine to doe thee good ;

What can annoy if this be understood.
 As thou art God declare this every way,
 That blest my state may be both here and aye.
 Let all bee done as thou Lord God seest fit ;
Amen, Amen, Lord Jesus so be it.
 Thy humble, faithful servant Lord I am,
 I trust thy word, and so subscribe my name.

Phillip Skippon.

Miles Christi indignissimus. Matt. 8. 8.

No end of truth there is,
 But her's the end of this.

FINIS.

A second edition of the book appeared in 1649, with a new title: *A Pearl of Great Price*. This was a rather common device of the booksellers in those days.

In addition to the *Salve for Every Sore*, Skippon published in 1664: *True Treasure; or, Thirty Holy Vows; being all that concerns the True Centurion in his Conscionable Walk with God*. In the following year he produced: *The Christian Centurion's Observations, Advices, and Resolutions*. As may be judged from the titles, both these works were of a devotional character.

Not even the most conservative student of Scripture in our days would regard as divine promises *all* the passages quoted by the old Puritan warrior; and as to those utterances of our Lord and of the Apostles and Prophets which are undoubtedly promissory, we should hesitate about applying them to ourselves without previous consideration of their first recipients, occasions, and conditions, such as Skippon would have deemed hypercritical. But the simple faith ex-

hibited in his *Salve for every Sore* was of the type which nurtured *men* "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises"; men who were not chiefly anxious to have God on their side, but rather to be sure that they were on God's side. Well would it be for us if, with our fuller knowledge and more discriminating use of Holy Scripture, we cultivated the same childlike trust which animated the warrior saints of the seventeenth century.

A Forgotten Cambridge Meeting-House

MANY times have many writers told the story of Cambridge Nonconformity so far as it regards the congregations at St. Andrew's Street and at Emmanuel church. But alongside of them there once existed another gathering at least as influential as they, whose history is quite forgotten and has never been put into print—the congregation of the old meeting-house, long ago utterly vanished, on the north side of Green Street.

Even before the Toleration Act that street had possessed a Nonconformist assembly. The returns of conventicles in 1680 record one which met at "Widow Elizabeth Petit's House in Green Street," and was ministered to by the Rev. Samuel Corbyn, a former chaplain of Trinity College. Eleven years before, the returns of 1669 record the same brave widow as sheltering in her house in St. Michael's parish—the street is not specified—the only important congregation of Nonconformists that Cambridge then possessed. It consisted of about a hundred hearers; and was ministered to by three divines who had been ejected in 1662 from Trinity and Clare under the Act of Uniformity: Corbyn, and Oddy, and the apostolic confessor Holcroft.

After the Toleration Act we find a Congregational church established in Green Street, with a settled meeting-house. This meeting-house lay some distance back from the street, and was—at any rate in modern times—accessible only through a narrow passage that ran between two houses. Such secluded situations were commonly preferred for the early Nonconformist edifices as affording a useful protection against mob violence. As this meeting-house was (and always continued to be) private property, it may very well have been the selfsame building where Widow Petit had kept up Nonconformist worship in the days before toleration. It lay on the north side of Green Street, and towards the Sidney Street end of it. Its congregation was ministered to by an old Caius man, Thomas Taylor; who, after being master of the endowed school at Swaffham, in Norfolk, became (in the time of Cromwell) minister of a small Independent congregation that met in the Shire Hall at Bury St. Edmund's. (The parish churches of that town were then in the hands of the Presbyterians.) In 1662 the Act of Uniformity broke up this congregation; and Taylor was "silenced" (though, as he held no endowed benefice, he cannot be

ranked amongst the two thousand divines who were actually "ejected"). Soon afterwards he had to spend a year in Bury prison for the offence of Nonconformity. On his release he went to London; and supported himself by going into trade, but continued to preach as opportunities offered. Very soon after the Toleration Act he settled at Cambridge as pastor of the Green Street congregation. In 1692 he published a book, *Jacob Wrestling and Prevailing*, which he had written in 1660; and it was followed in 1693 by his volume *The True Light*. These books shew him stern against Quakers and other "despisers of ordinances," but equally stern against liturgies. He seems to have been a moderate Calvinist and a quiet, thoughtful man. A friend of his describes him in 1692 as "a judicious and faithful minister who hath witnessed a good confession, and that in bonds, for the commandments of God." In his book of 1693 he describes his Green Street flock as only "small." It was much surpassed in numbers by the "Great Meeting," in Hog Hill (*i.e.*, what is now Downing Place), which was ministered to by the Rev. Joseph Hussey, and which is now represented by Emmanuel church. That congregation was of Presbyterian origin, but in 1694 Hussey induced it to begin to follow Congregational usages, and in October, 1696, it carried them to the extent of devising a "church covenant," by which the members bound themselves together. These innovations caused some to give up church membership, though without ceasing to attend the Great Meeting; but others to leave it altogether and join Green Street. These new comers obtained sufficient influence in Taylor's church to induce it to cease to be Congregational, whereupon some of the older amongst its members seceded to Mr. Hussey's flock.

Probably the smallness of the Green Street church made it easy for a few zealous people to transform its system of government. The close alliance of both branches of Nonconformity in Cambridge in even their very earliest days is well attested by the fact that, about 1690, on the death of Francis Holcroft (the ejected Fellow of Clare, who had been in days of persecution "the Apostle of Cambridgeshire"), the preface to his funeral sermon was signed jointly by Taylor as the minister of the Congregationalists, and by Joseph Hussey as minister of the Presbyterians.

In Thoresby's letters (preserved in the British Museum) there is mention of a Rev. Thomas Leavesley as having settled in 1697 as minister at Cambridge; so he very likely came to be colleague to the aged Mr. Taylor. Leavesley afterwards became minister at the Old Jewry, 1726, and died in 1737. He must have been a man of "broad" tendencies, for at the Salters' Hall controversy he voted with the party who opposed subscription to creeds. As he came in 1697, just a few months after there had seceded from Hog Hill the Presbyterian group who joined Green Street, and led it to

change to Presbyterian usages, it is possible that this change brought about the call to Mr. Leavesley.

In November, 1700, Mr. Taylor died, aged seventy-five, and was buried in the meeting-house. It is wrongly stated in Calamy's great history of early Nonconformity that Hussey then succeeded to his pulpit. Hussey was busy in a far larger congregation. His actual successor (probably from 1701 onwards) was the erudite James Peirce, afterwards famous at Exeter. In 1701 Peirce became a trustee of the Hog Hill chapel, so he must have been already settled in Cambridge. He was a Congregationalist by origin, but had received his ordination from Presbyterian ministers. He had received a University education at Leyden and Utrecht. In 1701 he was now eight and twenty. At Cambridge he formed an acquaintance with one of the best known of the Professors—the mathematician Whiston—which led to results important, through both of the men, to the history of English controversial theology. Peirce was orthodox until some years after he left Cambridge, and so was Whiston, but they ultimately became the most prominent Arians of their generation. When Peirce first came he found his little congregation in Green Street "a discontented people," but he left them contented and happy. He came intending to stay only three years, but did stay six. By 1708 he had settled as minister at Newbury.

At Cambridge his usual custom was to go into his study when the curfew rang at nine, and to sit till four or five in the morning, and yet he never thought the time long. His study looked into a churchyard. One night (see the *Monthly Repository* for 1821, p. 330) he looked out of its window, and saw in the churchyard a horse without a head. He watched carefully, and saw it move on its four legs just like any other horse. He had no belief in ghosts, and determined to satisfy himself, so he returned once or twice to the window, but there it always was. Next morning he looked again, and found it was the horse which was all white, with a head that was quite black, and which therefore was not to be seen in the dark so easily as the rest of the animal could be. This went, he said, to confirm his opinion that all ghost stories, if carefully sifted, would just as easily disappear. Though so cool and calm an inquirer, yet he retained sufficient Puritan prejudice to refuse to go to his own daughter's wedding because she was to be married with a wedding ring. The anecdote recalls the fact that, just about a hundred years later, the illustrious Robert Hall, during his Cambridge ministry, lodged in Petty-curry, in rooms overlooking St. Andrew's churchyard, and that the first symptom of his becoming insane was his delusion that he saw "the gravestones rise in rapid succession from the graves, and beat against the church tower like boys playing at fives or tennis."

It seems to have been hard to find a suitable successor to Mr.

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Peirce, for by 1715 Hussey bitterly accuses them of having had twenty ministers in the fifteen years—of course, mere “supplies.” In that year their congregation had some three hundred persons associated with it. Hussey’s had eleven hundred.

In 1715 the Green Street congregation had as its pastor the Rev. John Cumming, a Presbyterian, born in Ireland and ordained in Scotland. He removed in 1716 to London. Then George Wightwick became their pastor, but in 1720 removed to a Colchester congregation. Peirce had never distinctly called himself Presbyterian; but Cumming and Wightwick did.

In 1721 the Green Street congregation (still numbering some three hundred) invited to its pulpit the afterwards celebrated James Duchal; whose history, like Peirce’s, may be read in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He ultimately became one of the most famous men in the history of Irish Presbyterianism; but he always declared that his years in Cambridge had been “the most delightful part” of all his life. In 1728, during his Cambridge ministry, Duchal published a little volume containing three sermons on *The Practice of Religion*, which affords striking evidence of his own mental calibre, and therefore, presumably, of that of the congregation who had chosen him. The sermons read to us strangely modern. Unlike other Nonconformist discourses of that period, they quote freely from secular history; and they are expressed not in Puritan diction, but in that of Addison. They recall the writings of the Cambridge Platonists; and, in dignity and simplicity, their strain is that of the best pieces of Fénelon. A very competent critic (Principal Gordon, of Manchester) recently pronounced them “perhaps the most spiritual sermons that that period of English theology produced.” We may quote from them a few sentences:

“A man must taste something of heaven *here* or he will never see it hereafter.”

“We are in heaven *now*; and at death we do but go into a higher station in it.”

“All the laws of morality may be summed up in this one, ‘be happy.’”

“What is holiness but the conformity of our dispositions and actions to eternal reason? Therefore religion is nothing but the practice of reason.”

As Hussey had left Cambridge in 1720, and some twenty years elapsed before this Hog Hill congregation obtained any really able successor to him, we may conclude that Duchal would attract many of their people to Green Street. But in 1730 he left Cambridge, and entered upon his brilliant career amongst the Presbyterians of Ulster. Two years later, when the Rev. Samuel Bourn, a Presbyterian minister in Lancashire, was removing to Birmingham (in the history of which town he played a prominent part for the next

twenty years), we find him vainly urged to wait awhile, as a call was coming to him from "the two congregations at Cambridge," and he might be the means of combining them into one church. No doubt the congregations would be Green Street and Hog Hill; for the latter pulpit was also vacant then. Bourn, however, did not come; and Duchal was succeeded by John Notcutt, who left soon after 1740. In 1741 Notcutt gave hospitality to Dr. Doddridge, who visited Cambridge in June, and was "very respectfully received" by the authorities in several colleges, and who found as regards creature comforts that "in Cambridge everything is exceedingly good in its kind, particularly the tea." Doddridge in his letters twice describes Mr. Notcutt as "*the* dissenting minister" of Cambridge; so the Green Street congregation must at this time have been decidedly the most important in Cambridge. Mr. Conder was then only beginning at Hog Hill (*i.e.*, the Downing Place of to-day) that successful ministry which permanently shifted away the relative importance of Green Street.

In 1743 a pupil of Doddridge's, Mr. Marshall, came to Green Street as minister; but apparently to a thorny field. For a hope is expressed that he will "revive vital religion" in his people, and that they "will retrieve their honour," and it is feared that he will "soon become uneasy there" (*Doddridge's Correspondence*, vol. iv. 27,212). How soon he left does not appear; but in 1750 there came the Rev. Richard Jones, who also had been a pupil, and even for a time the secretary, of Dr. Doddridge. In an obituary of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1800 (p. 1,005) a very pleasant and amiable character is given of Mr. Jones. "At Cambridge, without betraying his principles, he lived in harmony with all the members of the University, and with many of them in the strictest intimacy and friendship." He seems to have been a broad minded and practical preacher. From Cambridge he removed to the Crosby Hall congregation in London, and afterwards to a congregation at Peckham. He died at Greenwich in 1800. His essay on *Friendship with God* was republished so recently as 1847, by the advice of an Anglican bishop.

Jones was followed about 1762 by Samuel Henley, from the Daventry academy. He was a clever youth, but the congregation did not prosper under him. In 1769 he joined the Established Church. The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us that after passing some years in America he became in 1782 vicar of Rendlesham, and rose subsequently to be principal of the famous East India College at Haileybury. He died in 1815. On his leaving Green Street the chapel was closed for about two years. Then, in 1772, came another student from the Daventry academy, John Robotham, "nearly, if not quite, a Socinian." Besides being heterodox he was tedious, and under these two disadvantages his little congregation dwindled rapidly. He left about 1778. The

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meeting-house was then closed, and the Presbyterian congregation disappeared. Some of its members took themselves to the Independents at Hog Hill; others to the Baptists in St. Andrew's Street, then flourishing under the brilliant and masculine ministry of Robert Robinson (1760—1790), the most dramatic figure in the whole history of Cambridge Nonconformity.

In 1781 the closed Green Street chapel was re-opened as a Congregational church by John Stittle, of whom Professor de Morgan has preserved some graphic recollections. John Stittle (miscalled "Stettle" by Byron in 1811 in the *Hints from Horace*, was born at Madingley in 1727, and died in 1813. He was one of the many Cambridgeshire converts won to piety by the eccentric clergyman, John Berridge, the friend of Wesley. He was a hedger and a thresher, could read well, but never could write. This had the advantage of compelling him to preach extempore (and some people are said to wish, for the sake of the same advantage, that all preachers were blind). An anecdote, which Professor de Morgan has immortalised, represents him as saying, in contempt of academical learning: "D'ye think Powle (*i.e.*, St. Paul) knew Greek?" But Professor Adam Sedgwick, the eminent geologist, declared this anecdote quite incredible, and utterly at variance with the strong mental powers which Stittle possessed. When Mr. Simeon, who had befriended Stittle, preached a University sermon in which he stated Calvinism more moderately than had been usual with him, some of those Dissenters who had occasionally attended his church became offended at his apparent change of views, and consequently transferred themselves altogether to Stittle's chapel. Simeon, nevertheless, did not resent this, and ultimately he very generously made Stittle a permanent quarterly allowance, which, he jocularly said, was "for shepherding my stray sheep." (The tradition of this saying was preserved by a person who had often been employed by Simeon to carry the money.) Stittle remained to the end a high Calvinist. He used to say, "Arminians are like wood pigeons. They say 'Do, do, do' all day long, but they are the laziest birds that fly." He would have sympathised with the poet who wrote:

"Go search Paul's Epistles, you shallow Arminians,
You'll not find one text to support your opinions."

He rejected all water baptism, either of infants or adults. He had a standing feud with the undergraduates. They used, as Byron suggests, to go to Green Street to ridicule the sermons, and would bring sparrows into the chapel and let them loose. One man, seeing himself watched, put his cap in front of his face. Stittle grimly said, "In the Day of Judgement there'll be no caps to hide your face in." In old age he used to be carried to the chapel in a Sedan chair. An undergraduate called out to the bearers as they were carrying Stittle over Magdalene Bridge, from Castle End

where he lived: "Drop him over the bridge into hell." Stittle replied: "They can't; for my Master keeps the keys of hell." He preached so long a series of sermons on David that one of his flock complained: "You have picked all the flesh off David's bones." He replied: "Yes, and I shall now crack the bones and see what marrow is in them." In one sermon he compared eternity to a clock so gigantic that it said "tic" in one century and "tac" in the next. Then suddenly turning to some undergraduates in the chapel he said: "Go home and calculate the length of that clock's pendulum." On one occasion when insulted by undergraduates he invited one of them to come to his house and share the "herby pie" supper of his family; after which he induced him to stay on for family worship; this resulted in the youth being led to think seriously of religion, and in his ultimately becoming a valuable clergyman. Stittle was four times married, and survived his fourth wife. He said that if he had known that he should survive her so many years he would have married a fifth one. (But he had not the foresight of the man who engraved on the wedding ring of the fourth wife, "If I survive I'll make them five.")

In Dean Alford's *Plea for the Queen's English* there is given a powerful passage from one of Stittle's sermons. He died in 1813, aged 85; and was buried in his chapel.

In 1815 his congregation took as his successor a Mr. Popplewell, for whom in 1818, as the lease of the old building had nearly expired, and the owner refused to renew it, there was hired at a rent of £40 by the few survivors of the congregation a building on the south side of Green Street. This, after one or two intervening pastorates, was ministered to by a Mr. Snelgar (whose daughter subsequently became the wife of Mr. Shilleto, the great Greek scholar). Under Mr. Snelgar troubles arose (apparently from his wishing to introduce more modern modes of worship, such as ceasing to read out the hymns line by line); and the congregation came to an end. Their new meeting-place was subsequently hired by the Wesleyans, afterwards by the Union Society; and, still later, by the Reform Club. It is now a billiard room, in the yard adjoining No. 29.

The older meeting-house, the one where Stittle himself had ministered, was hired in 1819 by a small and newly formed flock of highly Calvinistic Baptists. But about 1826 they migrated to a new chapel which they had built in Fitzroy Street, on land that was part of a piece called "The Garden of Eden." Hence the name "Eden" was given to their new chapel. For in 1826 Green Street underwent a reconstruction, and the old chapel was pulled down. Stittle's grave accordingly was opened, and the body was found perfect. But in a few minutes it fell to dust, leaving only the skeleton, which was reinterred at Eden chapel.

COURTNEY S. KENNY.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Samuel Pike

From the Original in the possession of
R. W. Dixon, Esq., Sandel Heath, Fordingbridge.

Hoxton Square, May 15, 1760.

Dear Sir,

As you seem so very desirous I should give you a brief Definition of true & Saving Faith, I will attempt it, & refer you for a more exact view of the Subject to the Pamphlets I send you. My view of this matter I find coincides with the Sentiments of the first Reformers, particularly Luther & Calvin; so that I think myself, if that be any satisfaction to any, more properly a Calvinist than before. Calvin gives it thus. We shall have a just Definition of Faith if we say, that it is *a stedfast and assured Knowledge of the free good will of God towards us, founded upon the Truth of the free Promise in Christ, revealed to our Minds, and sealed to our Hearts, by the Holy Spirit.* [See Calvin's *Institutions Book*, 3rd chap., 2nd sect. 7th.] Or we may take the Definition of it, out of the Assemblies Catechism in the Answer to the Question, What is Repentance unto Life? & say that it is *a just apprehension of the Mercy of God in Christ.* According to this View of the Subject a Person believing has all his Hope & peace towards God, by the view of what he believes about the free Grace of God in Christ. Many now talk as if our Satisfaction before God, was to arise from a consciousness of our saving convictions, from a persuasion about a principle of Grace in our Hearts, previous to and distinct from the Knowledge of Christ; or that 'tis obtain'd by the exerting of certain Acts call'd acts of Faith; or by our gaining some way or other a Persuasion of our Special Interest. *Whereas a Person who has a just apprehension of God's Mercy in Christ, has his satisfaction purely from the Fulness & freeness of that Grace & Mercy as it stands forth clear in the Gospel.* This just apprehension becomes the principle of Grace in him, becomes the Ground of those actings of the Soul, which are acts of Love rather than of Faith, or of Faith working by Love. Which acts are not perform'd in order to obtain inward Peace before God, but are exerted by a Soul already comforted with the Revelation of free Grace. This likewise becomes the *Effectual Spring & Fountain* of all true Convictions, Repentance, Love, Holiness, & Obedience. If a Person does not discern enough in

the free full Grace of God merely as it stands forth directly to him in the Word ; without regard to any Reflection on any Thing in himself, wrought in him or done by him ; I say if he does not discern enough therein actually to produce Peace, Hope, Love, in his Soul towards God in Christ ; 'tis evident he does not as yet discern the true Grace of God, or true Gospel of Christ ; but on the contrary is left to seek his Peace & Hope from some other Quarter, or by some other consideration. But I must leave you to a serious Perusal of what I send you ; begging that it may by the Spirit, be made useful, strengthening & enlivening to your Soul so far as it is agreeable to the Divine Testimony of Grace. Only let me give you one remark to prevent a Mistake we are always ready to run into, thro' an attachment to seeking comfort from our selves.

You desire to have an exact Definition of saving Faith ; now I will suppose ; that you (in reading the above account of it, or any other you may find) set about seriously to examine whether you have this Faith in you ; if upon Reflection you think you have it, then you are comforted by that Thought ; but if upon reflection you are afraid or suspicious you have not, then this sinks & discourages you. Now by this very Turn of Thought, you would misunderstand or misapply the justest Definition possible ; because hereby your Hope or Fear as to your state towards God would rise or sink just in proportion as you could or could not find Faith or Grace in *your own* Heart ; & so your Mind could be evidently drawn into your self ; instead of being led directly, out of your self to the free Grace of God in Christ, for your Hope & Comfort God-ward. The thus excluding every Thing from between a free Christ and a lost sinner is that which now stumbles & offends multitudes of the Professors of the present Day ; more especially those in the highest Reputation for Orthodoxy, &c. And you know that of old the [(?) *preaching*] of a naked Christ for a naked sinner was a stumbling Block to the [*Jews &*] Foolishness to the Greeks. But I shall here add no more ; but only assure [*you that*] the Doctrine I preach stands in the most direct & strong Opposition to all antinomianism both in sentiment & practice, as well as to all Legalism & Neonomianism.

I have just to inform you, with a mixture of Grief & Gratitude, that my opponents, who had destroy'd the Unity of the Spirit & broken the Bonds of Peace amongst us, would hearken to no Terms of Peace ; but positively Demanded a meeting of the whole body together ; wherein nothing Short of an Exclusion would be allow'd as valid. I was therefore obliged to call a meeting ; & tho' always averse to any expulsive measures ; aiming at nothing more than a peaceable, conscientious, mutual withdrawment or separation as to Church Fellowship ; yet was, thro' their Request & Demand obliged to move & put a Question, which should exclude those from membership with us, who had not renewed their union.

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Declaring at the same time, that I should have been very glad if they would have acceded to any lower Terms for Peace, & that I & my Friends were willing & desirous to hold communion with any concerning whom we should *any way* obtain Satisfaction that they were united with us in the Faith. All the men on both sides were present ; when the Question was fairly discuss'd & put, & carried by a Majority for the Exclusion of such as had not renewed their union. Whereupon the Dissatisfied peaceably withdrew & left me & my Friends in Possession of the Place & of our Church-State. 'Tis matter of great concern that I should be laid under an absolute necessity to take such a step : tho' its being render'd thus necessary by their insisting upon it as the only way for Peace & Purity makes it quite easy to my Conscience ; while 'tis matter of Thankfulness that my opponents have not prevail'd against me. I have sent you (as directed) two of the *Free-Grace*, one *Simple Truth*, & the Corresponding Letters.

& rest yours affectionately,

SAML. PIKE.

My wife desires her Respects to you. We are all thro' Mercy in Health ; being supported by a sense of free Grace, under our peculiar Trials.

You may expect the Books in the next Parcel sent by Mr. Thos. Vowel.

To the Rev^d. Mr. John Smart, at Cerne, Dorsetshire.

A fairly complete account of Mr. Pike's life, ministry, and writings, may be found in W. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, vol. ii., pp. 85-99. To that it seems necessary to add only that having, in 1765, resigned his pastorate at Three Cranes meeting-house, and joined the Sandemanian Society in St. Martins-le-Grand, the Board of Congregational Ministers excluded him from their fellowship on 18th March, 1766. (See *Trans.* ii., 60.) This appears to have been solely on account of his change of ecclesiastical position ; of his Christian character there is no question.

Early Nonconformist Academies

IV

NETTLEBED is a small village about eighteen miles from Oxford and four and a half from Henley. It was the seat of one of the earliest Nonconformist academies ; which, though of no long continuance, is notable as having been the object of a specially virulent attack by Samuel Wesley.

The tutor was Thomas Cole, born in London about 1627, son of William Cole who is described as "gentleman." He had his early education at Westminster School, whence he was sent to Christ Church, Oxford ; being admitted B.A. on 6th November, 1649, and M.A. 8th July, 1651. According to S. Palmer (*Vindication of the Dissenters*) he was tutor to the distinguished philosopher, John Locke ; to Edward West, founder of the church in Ropemaker's Alley, Moorfields, and to several other eminent scholars and divines. In 1656 he was elected principal of St. Mary Hall ; but was ejected by the Royal Commissioners in 1660. Afterwards, says Anthony Wood, he "lived a Nonconformist, kept a boarding school, and taught youth of the Presbyterian and Independent persuasions at or near Nettlebed."

Among his pupils was one, James Bennell, who even as a boy seems to have exhibited a good deal of precocious piety of the High Church type. In after years Bennell wrote reminiscences of his youthful days, in which he says: "I was sent

. . . to a private house, for fear of being corrupted at the University. Our tutor was Mr. Cole, who had formerly been principal of St. Mary Hall, at Oxford. He read to us Aristotle's *Philosophy*, and instructed us in the classics and oratory. He preached twice every Sunday to his family and us. Here I stayed two years and a half; but my unhappiness was that there was no practice of receiving the sacrament in that place; so that I could have no solemn, earnest, and serious recollection of myself; neither were my associates such from whom I might learn any part of godliness, but on the contrary all debauchery. . . . Our tutor was too remiss in matters of morality and religion, though I cannot accuse himself of anything that was ill." Bonnell's residence at Nettlebed was between the 14th and 17th years of his age (1667-70); and his reminiscences were published after his death, in 1704.

On Bonnell's statement Samuel Wesley founds an imputation that the Nonconformist academies were generally inferior in moral tone to the colleges in which conformity was rigidly enforced. Samuel Palmer, in his *Vindication*, made two unfortunate mistakes: denying the genuineness of the passage quoted from Bonnell; and asserting that he was "a wild and unhappy lad, very perverse, and averse to instruction and reproof, and did more than any other of the pupils, break through the rules and order of the house." Both the denial and the assertion he was afterwards compelled to retract. It would have been more to the point if he had remarked on the peculiar type of Bonnell's piety, who thought that without the sacrament he "could have no solemn, earnest, and serious recollection of himself"; or on the fact that extravagant language is not surprising in a morbidly pietistic boy of sixteen, with whom "all debauchery"

probably means nothing worse than such harmless freedom in others as a sensitive conscience would not allow in himself. Furthermore, it does not appear that a regular church organization, either Presbyterian or Congregational, existed at Nettlebed in 1667-70; and if not, it is very unlikely that Mr. Cole would administer the sacraments there. It has frequently been stated that Samuel Wesley was himself one of Cole's pupils; but this is an error, as he was barely twelve years old when the academy was discontinued.

Under the Indulgence, 1672, Mr. Cole was licensed as a Presbyterian minister at Nettlebed. He was also licensed as a Congregationalist for a house of his own, a house belonging to John Tyler, and a barn of Alexander Bernard's, at Henley. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the use of Henley town-hall.

It seems likely that the withdrawal of the Indulgence precipitated the dissolution of the academy. However, in 1674 Mr. Cole accepted an invitation to succeed Thomas Loder, who had been associated with Philip Nye in the pastorate of an Independent church, which then met in Cutlers' Hall, London. To this charge he was "publicly set apart" in February of that year, Dr. Owen and other Independent ministers assisting. This statement of Walter Wilson's (*Dissenting Churches*) makes it doubtful whether he had been formerly ordained or not; and if not, he certainly would not have administered the sacraments. He retained his pastorate to the end of his life: about twenty-three years. Toward the latter part of that time the church removed to Chandlers' Hall, Dowgate Hill; afterwards it united with the remains of the Presbyterian church in Silver Street. Mr. Cole took part in the Morning Exercise, and from 1687 in the Merchants' Lecture. In the

Neonomian controversy (1692) he was on the side of the High Calvinists, which at that time was favoured by most of the Independents. His last sermon was preached on 22nd August, 1697; he died on 16th September following, aged 70, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

No names of the students at Nettlebed have come down to us, except that of Mr. Bonnell; we have no indication that any of them became ministers, or, in brief, that the establishment was ever anything more than what Wood calls it: "a boarding school." Its importance rests entirely on the spiteful imputations of Samuel Wesley.

The following are Mr. Cole's published works:

Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Edward West, 1676.

Three Sermons in the Morning Exercise, 1676, —82, —89.

A Discourse of Regeneration, Faith, and Repentance (Merchants' Lecture), 1689.

A Discourse of the Christian Religion in Sundry Points (Merchants' Lecture), 1692.

The Incomprehensibility of Imputed Righteousness for Justification by Human Reason, till enlightened by the Spirit of God, 1692.

The academy at TAUNTON, which probably originated as early as the Declaration of Indulgence, was the first of the dissenting academies to acquire the status of a public institution. Its first tutor, the Rev. Matthew Warren, was the younger son of a wealthy gentleman at Otterford, Devon, and was born in 1642. Having acquired some classical learning at Crewkerne grammar school, he studied during several terms at Oxford, and for about a year with a private tutor at Reading. Though barely twenty years old, he began to minister in the chapelry of Downhead, near Shepton Mallet, where he was soon silenced by the Act of Uniformity. After a time, but at what date is uncertain, he was urged by friends to undertake the tuition of candidates for the ministry; it seems

pretty safe to conclude that this would be when the Indulgence gave hope of tolerance, if not of freedom. Young Warren was well fitted for the task to which he was invited ; he possessed much learning, and was distinguished for his modesty and humility. "Though educated himself in the logic and philosophy of the schools, and little acquainted with the modern improvements, he encouraged freedom of inquiry and of reading in his pupils, and invited them to a critical study of the Scriptures. His good humour and pleasant temper, and a happy art of adapting himself to the various temper and genius of youth, rooted him in their affections."

It is evident that his work as a tutor must have been much interrupted in the evil days that preceded the close of Charles II's reign ; and still more in the terror that ensued on the ill advised attempt of Monmouth. During this time he was often in concealment, being frequently sought by the persecutors, but never apprehended.

On the issue of King James's Declaration in 1687 the Nonconformists of Taunton repaired their ruined meeting-house, which had been wrecked after Sedgemoor, and called Mr. Warren to the pastorate, giving him as a colleague the Rev. Emmanuel Harford, the ejected minister of Upton Noble. He died on 14th June, 1706, in the 64th year of his age.

We have no record of the students who were instructed by Mr. Warren, except the names of Stephen James and Henry Grove, his successors ; John Shower, of Old Jewry ; and Christopher Taylor, of Leather Lane, London. With these may probably be joined Richard Darracott, of Swanage (father of the more eminent Risdon Darracott, of Wellington) ; for in a book once in the possession of Joshua Wilson was inserted "R. Darracott, ex Acad. Taunt. 1707."

On the death of Mr. Warren a considerable number of ministers assembled to consult as to the future of the academy. It was arranged that it should be carried on by three tutors: the Rev. Stephen James, for theology; the Rev. Robert Darch, for natural philosophy and mathematics; and the Rev. Henry Grove, for pneumatology and ethics. Mr. Grove added to his tutorial labours the pastorate of a small congregation at the neighbouring village of Bishop's Hull, and Mr. James that of another at Falwood. After a time Mr. Darch resigned, *when* is not stated, but it may not improbably have been when the academy was temporarily suspended on the passing of the Schism Act (1714). Thenceforward Mr. Grove took mathematics and natural philosophy in addition to his own subjects. Mr. James died in 1725, when Mr. Grove took the theological chair. He also succeeded Mr. James in his pastorate at Falwood, Mr. Darch becoming his successor at Bishop's Hull. At the same time the Rev. Thos. Amory, a nephew and pupil of Mr. Groves (who had also studied at the Moorfields academy, London, under the learned John Eames, F.R.S.,) became classical and mathematical tutor.

Neither Mr. James nor Mr. Darch published anything of importance; but Mr. Grove was the author of no fewer than twenty-eight treatises, large and small, besides four papers (Nos. 588, 601, 626, 635) in the *Spectator*. He was a man of great intellectual powers and of truly liberal sentiments. By strict Calvinists he was deemed heterodox, because he strenuously opposed the dogma of a restricted Atonement. He died on 27th February, 1737-8, in the 55th year of his age. On his monument in Paul's Meeting at Taunton is a laudatory inscription in forty-two lines of elegant Latin, which testifies that: "Sincere and studious of the

Truth, He recommended to the Approbation of All, as the most important points in religion, Piety toward God, Charity to men, and Restraint of the Passions." His most important treatises and sermons were published in 1740 in a uniform edition of six octavo volumes; and his *System of Moral Philosophy*, in two volumes, appeared in 1749. The following list of Mr. Grove's students is among the Wilson MSS. at New College; it is probably not complete:

1	Locke	33	Oxenham, Skinner
2	Bartlett	34	Waldron, John
3	Knott	35	Besley
4	Collins, Thos.—Bridport	36	Richards, Wm.—Bristol
5	Greby	37	King
6	Farewell	38	Lane or Lang
7	Whitty, John	39	Marks, Geo.
8	Walker, John	40	Ashey or Athey
9	Carpenter	41	Broadmead
10	Todderdell (? if also at Bridgwater)	42	Deacon, Baldwin (also at Bridgwater)
11	Waldron or Walrond	43	Carpenter
12	Jones	44	Bowden—? Frome
13	Arbuthnot	45	Cornish, Wm.—Sherborne
14	Beauchamp	46	Chadwick, Jos.
15	Amory, Thos., D.D.	47	Catcut or Catcott
16	Parden or Pardren, Wm.	48	Gough—Conformed
17	Towgood, Micaiah	49	Sandercock—York
18	Jillard, Peter—Bristol	50	Webb
19	Stoakes, John	51	Moore—Plymouth (also at Bridgwater)
20	Coad, Thos.—Dorking	52	Farewell
21	Hallet, Richd.	53	Warner
22	Evans, Richd.	54	Foot
23	Towgood, Nic. (? error for Steph.)	55	Hardy
24	Yallacomb, Peter	56	Cotton
25	Frost, John	57	Marshall
26	Heath, Benj.	58	Pierce
27	Phelps, James	59	Willoughby (Lord) of Par- ham
28	Phelps, Farnham	60	Williams, Edwd.
29	Haskol	61	Mullins—Totness
30	Caswall, John	62	Mauduit, Israel
31	Pierce, Thos.	63	Gledhill (spelled Glidshill)
32	Oxenham, Henry		

foundations of a Presbyterian church, which survived at Galhampton, a hamlet in the parish, for above a hundred years.

Being ejected from his rectory by the Act of Uniformity Cradock remarked: "God gave me my living; He called for it, and I readily parted with it." What he thus left was providentially made up by the death of a kinsman, which left him next heir to a considerable estate at Wickhambrook. On coming to his inheritance, about 1670, he removed thither with his family, and soon began to preach in his own house. In 1672 he obtained a licence under the Indulgence to preach in "his house at Geesings, Wickhambrook." The fruits of his labour still remain, in the form of a thriving Congregational church.

He now began to receive pupils into his house. How many in all received the benefit of his instructions we are not told; but Calamy, who was with him two years, says that in his time there were about twenty, half of whom were studying divinity. Logic, metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy, were also attended to.

The following are the names that have come down to us, of whom only the first six are *known* to have become ministers:

The Rev. Edmund Calamy, D.D., the biographer of the ejected ministers.

The Rev. Robert Billio, who succeeded Matthew Henry at Hackney.

The Rev. — Porter, of Nayland.

The Rev. John Kentish.

The Rev. John Keeling, of Salisbury and Cirencester.

The Rev. Timothy Goodwin, who conformed to the Established Church, and became Archbishop of Cashel.

Charles, Lord Fitzwilliam, of Moulsham Hall, Essex.

Sir Francis Bickley, of Attleborough.

H. Ashurst, Esq^r.

Thos. Bantoft, son of the Rev. S. Bantoft, B.D., ejected minister of Stebbing. (He was educated for the ministry, but died insane.)

Mr. Corbet of Shropshire—a lawyer.
 W. Ellis, Esq^r.
 Mr. John Godfrey.
 Mr. H. Martin.
 Mr. G. Mays, of Bayford, Herts.
 Mr. Paget.
 Roger Rant, Esq^r., of Swaffham.
 Captain Roll.
 — Warner, Esq^r., of Bunsfield.

Cradock, like Morton, felt impelled to defend Nonconformist academies against the attack made on them under the pretext that Oxford and Cambridge graduates were bound by oath not to teach elsewhere. His defence was much more concise than Morton's, occupying less than four pages of Calamy. It shews conclusively that the oath was designed only to hinder the setting up of another university, and in nowise referred to private tuition.

In 1696 Mr. Cradock removed to Bishop Stortford, Herts; and there, at the age of seventy-five, undertook the pastorate of a Congregational church, which subsists to this day. He continued to preach twice every Sunday until the last Sunday but one of his life. He died in 1706, and was buried at Wickhambrook. His works include:

A treatise on *Knowledge and Practice*, 1659: a much enlarged edition, 1702.
A Catechism on the Principles of the Christian Faith, 1668.
A Harmony of the Four Evangelists, 1668.
The Apostolic History, with a Paraphrase on the Epistles, 1672.
The Old Testament History Methodized, 1683.
An Exposition of the Revelation, 1692.

There is also ascribed to him with some probability:

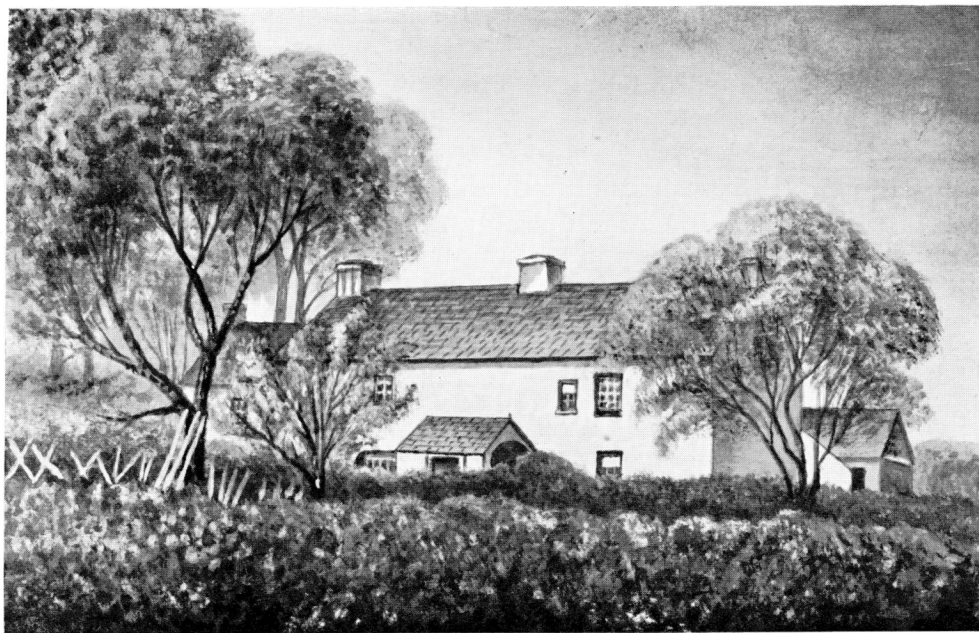
A Serious Dissuasive from some of the Reigning Sins of the Times, 1679.

SULBY, an extra-parochial hamlet about two miles from Welford, Northants, and three miles from Naseby Field, was the seat of an academy

which seems to have been carried on in the face of exceptional difficulties. The tutor was the Rev. James Shuttlewood, B.A. He was born at Wymeswold, Leicestershire, on 3rd January, 1631; and after attending a grammar school in Leicester graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge. On 26th April, 1654, he was ordained by the presbytery of Wirksworth to the parochial charge of Raunston or Ravenstone, a village on the borders of Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

After the ejection he lived for some time at Stoke Golding, and was repeatedly prosecuted, fined, plundered, and imprisoned. In January and February, 1668, he was imprisoned without a pretext of legality; and was further harassed when, under the Indulgence, he had a general licence as a Presbyterian minister. Mention is made of one William Streete, J.P., and Charles Gibbons, quartermaster of trained bands, as his most malignant persecutors. He was compelled frequently to remove from place to place, and his health was enfeebled by the suffering to which he was exposed. Nevertheless, he was able to superintend the education of a considerable number of students at Sulby, where he fixed his abode about 1678 or a little earlier. In one year six are mentioned as having come under his tuition. We have no complete list of his students, but the following names are on record: Julius Saunders, afterwards tutor at Bedworth; John Sheffield, of Southwark; Matthew Clark, of Miles Lane; Ebenezer Wilson, of Turners' Hall; Dr. Joshua Oldfield; and Thomas Emlyn, who for his avowal of Unitarian opinions was subjected to persecution in which Conformists and Nonconformists equally disgraced themselves by taking part.

Mr. Shuttlewood died at Creaton on 17th March, 1688-9. He had a son, who was a minister in



BRYNLLYWARCH

Seat of the Academy of Samuel Jones (d. 1697).

This Academy was the germ of Carmarthen Presbyterian College.

London, and his granddaughter was the wife of the Rev. Thos. Gibbons, D.D., of Haberdashers' Hall.

BRYNLLYWARCH, in the "old parish" of Llangynwyd, about six miles from Bridgend, Glamorgan, was the seat of the earliest Nonconformist academy in Wales. It is commonly regarded as, at least, the germ of the Carmarthen Presbyterian College; to which, however, it bears much the same relation as Frankland's academy does to the Yorkshire United College of modern times.

Samuel Jones, M.A., a name memorable in the annals of Welsh Nonconformity, was the son of John Roberts, of Corwen; his name being formed from the Christian name of his father, in the old Welsh fashion. He was born near Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, about 1628. He matriculated at All Souls College, Oxford, 11th March, 1647; but afterwards removed to Jesus College, of which he became fellow and tutor. During the Commonwealth (? 1657) he was appointed vicar of Llangynwyd, and was ordained in the Presbyterian manner at Taunton. He married Mary, daughter of Rees Powell, Esq., of Maesteg, in the parish of Llangynwyd, by whom he had a numerous family. He died in July, 1676.

Samuel Jones is reported to have been a popular preacher, and to have been highly skilled in Welsh poetry. Indeed, he is said to have "occupied the proud position of chief bard of Tir Iarll," a literary dignity which had been held by several persons of great eminence in the Principality, though little known among Englishmen. Being ejected from his vicarage by the Act of Uniformity he took up his abode at Brynlllywarch, a farmhouse about two miles from the parish church, which is understood to have been his wife's property. Here he commenced the academy, over which "he

presided with remarkable efficiency until the close of his valuable life." Not, however, without interruption. Bishop Hugh Lloyd and Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Davies made him considerable offers of preferment if he would conform. He replied in an elaborate paper, which is printed in Rees's *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*: in this he propounds fourteen queries relating to the Declaration under the Act, ceremonies imposed, re-ordination, and scandal, which have never yet been satisfactorily answered. Whether on account of this reply, or from some other cause, Davies appears to have become his implacable enemy, and when Davies became bishop Jones was several times imprisoned.

Under the Indulgence he was "licensed to be a Presbyterian teacher in his house in Llangynwyd," and his house was licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place on 30th April, 1672. On the same day licences were granted for two houses belonging to his father-in-law, Rees Powell, and called respectively Kildaudy and Goytrehen. On July 16th he was licensed *as an Independent* for a house at Margam; and on 30th September as a Presbyterian for the house of Eve Christopher at Cowbridge, some ten or twelve miles distant from his home. This is not to be explained as merely one of the many cases in which licencees are loosely or carelessly misdescribed. There is little doubt that Jones, though a Presbyterian, ministered to an Independent congregation in the parish of Margam, adjacent to that of Llangynwyd. It is an interesting fact that Jones's application for licences for his own house and that of Mr. Powell at Goytrehen was on the same paper with an application by Daniel Higgs, a Congregationalist; and the receipt for those licences was signed by Stephen Hughes, another Congregationalist.

Undoubtedly Mr. Jones was a scholarly man. He is described as a "master of the Greek and Latin tongues, a good orientalist, an adept in philosophy, a skilful casuist, well read in modern controversies, and an acceptable and very useful preacher." He seems to have been of a peaceable disposition, and characterized by remarkable prudence; by which means "he recommended himself so well to many of the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood as to be entrusted with the education of their sons. He had likewise a number of divinity students, whom he prepared for the dissenting ministry." Unfortunately, only a few names of his students have been preserved, viz :

Samuel Price, Assistant to Dr. Watts.

Rees Price, father of Dr. Richard Price, F.R.S.

(Both these also studied under Timothy Jollie).

James Owen, pastor and tutor at Shrewsbury.

Philip Pugh

Thomas Morgan

David Jones

Samuel Philips

Morgan Thomas

David Thomas

Lord Mansel

In the last year of his life Mr. Jones was greatly annoyed by a rumour that he had conformed. He therefore wrote to a friend: "I declare to you and to all the world, as in the words of a dying man, that I had not, and have not since, the least check in my conscience for my non-submission to those impositions which were then made the indispensable terms of communion with the Church of England. . . . To declare my unfeigned assent and consent, to deny my former ordination, to swallow several oaths, and to crouch under the burden of several impositions, were such blocks which the law had laid at the church door that I could not, durst not then, and dare not now, leap over, though to save my credit and livelihood, though to gain

dignity and preferment, without odious hypocrisy, and the overthrowing of my inward peace, which is, and ought to be, dearer to me than my very life." Mr. Jones died at the age of 70, after a long and painful illness, in 1697. His eldest daughter married one of his students, David Jones by name (afterwards minister at Shrewsbury); whose son was the learned Jeremiah Jones, author of a celebrated work on the canon of the New Testament.

After the death of Samuel Jones a Mr. Roger Griffith commenced an academy at Abergavenny, which is looked upon as in some sense a continuation of that at Brynlllywarch. It subsisted only three or four years, when Mr. Griffith conformed to the Established Church. Two of his pupils became eminent: Samuel Jones, junior, afterwards the successful tutor of Tewkesbury, and Thomas Perrot, tutor at Carmarthen. Others of less note were J. T. Philips, J. Walters, and — Pugh.

The Rev. Rees Price, a pupil of Samuel Jones, had succeeded him in the pastorate of the three congregations which he had gathered at Kildaudy, near Brynlllywarch, Bridgend, and Bettws which lies between the two. By one account he continued Jones's academy, by another he assumed the temporary oversight of Griffith's pupils on the conformity of the latter. In any case his tutorship, which was carried on at Brigend, was of no long continuance; in 1702, or by another account 1704, he gave it up to devote himself the more to his pastoral duties; and the academy was united with a grammar school at Carmarthen, under the tuition of William Evans. This arrangement continued till Mr. Evans's death in 1718.

A list of ministers (apparently) who were Mr. Evans's pupils, preserved in the library of New College, contains the following names:

Thomas Morris	— Phillips
Christopher Samuel	T. Davies (Neath)
D. Williams (<i>mort</i>)	W. Davies
John Lewis	D. Jenkin
John Harris	R. Jones (Christchurch)
Thomas Morgan	Bowen of Bwlch
James Davies	Henry Davies
Thomas Davies (Haverford- west)	Matthias Maurice
Ben Lewis	Jeremiah Owen
T. Jones	— Pruthero
D. Jones (Gower)	— Powell
	Morgan Thomas

Under Mr. Evans the academy seems to have gained recognition as a permanent public institution; for by the will of Dr. Daniel Williams (d. 1716) an annuity of £10 was bequeathed for the support of students at Carmarthen under Mr. William Evans *and his successors*. The new arrangements which were necessitated by Mr. Evans's death are regarded as marking the actual commencement of Carmarthen College.

[It may be worth mentioning that the church at Kildaudy early became extinct. After its discontinuance Rees Price built at his own expense a new chapel, called "City chapel," at Bettws, which he endowed with the rents of a farm called Cae Garw. A couple of generations passed, when the ruling elder handed the building over to the Unitarians; and as a Unitarian chapel it is associated with the celebrated antiquary, Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), who often worshipped there. At length it was deserted and fell to ruin; and is now, or was lately, occupied as a cowhouse.]

The Rev. Philip Henry, of Broad Oak, is frequently mentioned among the early Nonconformist tutors. His household, however, has no claim to be counted among the regular academies. His son, the eminent commentator Matthew Henry, says: "Soon after his settlement at Broad Oak (1662) he took a young scholar into the house with him; partly to

teach his son, and partly to be a companion to himself to converse with him, and to receive help and instruction from him. And for many years he was seldom without one or other such ; who before their going to the University, or in the intervals of their attendance there, would be in his family. . . . It was observed that several young men who had sojourned with him, and were very hopeful and likely to be serviceable to their generation, died soon after their removal from him ; I could instance six or seven, as if God had sent them to him to be prepared for another world before they were called out of this, yet never any died while they were with him."

The only names of these students which remain on record are the following :

William Turner (1668) ; afterwards of Edmund Hall, Oxford, and subsequently vicar of Walburton, Sussex. He was the author of *History of all Religions in the World* ; and *A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences, etc.*

Robert Bozier ; previously a commoner of Edmund Hall, Oxford. From Broad Oak he went to Doolittle's academy to complete his preparation for the ministry ; but died in a few weeks, aged 23, on 13th September, 1680.

Samuel Lawrence ; afterwards with Malden and Morton ; subsequently minister at Nantwich.

John Wilson ; he also studied under Thomas Rowe, and ministered at Warwick.

Samuel Benion, M.D. ; he completed his studies at Glasgow, succeeded Mr. Henry as pastor at Broad Oak, and was afterwards pastor and tutor at Shrewsbury.

The life of Philip Henry is so well known that it needs not to be summarized here. He died 24th June, 1696, aged 66.

John Malden was minister at Cheswardine, Salop, in 1648, when he signed the county "testimony" to the Solemn League and Covenant. Nothing is known of his education or antecedents. In 1662 he was curate of Newport, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

He then removed to Alkington, a hamlet in the parish of Whitchurch, where he kept a private academy, and "had many hopeful young men under his care." Who they were, or whether any of them were in training for the ministry, we are not informed; except in the case of the Rev. Samuel Lawrence of Nantwich. Mr. Lawrence had previously resided for a little time in the family of the Rev. Philip Henry at Broad Oak; and was with Mr. Malden to the time of his death, when he removed to Morton's academy, Stoke Newington.

Malden was licensed under the Indulgence as a Presbyterian, for the house of Thomas Yates at Whitchurch; the licence being dated 15th June, 1672. He was an intimate friend of Philip Henry, who mentions him several times in his diary, and describes him as "a man of great learning, an excellent Hebrician and of exemplary piety, and a solid preacher." He died 23rd May, 1681, aged 60. Philip Henry remarked on his funeral: "The relics of so much learning, piety and humility I have not seen this great while laid in a grave; but blessed be God we had such a one so long."

It is worth noting that at Malden's funeral, it being a time of drought, arrangements were made for a day of fasting and prayer. A meeting-place was appointed, to which two magistrates with their retinue came direct from an alehouse, and took the names of all who were present—some of whom were heavily fined for breach of the Conventicle Act.

A tradition, adopted by W. Wilson and Bogue, mentions *Edward Rayner*, sometime minister of St. Peter's, Lincoln, as an early Nonconformist tutor; and the former names Dr. Joshua Oldfield and John Billingsley as two of his students. But this is certainly a mistake. Edward

Reyner, who deserves a high place among Puritan confessors, was in early life a schoolmaster; but that was before Oldfield was born, and he died when Oldfield was only six or seven years old. Moreover, E. Reyner died either before or very shortly after the Ejection, one of his most important works being published posthumously in 1663. The error probably arose from confusion between Edward and his only son, *John Reyner*, who was ejected from a fellowship in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. *He*, after his ejection, entered on the practice of medicine. "A man of considerable learning, singular modesty, and eminent piety. . . . He was afterwards greatly pressed to educate young men in academical learning, for which service he was well qualified, and which he was prevailed upon to undertake. But, to the great loss of the public, he was soon after taken off by the small-pox at *Nottingham*." We have no account of his pupils. His only publications were:

A preface to his father's *Defence of Human Learning*, and a chapter added to that book on the *Usefulness of Arabic for Understanding Scripture*.

A discourse on the *Nature and Counterfeits of Grace*, prefixed to his father's tract on *The Being and Well-being of a Christian*.

And an elegy on one Mr. Bright.

John Flavel, the saintly confessor of Dartmouth (d. 1691), though he did not preside over an academy, is also entitled to an honourable place among early Nonconformist tutors. His biographer says: "He freely taught academical learning to four young men whom he bred to the ministry, and one of them he maintained all the while at his own charge." Unfortunately we have not been able to identify his pupils.

The Manchester academy is frequently said to have been originated by *Henry Newcome*, and that at Shrewsbury by *Francis Tallents*. But neither

of these statements will bear investigation. There is evidence that the Manchester academy commenced in March, 1698, two years and a half after Newcome's death; and that at Shrewsbury began on the removal thither of James Owen from Oswestry in 1699. It is indeed possible that Tallents may have had a few private pupils; and he may have given some assistance in tuition to Owen, who was his co-pastor; but if so its amount must have been limited by the fact that he was then full eighty years old.

Of these academies, and others of the same class, we hope to give some account hereafter.

In the account of the Coventry academy, *Trans.* iv. 44-5, it was stated in accordance with the generally accepted authorities (W. Wilson, Bogue, etc.) that Tong was colleague first with Sherwell and then with Oldfield, both as pastor and tutor. This appears to be incorrect. Tong writes to Thoresby, the Leeds historian, on 18th January, 1698-9: "My worthy friend Mr. Henry tells me that he designs you a visit this summer; and how happy should I think myself could I come along with him. But the solicitations of my friends have prevailed with me to teach academical learning to a few young men that were with Mr. Oldfield; and this, I fear, will detain me." This clearly implies that Tong had only of late entered on the work of tuition, which had been relinquished by Oldfield.

A memorandum in the hand of Joshua Wilson at New College states that this "seminary was instituted by desire of Lord King, soon after the Revolution." It would be interesting to know the authority for this statement.

Alston Moor Congregational Church, Cumberland

IN *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 214, the Rev. J. H. Colligan gives a brief sketch of the early history of this ancient church, on which J. W. Robinson, Esq., of Haydon Bridge, has favoured us with a few annotations. There was an account of the same church (presumably from the pen of the late Joshua Wilson, Esq.) in the *Congregational Magazine* of March, 1822. It seems desirable to reprint this account, with omission of a little superfluous verbiage; supplementing the same (in square brackets) with the additional information supplied by Mr. Robinson.

Alston Moor

This church arose out of the ancient one at Garrigill (about four miles distant), in which place there has been a congregation of dissenters ever since the ejection of the two thousand ministers. Thomas Dawes, the first minister of whom we have any account, and who was settled here about the end of the seventeenth century, preached in the times of persecution at different houses in the neighbourhood, and toward the close of his life in a newly erected meeting-house at Garrigill. By his last will, dated Kirkoswald, April, 1703, he bequeathed £30, to be lent out on interest; and the said interest to be given annually to his successors in office, who (as he expressed himself) shall preach at the meeting house lately erected at the *Loaning-head*, on the east side of Tyne, near Garrigill-gate. [Loaning-head meeting-house, erected 1695, was only about 100 yards eastward from the village.] His books also, with a few exceptions, were included in the same bequest; and when the congregation should be destitute of a pastor were to be lent to the different members. His labours were extended to many hamlets and private houses in the vicinity. Messrs. Turner and Dickinson succeeded him; the former removed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the latter to Fisher Street, Carlisle.

[Thomas Dickinson was, I suspect, at Garrigill from the retirement or death of Dawes in 1703 till 1712. Query, was he the T. D.

who entered Frankland's academy on 8th February, 1691-2, and was ordained on 26th May, 1698? (A Dickinson was at Bispham early in 1699, but had removed—we know not whither—before 8th August in that year.—*Editor*.) There are only two entries in Garrigill parish register which could refer to the minister: (1) Thomas Dickinson married Anne Emerson at Garrigill, May 23rd, 1704; (2) Feb. —, 1710, Dorothy d. of Thomas Dickinson, baptized. Dickinson was a very common name at Alston, and Thomas a common Christian name among them. Wallace, the historian of Alston, in a private letter in 1893, suggested that the minister might be one of the Garrigill Dickinsons; which, unless there be evidence to the contrary, is not unlikely. The Dickinsons were enthusiastic Nonconformists, and intermarried with other Nonconformist families in the place, among whom were the Emersons]. (Mr. Dickinson removed to Carlisle, probably in 1712 or 1713. He was still there in 1734, when on 10th April he acted as Moderator of the Provincial Assembly at Brampton; on which occasion John Herries was ordained for Brampton and Adam Dean for Huddlesceugh (Park-head). He *may* have continued till 1745, in which years we first hear of his successor, Israel Bennett.—*Editor*.)

[John Turner probably succeeded Dickinson about 1713. Mr. Axon says: "The usual date given for the change from Alston to Berwick is 1719"; which is likely, notwithstanding a grant from the Presbyterian Fund in 1714-5, March 7, of "a further allowance of six pounds to Alston Moor and Wiredale in Cumberland when provided of a minister to the satisfaction of the Board." Turner may not have left, he might wish to leave, or the meeting might not be able at the time to do better and kept him on. There are no entries in the Garrigill register that can refer to our Turner. The following entries are in the Berwick parish register:

- 1722-3. Mch. 14. John, son of John Turner, Dissenting Minister, buried.
- 1736. Aug. 29. Ann, wife of Mr. John Turner buried.
- 1745-6. Mch. 11. Ann, d. of the Rev. Mr. John Turner, buried.
- 1748. June 5. Isabel, wife of y^e Rev. Mr. John Turner buried.
- 1760. June 8. The Rev. Mr. John Turner buried.]

Mr. Adam Wilson, from Gallowshields (? Galashiels), N.B., was the next minister in succession, and preached alternately at Garrigill and *Irshope Burn* upwards of twenty years, and then returned to Scotland. [Query, was he at Garrigill as long as is here stated? The Rev. H. C. Hopton, minister at Alston in 1904, wrote in that year a centenary pamphlet, in which he says that during Mr. Wilson's pastorate a new meeting-house was built at Irshope Burn, a mile west of St. John's chapel, Weardale. There is at Garrigill a "distinct register of Nonconformists"; it contains the following entries:

Robert the son of Adam Wilson of Hole was borne y^e
11 July 1720.

Margaret, the dau. of Mr. Wilson of Hole was borne the 27th
June 1722.

() of Mr. Wilson was borne the 13th April, 1725.

Nanney, the wife of Adam Wilson of the Hole was buried the
13 March, 1727.

Mr. Wilson was present at the Provincial Meeting at Brampton
on 10th April, 1734.]

James Richie, M.D., from N.B., officiated alternately at the
places before alluded to for about twelve or fourteen years. At
the expiration of that time, about 1751 or-2, he took the pastoral
charge of the united congregation of Garrigill and Plumpton,
between which he divided his labours for a few years, and then
removed to Mixenden, Yorkshire. ["Garrigill and Plumpton" is
obviously a mistake for *Great Salkeld and Plumpton*. Dr. Ritchie
had been at Ravenstonedale in 1734, but left under unpleasant
circumstances, see *Transactions* iii., 94-5. As minister of Salkeld
he took part in an ordination at Brampton on 11th April, 1753,
(and before the end of that year went to Mixenden. In his later
years he was an Arian.—*Editor*.)]

Mr. Thomas Smith, from Hunter Hall, N.B., then succeeded,
and continued here for about six or seven years [1753-60]. He
had been licensed by the presbytery of Dunoon on 15th September,
1747, and was ordained for "Alston Moor" in 1753. During his
residence, 1754-6, a new meeting-house was erected for the church
at Redwing [some 500 yards north of Garrigill]. Mr. Smith left
Garrigill about February, 1760, being presented by King George II.
to the church at Cummertrees, near Annan. He died 6th June,
1799, aged 82. [There is no mention of him in the Garrigill
register.]

The next minister was Mr. John Dean, M.A. (Glasgow), son of
Mr. Adam Dean of Huddlesceugh. [He had been a pupil of the
Rev. Samuel Lothian of Newcastle.] He remained here about
three years [1760-63], and then removed to North Shields. [In
the Garrigill parish register is this entry: "John, son of Joshua
Davison of Dodberry was bapt. by Mr. Dean, Dissenting minister,
Ap. 13, 1763." From Shields Mr. Dean removed to Bradford,
Yorks, in 1767; he married, had a daughter and perhaps other
children, and died in December, 1813. He is said to have been a
Socinian. The following notice appeared in the *Tyne Mercury*, 21st
December, 1813: "Died Thursday se'nnight near Manchester, the
Rev. John Dean, formerly of North Shields, but for the last forty-
six years minister of a congregation of Protestant dissenters at
Bradford in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His grandfather, the
Rev. John Dean of Falstone; his father, the Rev. Adam Dean of
Huddlesceugh; and himself have exercised the ministry for more
than a century."

The *Tyne Mercury*, 1814, says: "Died lately, Monday, 1st August, 1814, Eliza, wife of Chris^t Holdsworth Dawson, Esq., of Low Moor, near Bradford, and daughter of the late Rev. John Dean of that town. Subsequent information says that Dean and Holdsworth Dawson having some money purchased a piece of moorland very cheap; and finding both coal and ironstone set up a foundry, and became vastly rich."]

In the year 1763 Mr. Timothy Nelson, then preaching at Penruddock, near Penrith, was invited to take the charge of the church at Garrigill, where he continued almost thirty-eight years. In the year 1800 he resigned, and returned to his native place. By this time the cause had almost dwindled away, and would in all probability have been entirely lost, had it not been for the exertions of Mr. John Dickinson of Alston, formerly of Garrigill. He engaged Mr. Wm. Norris, senior, to preach in Alston and the neighbourhood; under whose ministry a church was formed in Alston, and received into union with itself the remains of the old church at Garrigill.

Mr. Norris had been deputed in October, 1796, by the *Societas Evangelica*, to proceed from London to the north of Yorkshire to attempt the introduction of the Gospel into destitute places, and his ministry was eminently successful. He says: "After the removal of Mr. Nelson from Carrigill, I think in 1803, I received a very pressing invitation to visit Alston Moor, which I complied with from no further design than an itinerant excursion, for a fortnight; during which I preached at Garrigill, Alston town, and several adjacent places. The result was that an Independent interest was raised at Alston, and a student from Hoxton academy was engaged to supply them; but not liking the country, he stayed but a short time. On his leaving them they applied to me again, requesting that I would take the pastoral charge of the newly-raised congregation, in connection with the vacancy at Garrigill. This, after earnest prayer, much deliberation, and the advice of candid disinterested friends, I complied with. For some time we carried on regular worship at Alston in the room of an inn; but the use of a more convenient apartment at a spinning manufactory being offered us by a friend, we removed to it. I continued to preach three times every Lord's day, and on one evening in the week, until the encouraging prospects of religious matters induced us to erect a chapel; which, together with the burying ground, is vested in the hands of trustees, according to the usual mode of Independent churches. The whole of the ground was given by Mr. William Todd, the friend before alluded to; about half the expense for building the chapel was raised by the friends at Alston; and the remainder I got in London, in the usual way of begging, except a small sum which I collected among my friends in Yorkshire and Durham." The meeting-house was opened on 13th February, 1805. Mr. Norris remained about five or six years, and

then removed to Boroughbridge in Yorkshire (near which town he died in 1842, in the 82nd year of his age and the 50th of his ministry). His son, William Norris, junior, from Rotherham academy, succeeded him at Alston (in 1808); but died in the prime of his usefulness, on February, 1814, aged 29 years. He was a youth of uncommon memory, and called when a student "the walking concordance." He possessed respectable classical attainments, and evinced superior skill in Biblical criticism and sacred literature; to which he joined the most unassuming modesty and the most exalted spirituality. Mr. Jonathan Harper, from the academy at Idle, took the pastoral charge of the two congregations in 1815, and was ordained on 21st August, 1816. He occasionally preached in the neighbouring hamlets of Mutsberry, Hayes, etc.

(In 1821 the chapel was considerably enlarged. At that time there are said to have been 400 hearers and thirty-six communicants at Alston, and about sixty hearers with nine communicants at Garrigill. Mr. Harper was a good scholar, and a vigorous and useful preacher. He continued to labour zealously and faithfully, among a loving and beloved people, for the space of forty-three years; and resigned his charge on 21st March, 1858, being then in the 70th year of his age. But though released from the cares of a regular pastorate, he was unwilling to retire altogether from the active ministry. He removed to Whitehaven, where he laboured with much acceptance as town missionary for ten years longer. He then returned to Alston, to spend the remainder of his days in peace. He died on 8th November, 1876, in the 89th year of his age, and 61st of his ministry.

The succession of ministers since Mr. Harper's retirement is as follows:

The Rev. R. E. Long, B.A., from Lancashire College, 1858-60. He is still living at Liscard, Cheshire, but has never held another pastorate.

The Rev. J. Harker, of Lancashire College; from Brigg, Lincolnshire, 1860. Removed to Stockport, 1871. Is now living in retirement at Monkseaton, Northumberland.

The Rev. Geo. Wood for a short time in 1872; not recognized by the county union.

The Rev. F. Lamb, from Nottingham College, 1873; removed to Cummock, N.B., in 1877.

The Rev. W. Farries, from Nottingham College, 1877; removed to Walls, Shetland, in 1897; now ministering at Rhynie, Aberdeenshire.

The Rev. H. C. Hopton, from Nottingham College, 1898; removed to Radcliff, Lancashire, in 1904, where he still remains.

The pastorate is now vacant.—*Editor.*)

The following notes on the ancestors of the Rev. John Dean may be of interest.

[The Rev. John Dean, a Dissenting minister at Falstone on the North Tyne, married one of the daughters of a farmer at Ancroft, called Millar, probably about 1710. "From this root many branches have spread out. The Rev. John Dean was settled at Falstone in the beginning of the 18th century, and was probably the first minister there after the Revolution and before the Union. He had to labour there some years before he could get the fierce Borderers so far softened as to be fit for Elders to assist him in the management of his Congregation." "His son Adam Dean was a Dissenting minister at Huddlesceugh (near Kirkoswald), in Cumberland. His family was not known to his friends here (in Berwick) except on report that he had a son a Socinian clergyman at North Shields." (Andrew Burn's family letter, MSS. dated 1816.)

The Rev. Adam Dean was born in 1714, and ordained at Huddlesceugh, later called Parkhead, Kirkoswald, in 1734. He was married to Mary Smith, at Renwick, in 1736, and officiated at Parkhead for upwards of fifty years.] He was a good classical scholar, and took private pupils. One of these, Joseph Benson, the son of a neighbouring farmer, became an intimate friend of John Wesley and John Fletcher; and was the first classical tutor at the Countess of Huntingdon's College, Trevecca. Being refused orders in the Episcopal Church he became one of the most distinguished ministers of the Wesleyan community. [Mrs. Dean died in 1785, and was buried at Parkhead, where there is a memorial inscription. Adam Dean died in 1788, at the house of his son William Dean, a surgeon in Hexham, and was buried in the abbey.] A flat stone in the nave marks his resting-place.

History of the Independent Church, Newport Pagnell

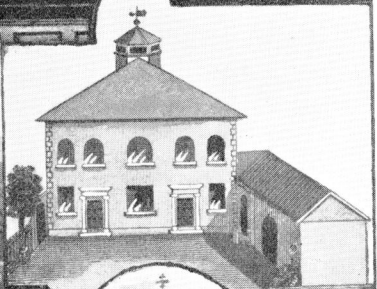
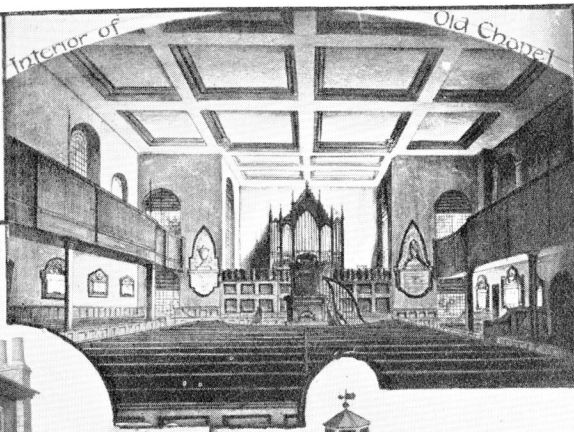
AT the time of the Civil War, when Sir Samuel Luke was the Parliamentary governor of Newport Pagnell, the Thompson MS. states "that there were several people in ye town called Puritans; these were greatly favoured by the Souldiers, and Religion by that means got footing here. But it was not till ye Restoration that an Independent Congregation was formed by Mr. John Gibbs, who was Vicar of ye Parish, but was ejected for refusing ye Lord's Supper to ye whole Parish. He was a pious and learned Man, tho' it is said He was not bred at ye University, but put in by Cromwell's party."

Despite the reference to the University just quoted, Mr. Gibbs is said elsewhere to have been sometime of Cambridge University, and to have been presented to the vicarage of Newport Pagnell in 1647, his predecessor, Samuel Austin, being first "thrust out." Indeed it was in 1647 or 1648 that Richard Carpenter, the one-time Jesuit, had a dispute in the parish church with "Mr. Gibbs, minister there" concerning Infant Baptism.¹

Mr. Gibbs does not seem to have officiated at any marriage from 1653 until at any rate 1657. During these years the marriage ceremony was conducted by local magistrates, the contract of marriage being either published "three market

¹ This Carpenter, who was a native of Newport Pagnell and was three times alternately Papist and Protestant, published an amusingly arrogant narrative of the controversy, which is in the Congregational Library. He ultimately died in communion with the Church of Rome.

NEWPORT
FAGNELL
Independent
Chapel.



daies in the market place" or on "three several Lord's daies in the parish church."

In January, 1656-7, the trustees for the maintenance of ministers were recommended to settle upon Mr. John Gibbs, minister of Newport Pagnell, an augmentation of £40 per annum for his better maintenance and encouragement.

It is a moot point as to when Mr. Gibbs was ejected. On 14 August, 1659, a note in the registers as to a collection for the fire in Soulbay was signed by him: "Joh. Gibbs, Minstr." On the 24th of the same month Mr. Gibbs, minister of Newport Pagnell, gave the House of Parliament an account of the apprehending of Sir George Booth, at Newport, whither he came with four servants, and behind one of them himself rode in the habit of a woman. And, adds Whitelock, he, Gibbs, "made applications to many of the Parliament and Council by his Friends for favour."²

On 16 January, 1660-61, Robert Marshall was presented to the vicarage by Charles II., the cause of the vacancy not being stated, and inducted 11 March following. It is evident therefore that between 24 August, 1659, and 16 January, 1660-61, Gibbs was ejected, and that without further evidence a more exact date cannot be ascertained. The parish registers being during this period kept by Williamson, the parish registrar, do not, as might have been expected, help in this respect.

Tradition has it that the principal mover in Mr. Gibbs's ejection was a local magnate whom he had repelled from the Lord's Table as a notorious drunkard.

The Great Plague in 1666 made fearful ravages in the town of Newport. The deaths in that year were 697; those in the preceding and following years being 37 and 45 respectively.

² A pecuniary reward was ultimately voted to Gibbs and the others concerned.

In May, 1672, John Bunyan, who for a time was one of the Newport garrison, applied for a licence for John Gibbs to preach in "William Smyth's barn and his own house in Newport Pagnell," and the licences are dated 25 May, Mr. Gibbs being referred to as a Presbyterian. His adherents at Newport are described three years earlier as "number, uncertain, qualitie, inferior tradesmen and mechanick people."³ The house was apparently part of the present manse, and the barn was on the site of the present schools—to the south-west of the old chapel.

The barn, being as it was at the end of a long yard running back from the street, and also near Pagg's Court, into which an exit was provided through a garden door, was well situate for times of persecution, when a prompt escape was at times a necessity. According to tradition it had previously been used as a meeting-place of Quakers.

There seems to have been an intimate association between the Nonconformists of Newport and those of Bedford. A Mr. Wheeler, a member of the former, was invited to succeed Mr. Gifford, the first pastor of the latter; and the name of Mr. Gibbs occurs several times in the Bedford church book. The Dissenting interest at Olney was also "raised" by him.

Mr. Gibbs held somewhat peculiar views, being what in those days was called a "Catabaptist." That is, he held that baptism should not be administered to children of Christian parents, but only to converts from Judaism or heathenism. He continued to minister to the Newport people till his death, which took place in his 72nd year, on 16 June, 1699. His will was proved on 5 Decem-

³ *Return of Conventicles*, 1669. MS. 639 in Lambeth Palace Library.

ber, 1699. He was buried on the south side of the church chancel, and a stone marking the place of burial is still in existence, though the inscription, a copy of most of which is preserved,⁴ cannot now be deciphered.

Soon after Mr. Gibbs's death a poetical *Elegy* was printed as a broadsheet for Mark Conyers, a bookseller in the town. At the foot were advertised Mr. Gibbs's *Last Legacy to his Parishioners*, and a funeral sermon preached by him for Mr. Wm. Hartley, apothecary, of Newport, who seems to have been his kinsman. The sermon and elegy are in the Congregational Library. He published another funeral sermon for a Mr. Maxwell, a native of Newport, who died while a student at Harvard College, New England.

It was towards the end of the 17th century that the old barn meeting-place⁵ was forsaken and the first real meeting-house was erected. This building, which joined the barn, measured on the outside 40 feet square and had one gallery in the front four seats deep. In the wall behind the pulpit an opening for purposes of escape was left.

It was no doubt in this "new erected house, Chapell, or Meeting Place the old Meeting house or Barne [being] on the West part thereof," that Thomas Tingey, the successor of John Gibbs, ministered. He was educated for the ministry by the Rev. Thomas Goodwin, of Pinner, and left Newport at the commencement of the year 1708-9 on his accepting a call to the Castle Hill meeting at Northampton. He ministered there above 20 years, and removed to London, where he died 1st November, 1729.

John Hunt, who had been pastor of the last-

⁴ *Brief Narrative of Independent Church, Newport Pagnell*.—T. P. Bull, 1811, p. 9.

⁵ The remnants of the barn, now in a very dilapidated condition, will be taken down in connection with proposed additions to the Sunday school.

named meeting for some eleven years, took his place at Newport, for on "October the 12th, 1709, the Church called Mr. John Hunt to the Pastoral Office, which call he accepted of."

On the same date the church covenant is set out as under:—

"We whose names are underwritten, having given ourselves to the Lord, do Solemnly Promise in the Presence of God to walke together in communion in all the Ordinances of God; According to the Light we have Received: showing all dutiful Respect to our Pastor, and Brotherly Love towards each other, and to Submit ourselves to all such Censures of the Church as shall be agreeable to the word of God, and all these we will continue to do, as God shall Inable us."

This covenant is indeed the first entry in the oldest existing church book, and is followed by some 28 names. Various notes appear against many of the names of church members in the earlier entries. "Dead" is naturally the predominant entry, but there are others now of more quaint interest, such as "An Israelite indeed;" "Gone to New York;" "Dyed Smallpox with many spotts upon her;" "Dyed suddenly being A old maide."

In 1710 Mr. Richard Freeman, a member of the church at Newport, was ordained first pastor of a church at Gamlingay, Hunts; which was originally a branch of the church at Bedford, but was then constituted a distinct society.

On 14th July, 1714, an association of ministers met at Mr. Hunt's meeting-house, when the Rev. Dr. Cumming of Cambridge preached on *The Corruption and Defection of the Times as to Matters of Religion*. This was at the time when the promoters of the Schism Act were triumphing in hope of the speedy extinction of Nonconformity; a

hope which was providentially frustrated by the accession of the House of Hanover.

In 1725 Mr. Hunt left Newport for Tunstead, Norfolk. "He was of a remarkable warm and lively temper and his preaching very successful. In his time ye congregation was not less than 70 or 80 in number." He died about 1730. He wrote several controversial works which were of worth in their day, and some hymns which have long been forgotten.

On 15 September, 1725, "Mr. Willm. Hunt, son of Mr. Jno. Hunt, was ordained Pastor. Mr. Jabez Earle on this occasion made the introductory discourse, Dr. Calamy delivered the Charge, and Mr. Troughton preached to the people." Two side galleries were erected in this year, and it is said that during Mr. Hunt's ministry the congregation so grew that the meeting-house was not large enough to contain it.

In August, 1738, however, Mr. Hunt left Newport to take charge of a church at Hackney, of which the Rev. Matthew Henry had formerly been minister. He died 20th May, 1770, in his 73rd year.

From Dr. Doddridge's correspondence and diary it appears that Rev. David Fordyce, M.A., preached at Newport for a few months soon after Mr. Hunt left, and the doctor in October, 1738, thought he would have a "unanimous and pressing invitation." But he apparently did not, as on 27 February, 1739, the doctor writes: "I send you this by the hands of Mr. Fordyce, who has spent some time at Newport."

In September, 1740, the chapel premises came into the market owing to the bankruptcy of the freeholder; and Dr. Doddridge generously bought them and assured them to trustees. In the trust deed one Thomas Webb is spoken of as minister, but nothing further is known of him.

The congregation was manifestly on the decline when on 20 October, 1743, the church called Mr. Humphrey Gainsborough, a brother of the celebrated artist, to the pastoral office, but he only remained till 1747. He then removed to Henley, where he died suddenly on 23 August, 1776. He was not only an earnest philanthropist, but a mechanical genius ; several of his inventions being of general utility.

Mr. Affleck, a Scotchman (eventually preacher at the Great church at Middleburgh, Holland), succeeded apparently for a time, but in 1749 the Rev. James Belsham became pastor. "He was a man of talent and literature though by no means a popular or acceptable preacher."⁶ At this time he was residing at Bedford, and, as he continued to do so, his absence and want of popularity so prejudicially affected the church that when he resigned in 1763 there were only fourteen church members.

On 11 October, 1764, "Mr. William Bull was ordained to the Pastoral care." He was born at Irthlingborough and studied for the ministry at Daventry under Dr. Caleb Ashworth. The following ministers took part in the ordination : Dr. Ashworth ; Mr. Drake, of Olney ; Mr. Denny, of Long Buckby ; Mr. Boyce, of Kettering ; Mr. Hextal, of Northampton ; Mr. Saunderson, of Bedford ; Dr. Stephen Addington, of Harborough ; and Mr. Strange, of Kilsby.

Soon after his settlement his famous acquaintanceship with the Rev. John Newton, curate of Olney, was formed, and in 1780 his equally well known intimacy with the poet William Cowper may be said to have commenced. It was at his suggestion that the latter translated several of the hymns of

⁶ *Memoirs of Rev. Thomas Belsham*, by John Williams, 1833.

Madame Guyon. Through Newton he was brought into relations with the distinguished philanthropist John Thornton, an acquaintance which ultimately led to the foundation of the Newport Pagnell Theological Academy. The plan of this institution, "upon a liberal basis so far as denominational differences were concerned, but having strict regard to Evangelical Truth," was drawn up by Newton early in 1782; and in that year the academy was commenced, with Mr. Bull as tutor.

About this time Mr. Bull's services were in frequent requisition for some of those chapels which had sprung up in London as the fruits of the labours of Whitefield and his coadjutors; and for many years he was on the rota of preachers at The Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, and Surrey Chapel.

On 30 December, 1789, there are some quaint minutes relative to the affairs of the meeting-house, it being decided to take a collection on the third Sabbath of the second month of each quarter for repairs, candles, etc., and that the master of the Sunday schools be allowed 13 shillings per quarter and the mistress half a guinea. On 28 December in the following year, however, it was decided to drop the Sunday school for girls, as too few attended to occupy a person to teach them.

On 8 November, 1790, the Rev. Wm. Bull gave a piece of ground—afterwards added to—on the south-east side of the meeting-house to be used as a burial ground.

In 1796 a funeral sermon preached by Mr. Bull was the occasion of a remarkable religious revival in the town. This was resented by certain lewd fellows of the baser sort; members of the congregation were insulted in every possible way; and an effigy was burned, labelled "Tom Paine, Parson

Bull, or the Devil." Patient continuance in well doing at length overcame this hostility, and some of the ringleaders became eminent for their piety and usefulness.

On 23 October, 1800, the Rev. Thomas Palmer Bull was ordained co-pastor with his father. He was also his colleague in the academy.

At the end of 1805 the meeting was quite renovated and altered, and reopened on 12 January, 1806; but the congregation increasing, the building was in the summer of 1808 made one third larger. Between 1780 and the death of Mr. Bull, senior, congregations were gathered in the villages of Astwood, North Crawley, Bradwell, Sherington and Stoke Goldington, and possibly at Great Linford also, although the chapel there was not built till 1833.

On "23 July, 1814, it pleased God to deprive this Church of its senior pastor the Revd. William Bull, in the 76th year of his age, after having sustained the pastoral office nearly fifty years. This venerable servant of Christ outlived every church member and every subscriber who was so at the time of his ordination; but the great Head of the Church so blessed his labors that others were raised up to supply the place of those who slept in Jesus, and the church was seven times larger at his death than at his ordination."⁷ The members at this time numbered 115.

During the Rev. T. P. Bull's ministry further enlargements were made to the chapel. In 1819 the front was carried out 8 feet; and in 1827 the vestry was enlarged and a schoolroom erected over it.

On 1 October, 1833, the Revd. Josiah Bull (grandson of Wm. Bull) was ordained co-pastor

⁷ Church Book.



Rev. Tho. Palmer Bull
Newport Pagnel
Buck's.

with his father. By 1839 the membership had increased to nearly 300 ; but in that year 16 were transferred to Stoke Goldington, where a separate church was then formed.

In 1850, when the Rev. T. P. Bull had been pastor 50 years, a jubilee service was held. "By all who knew him he was alike beloved and respected for his varied knowledge, genial temper, public spirit, unostentatious piety, and his great and varied usefulness. He retained to a late age, to a great degree, his bodily and mental vigour, but at length in March, 1859, at the advanced age of 86, he quietly sunk to rest."

It was in the year 1850 that the Newport Pagnell Theological College, set on foot in 1782, and of which the Rev. Wm. Bull was first tutor, ceased to be, the then students and invested funds being transferred to Cheshunt College.

On 11 October, 1864, a meeting was held to commemorate the centenary of the ordination of the Rev. W. Bull, and the continuance of the pastoral office in the same Church by his son and grandson down to that time. A piece of plate was presented to the Rev. Josiah Bull ; who read a brief history of the church from which part of the foregoing narrative is derived.

On 31 March, 1868, in consequence of ill health, the Rev. Josiah Bull resigned his charge, having for 34 years sustained the office previously held by his grandfather for 50 and by his father for 60 years as already mentioned.

On 9 July, 1868, the Rev. Clarence Lankester, B.A., of Cheshunt College, was ordained pastor. He continued to minister here till 12 February, 1878, when he left to take charge of the Congregational church at Preston, near Brighton. He died at Bradford, 4th January, 1910.

In January, 1879, the Rev. James Alfred Balshaw,

of Lancashire College, from Whitchurch, Salop, was recognised as pastor of the church. During his ministry the necessity for a new place of worship became apparent, and on 26 October, 1880, the memorial stone of the present chapel was laid by Albert Spicer, Esq.

The last sermons were preached in the old chapel on 6 June, 1880, by Mr. Balshaw, and the new building which stands in front of the old Chapel site was formally opened on 17 May, 1881, a sermon being preached in the afternoon by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A. The old Chapel, with the exception of the organ loft, which is now used in connection with the Sunday school, was taken down, but the vestry and schoolrooms were left and additional class rooms built. The new building accommodates 400, and its total cost, and the purchase of the manse, etc., came to about £4,000.

In June, 1885, Mr. Balshaw resigned the pastorate and went to Australia for the benefit of his health, and is now living in retirement at Stockport.

His successor, the Rev. Samuel Clarke Gordon, M.A., B.D., then residing at Sidcup, was recognized 25 May, 1886. He was of Lancashire College, and had formerly ministered at Reading and Chatham.

Mr. Gordon held the pastorate for some eleven years, leaving the town in July, 1897. He retired to Brighton, where he is still residing.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Selwyn John Evans, of Cheshunt College, from Daventry, whose recognition services were held 19 May, 1898. He left in December, 1903, having accepted an invitation to the Reigate church, where he still ministers.

The Rev. Joseph Craig Kelly, of Sheerness, the present pastor, followed. He is of Western College,

and had previously held pastorates at Forest Hill and Canterbury. His recognition services were held on 15 September, 1904, but he commenced his ministry here on 3 July.

FREDK. WM. BULL, F.S.A.

We hope shortly to give an account of the Newport Pagnell Academy, with a portrait of the Rev. Wm. Bull. [ED.]