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Editorial

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Congregational Memorial Hall, London, 12th May, 1915. Dr. B. Nightingale presided over a large attendance of members and friends. The secretary reported the arrangements made for the Autumnal Meeting at Bristol before it was known that the gatherings of the Congregational Union would be postponed, and the thanks of the Society were forwarded to Mr. G. H. Wicks of that city for having prepared a paper to be read on the occasion. The preparations for the Historical Exhibition were necessarily postponed owing to the war, but the secretary undertook to report at the next meeting what the prospects were of resuming the work. The treasurer reported a small balance in hand, that satisfactory result being mainly due to a kind grant from the Coward Trust made through the president of the Society, Dr. John Brown, who was happily present at the meeting, and was congratulated on the sixtieth anniversary of his leaving Lancashire College for the Congregational ministry.

Among publications of interest recently issued from the press, there were mentioned the third and completing volume of *Original Records*, by Prof. G. Lyon Turner, the treasurer of the Society; *The Baptists in the N. W. of England*, by the Rev. Dr. Whitley; *Old Dissenting Academies*, by Miss Irene Parker of Cherwell Hall, Oxford; and *Kendal Nonconformity*, by Messrs. Nicholson and Axon. The proposal that the *Transactions* of the Congregational and Baptist Historical Societies should be supplied to the members of both Societies, without any addition to the usual annual subscription, was agreed to. The officers of the Society were re-elected for the ensuing year.

The principal business of the meeting was the reading of the very interesting paper by Prof. A. J. Grieve, D.D., which appears in our present issue, on *Congregationalism in Little England beyond Wales*. The paper was much appreciated and was followed by a general conversation. The Society's thanks were proposed by the Rev. H. Harries, M.A., and seconded by the Rev. J. Alden Davies, and warmly agreed to.

The secretary was requested to express the sympathy of all the

members with Mr. Norman Penney, secretary of the Friends' Historical Society, in his prolonged and serious illness.

* *

In connection with the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union at Leeds, a meeting of our Society will be held in the Salem Institute, on Wednesday, 6th October, at 3 p.m. Papers will be read by the Rev. G. S. Briggs of Mill Hill, (late of Otley,) on *Puritanism in Wharfedale*; and by Prof. G. L. Turner, M.A., on *The Clerical Subsidy of 1661*.

* *

Among recent publications of solid worth is a small volume by the Rev. J. H. Colligan, M.A., on *Nonconformity in the Eighteenth Century*. It presents, in a popular and readable form, a large amount of information about forms of worship, psalmody, phases of belief, controversies, training for the ministry, etc.; and is commendably free from that spirit of partisanship by which popular histories are so frequently disfigured.

* *

We very heartily congratulate the Rev. Dr. Peel on the academical recognition that has been granted to his patient researches into the history of Elizabethan Puritanism. Having been the first B.A. of Leeds to gain a research scholarship, he is now (besides his well won Oxford degree) the first recipient of a diploma of D.Litt. from the same University.

* *

Various causes, some arising out of the war, have delayed the publication of Dr. Peel's Calendar of the Morrice MSS.; but we understand that its appearance will not be deferred much longer. We have been favoured with a sight (in proof) of the Introduction and Contents, and a few specimen pages; and can assure our readers that the editorial work has been done with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired. The documents, 257 in number, are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, from 1547 to 1590; and are treated in much the same manner as the calendars in the Public Record Office. That is, for documents which are already in print, there is merely a brief description and indication where they may be found; others of relatively small importance are in like manner concisely described; while those of greater importance are either given in full or accurately quoted. Wherever the originals have been identified their present location is notified. The introduction contains curious information as to the way the MSS. have been used, or misused, by writers of repute; and, to judge by the extracts given,

the value of *one* such writer, at least, as a historian must in future be considerably discounted. Certain it is that the forthcoming Calendar will henceforth be indispensable to all serious students of Puritan history.

* * *

We understand that there is some hope of a reprint of the invaluable collection of Puritan tracts, published in 1593, under the title: *Part of a Register*, to which the Morrice Collection may be regarded as a sequel. This would be a great boon to students, for the original is so rare as to be practically inaccessible, except in London or Oxford.

Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty

IT is well known that the last attempt to restrict the liberty of religious worship in England by direct legislation was made in May, 1811; when Lord Sidmouth introduced a bill in the House of Lords to "explain and amend" the Toleration Act of 1689. The object was as far as possible to obstruct Itinerant and Lay Preachers; and the scheme, if it had taken effect, would have been a potent engine for the stamping out of rural Nonconformity. A vigorous opposition was therefore set on foot by the Dissenting Deputies, in co-operation with a General Committee of the Wesleyan Societies. On 21st May no less than 600 petitions were presented against the bill, these bore the signatures of above 100,000 *men*, and were all signed in the space of 48 hours. (See *Evangelical Magazine* 1811, pp. 237-48, 276-80.) The result was the rejection of the bill without a division.

Three days later a meeting of "Protestant Dissenters and other Friends to Religious Liberty" was held at the *London Tavern*; when a Committee was directed to prepare a Plan of a "Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," and to invite the concurrence of all Dissenting and Methodist congregations. Such a society was thereupon organised, with Messrs. T. Pellatt and J. Wilks as secretaries; and before the end of July personal subscriptions amounting to £251 5s. had been received from 25 individuals, and a further sum of £2,301 11s. from 215 congregations (*Evang. Mag.* 1811, pp. 280-85).

The first anniversary was held on 16th May, 1812, S. Mills, Esq., in the chair. Reports were presented of interviews with Mr. Percival, one only two hours before his assassination. Magistrates having refused to administer the oath required by the Toleration Act, the King's Bench had granted a *Mandamus*; but suggested that the magistrates might appeal. Mr. Percival had recognized the necessity of some amendment in the law, and promised to bring in a bill for that purpose. Nearly £800 had been spent in successfully prosecuting rioters who had violently assaulted a minister at Wickham Market (*Evang. Mag.* 1811, pp. 118, 370). Soldiers had been punished for attending a prayer meeting at Fareham; Mr. Percival had promised that the like should not

occur again. Clergymen who had refused to bury dissenters had been threatened with prosecution, and had promised not to offend in future. Steps had been taken towards relieving missionaries from persecution by the East India Company. Further attempts had been made to evade the obligation of magistrates to administer oaths under the Toleration Act; to meet such cases, and to obtain exemption of places of worship from local rates, legislation was necessary, but the prospect appeared hopeful. Successful efforts had been made to prevent the Militia and Registration Acts from containing provisions injurious to Protestant Dissenters. Nearly 600 congregations were reported as associated with the Society. (*Evan. Mag.* 1812, pp. 241-48.)

On 29th July, 1812, an Act was passed amending the Toleration Act, formally repealing the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, and obliging all magistrates to administer the above-mentioned oaths if demanded. The "Protestant Society" (this short name was adopted for convenience) immediately passed a resolution of thanks to the Government; and issued a circular thankfully accepting the relief afforded by the later Act, but insisting that the Corporation and Test Acts ought also to be repealed. (*Evan. Mag.* 1812, pp. 356-62.)

On 2nd March, 1813, a special meeting was held to demand freedom for missionaries in the territories of the East India Company; a petition to Parliament was agreed on. Similar petitions were about the same time presented by the Dissenting Deputies, and by "Inhabitants of London and the vicinity." (*Evan. Mag.* 1813, pp. 156-7, 183-4; cf. also 281-4.)

At the Annual Meeting in May, 1814, it was reported that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, had promised to exempt chapels from local rates. Refusals to bury were reported, chiefly from Wales. Congregations had been molested at Walham Green, Yaxley, and Aldingbourne; in the latter case by an organized mob led by two magistrates and the churchwardens. Proceedings in the King's Bench had been commenced against these for conspiracy. Bullets had also been shot into the meeting-house at Kilsby. Resolutions were passed rejoicing in the repeal of laws against Unitarians. (*Evan. Mag.* 1814, pp. 242-4.)

In reporting the fourth Annual Meeting (13 May, 1815), the *Evangelical Magazine* asserts that the Society had in that short time obtained greater benefits for the friends of religion than they had been able to procure by all their successive and united exertions since the Revolution. Refusals to bury persons baptized by dissenters had been declared and acknowledged to be illegal. Relief had been secured from tolls from persons going to worship outside their own parishes; Rev. B. Hobson of Welford had successfully invoked the aid of the Society in this matter. Congregations had been disturbed at Mortlake, Woodford, Windsor,

Braintree, Canewdon, Abbott's Ann, and Prince's Risborough; in most of these cases the offenders had been prosecuted. In several places, notably at Alveston in Derbyshire, misappropriation of trust property had been prevented. (*Evan. Mag.* 1815, pp. 265, &c.) Legal proceedings in some of these (and other) cases appear to have been somewhat protracted. It was not till 12th Jany., 1816, that the leader of the riot near Prince's Risborough was fined £40. In the same month six persons were sent to prison for three months for assembling with about 100 others and riotously disturbing a Methodist congregation at Newnham, Glos. On 17th July of that year Robert Newstead, a Methodist preacher, appealed at Wisbech quarter sessions against two magistrates—one of them a clergyman—on whose prosecution he had been fined for preaching in a field. The conviction was confirmed, but on a case being demanded for the King's Bench the prosecution was abandoned. (*Evan. Mag.* 1816, pp. 28, 67, 111, 399.)

At the Annual Meeting on 17th May, 1817, it was reported that the leaders of the riot at Abbott's Ann had publicly apologized, paid £100 towards the cost of the prosecution, and been bound over to keep the peace. Three cases of refusing burial were reported; in one of them the parson had *afterwards* read the ritual over the grave! An attempt had been made to levy rates on Surrey Chapel, which was resisted. Prosecutions had followed on riots at Anstey and Tisbury (Wilts); but at Mendlesham (Suff.) magistrates had refused to hear a complaint against a mob of 50 persons for rabbling a Baptist minister. Similar disturbances had taken place at Bracknell (Berks), Moorchelsea¹ (Kent), and at a village near Tewkesbury. Several attempts had been made to frighten rural Nonconformists. At a village in Wales the parish priest had threatened to extort a fine from any minister who should dispense the Lord's Supper! At Tetbury a placard, signed by a local attorney, threatened all who did not attend the parish church. At Portsmouth, handbills were issued accusing dissenters of designing insurrection and rebellion. Cases were reported in which magistrates still refused to license meeting-places; some in Lancashire agreed to refuse all applications except such as were made through counsel; that the fees might act as a deterrent. The Society had withdrawn from disputing the conviction of a Unitarian minister in Liverpool, because it was shewn that the preaching-place was not registered. (*Evan. Mag.* 1817, p. 317.)

At the Annual Meeting on 16th May, 1818, the Duke of Sussex presided. Cases of refusal to bury were still reported. The rector of Birmingham had demanded fees for the burial of Rev. Jehoiada Brewer in the ground attached to his own chapel! Several cases relating to tolls were still pending. Complete

¹ Not identified.

exemption of chapels from rates had not yet been gained; but in several cases assessment had been successfully resisted. Riots had occurred at Ealing, Isleworth, and Haslington. The Asteley case had at length been disposed of; the rioters, including a ceryman, had been convicted at the assizes, and bound over for three years. Several attempts had been made to oppress paupers who were Nonconformists: at Woodbridge a Methodist pauper was forbidden to attend the place of worship which he preferred; and at Stalbridge the parish officers would relieve the poor only on Sundays. Attempts at oppression by clauses in a new Poor-law bill had been frustrated. (*Evan. Mag.* 1818, pp. 305-9.)

Sir James Mackintosh presided at the Annual Meeting on 15th May, 1819. Continuance of the usual annoyances was reported; such as claiming illegal tolls, taxing chapels, refusing burial and sometimes marriage, and penalizing paupers for attending Nonconformist worship. Attempts had been made to assess the students' rooms in certain academies; but these had been successfully resisted. Resistance to the assessment of chapels at York and Chatham, however, had not been successful. It was held that tolls were levied by virtue of divers local acts; the Society therefore demanded general and permanent exemption of persons going to or from their usual places of worship. The complete rescission of the Test and Corporation Acts was also demanded. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1819, pp. 248-9.)

At the Annual Meeting on 13th May, 1820, Lord Holland occupied the chair. It had been decided that an attempt at distraint for taxes on students' apartments at Idel was illegal; whereupon similar claims at Blackburn and Newport Pagnell had been relinquished. It had further been decided that chapel trustees were liable to assessment on the *net* proceeds of pew rents, less necessary expenses, such necessary expenses including the minister's salary. But at some sessions clerical magistrates had asserted that £50, £40, or £30 "was quite enough for a dissenting minister." Methods for resisting such assessments were recommended. Certain clergy had demanded mortuary and surplice fees when bodies had been buried in dissenters' grounds; it was pointed out that the latter charge was clearly illegal; the former only legal if supported by a local Act, or by 200 years' usage. Several cases of local persecution were reported. Parish aid had been refused to dissenters in Suffolk, Hampshire, Devon, and Staffordshire. Near Ipswich a pauper had been forbidden to attend the congregation of which he had been a member for 22 years. At Sheringham,² Dorset, a tenant had been threatened with eviction for turning a barn into a preaching-place; and a cottager at Evelme for allowing the cottage to be occupied by a village preacher. An

² Not identified; Q. if error for Sherington, Wilts.

attempt to legalize persecution by a revised poor-law had been frustrated. Warning was given of persecution designed by means of a projected Education Act; the Archbishop of Canterbury having lately said: "The education of the poor must be confided to the direction of the parish priests, or there will be hazard to the Church and State." (*Evan. Mag.*, 1820, pp. 299-300.)

At the Annual Meeting on 12th May, 1821, S. Whitbread, M.P., presided. Information and advice had been given in many cases of claim for taxes, rates, tolls, and fees. Riots had occurred in Edgware Road, and at Swanton (Norf.), Worksoy (Notts.), and Totton, Southwick, and Botley (Hants.) Hampshire magistrates had refused to enforce penalties imposed by the Toleration Act and adjudged by themselves. Several cases of persecution of paupers were reported. At Hartland (Devon) and Bishopton (Wilts.) clergy had refused to bury persons baptized by Nonconformists; and at Kimbolton the vicar had refused to marry the son of a Baptist. In all these cases apologies had been obtained. At Ewelme a cottage had been bought, where Amos Norroway might receive a minister and his neighbours for worship without disturbance. Apprehensions of persecution by the sectarian working of Mr. Brougham's projected Education Act led to expression of belief that such an Act was unnecessary, and that all needs could be met by voluntary effort. It was stated that a sermon on schism, by one Cassan of Frome, in which he declared that dissenters were not Christians, had been approved by five bishops! (*Evan. Mag.*, 1821, pp. 297-8.)

Lord John Russell presided at the Annual Meeting on 11th May, 1822. It was reported that the Court of King's Bench had enforced the sentence of imprisonment passed upon a rioter in Hampshire. It was hoped that Mr. Brougham's Education Bill had disappeared. Rating of chapels had been successfully resisted at Bath, Chatham, and Paddington. Attempts had been made, notably at York, to obtrude on dissenters expensive parochial and corporation offices; these had been silenced by the King's Bench. Certain clerical magistrates had refused charitable assistance to persons attending Nonconformist worship, or sending their children to Nonconformist Sunday schools. Some cases had occurred of refusing to bury or to marry Baptists: amendment of the law was declared necessary. A Mr. Waller had been sent to prison for three months for preaching in the highway; while on the same day a woman was sent for one month for selling obscene publications. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1822, p. 243.)

At the Annual Meeting on 17th May, 1823, Lord Dacre occupied the chair. It was reported that an Act had been passed exempting from tolls all persons going to or from their usual places of worship. Further attempts had been made to assess chapels and schoolrooms; there had been refusals to bury, and to marry a

Baptist; some rioters had been convicted, while in other cases magistrates had taken part with the rioters. One P. Watson of Newcastle had been imprisoned by an Ecclesiastical Court for withholding "Easter offerings." It had been held doubtful whether preaching in a field was legal, even if the field was certified! An innkeeper had been threatened with the loss of his licence because he had entertained an itinerant preacher. Parochial relief had been withdrawn from Nonconformist paupers; and the Court of Chancery had ruled that a Nonconformist registry of baptisms was "not a legal record." (*Evan. Mag.*, 1823, p. 252.)

Lord Holland presided again at the meeting on 18th May, 1824. The state of the then existing law was explained as follows: Chapels were rateable if producing a beneficiary income, not otherwise; unbaptized persons, whether children or adults, had not rights of burial; Dissenters' records of Baptism were mere memoranda, and should therefore be "registered at the office of the Clerk of the Peace as security." It was reported that legal redress had been obtained in several cases of disturbance of worship; and a grand jury had ignored the bill against a person for preaching in the street at Colchester. In Wales, a vicar had appointed a time for burial and received fees, but kept the mourners waiting for an hour, and prosecuted a minister for praying by the grave-side: "Proceedings stayed." A curate had taken proceedings in the bishop's court against six women for complaining of his refusal to admit the body of a child into the church: he was cast in costs. It was recommended that at the coming elections dissenters should support no candidate who did not promise to vote for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1824, pp. 268-70.)

At the Annual Meeting on 14th May, 1825, various disturbances and outrages were still complained of. An attempt had been made to assess Thomas Wilson as the beneficial holder of Craven Chapel, on which he had spent £11,000 without interest for his money. In many cases clergy had refused to bury children of Nonconformists; and in Wales the marriage of a young woman had been delayed for a month, because, being a Baptist, she refused to submit to the Anglican rite. At Newport Pagnell two Baptist preachers had been sent to the treadmill for soliciting donations towards building a chapel; the priest, one Marshall, however had to apologize in the public papers, and pay the men £50 to escape a public trial. The rector of Kimmeridge (Dorset) had sent to Wareham gaol a Wesleyan preacher for preaching on the village green; but did not venture to appear against him at the sessions. The meeting demanded, *inter alia*, facilities for Nonconformist marriages, and the establishment of a Public Registry of Births or Baptisms. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1825, pp. 295-6.)

In 1826 the same kind of annoyances were still continued, the

clergy being the chief offenders. No details are given, except that most of those maltreated were Baptists. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1826, pp. 255-6.)

At the Annual Meeting in May, 1827, Viscount Milton, M.P., occupied the chair. It was reported that assistance had been sought by members of every denomination of Protestant Dissenters, except the Friends. One William O'Bryan, a Methodist, had been committed to prison for preaching on a plot of vacant ground at Winchester. The Society, proceeding by *Habeas Corpus*, had obtained his release; and had taken action against the alderman who had committed him. The result was an apology, payment of £50 costs, and of £10 to Mr. O'Bryan; who presented part of it to the Society, and the remainder towards the building of a meeting-house near his home.

Action had been taken in cases at Arretton Down, I.W., and Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, where preachers in the open air had been violently interrupted by a clergyman, a magistrate, and others. Some illegal charges had been enforced, because of delay in giving notice of appeal. At Alresford (Hants.) candlesticks and other goods to the value of over £10 had been taken from a chapel for an illegal charge of 8s. 6d., the seizure being made in such a way as amounted to a public demonstration; the Society was about to institute proceedings for trespass. At Buckfastleigh (Devon), Staplehurst (Kent), and Mersea (Essex), relief had been withheld from poor persons because they attended dissenting worship. In these cases the interposition of the Society had produced satisfactory results. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1827, pp. 333 flg.)

On 9th May, 1828, the royal assent was given to an Act for the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; and the Annual Meeting of the Protestant Society was largely a demonstration of gratitude for this measure of justice. The meeting, on 17th May, was presided over by Lord Holland. About forty cases were reported in which religious liberties had been infringed, in many of which the Society had obtained redress. A second attempt had been made to extort an illegal rate for the chapel at Alresford, the minister's saddle and bridle being seized. Legal proceedings had been taken by the Society, and complete success had been achieved. Attention had been given to the excessive rating of Hoxton and Highbury colleges, which had been reduced from £120 and £240 to £20 and £40 respectively. Riotous interruptions of worship had taken place in Wesleyan chapels at Hull, Lavington (Wilts.), and Wantage (Berks); and the offenders had been acquitted at the sessions on the pretext that, although the chapels had been registered in the bishop's and archdeacon's courts, they had not also been recorded with the Clerk of the Peace. The Society had taken measures to make widely known the illegality of these decisions; with the result that in other cases

the same plea had been overruled. Two clergymen of the Evangelical school in Surrey had refused to bury children baptized by dissenting ministers. Both had been convinced of the illegality of their proceedings; one of them had apologized to the parents; the other, the Rev. Hugh McNeile of Albury, had also apologized to the minister, and made a public acknowledgement that he had acted in error. In South Wales a clergyman had refused to marry the daughter of a Baptist unless she would submit to be baptized then and there. Proceedings being anticipated, the churchwardens commenced a suit in an Ecclesiastical court against the lady's father for remonstrating—or as they called it brawling—in the church. The Society took suitable action, and the churchwardens were cast in costs to the amount of £30. Several other cases of petty persecution were dealt with; and a flagrant attempt to exclude dissenters, by a private act of Parliament, from any share in the management of parochial affairs at Ramsgate had been effectually frustrated. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1828, pp. 331 fig.)

At the Annual Meeting on 16th May, 1829, Lord Ebrington presided. The report embodied the usual catalogue of petty persecutions and annoyances, legal and illegal. There had been five cases of illegal attempts to levy poor rates on chapels, and three demands for paving and lighting rates; the Society had recommended the payment of the latter, as they were on account of public convenience. Mention was made of several cases in which assessed taxes on horses had been claimed from dissenting ministers, from which episcopal clergymen were exempt; from this grievance the law provided no relief. At Little Leigh, in Essex, small tithes had been claimed from two dissenting cottagers, and from no other persons in the parish. At Carlton, Bedfordshire, a new rector had forbidden the tolling of a bell at the funeral of a Baptist, contrary to the practice of his predecessor for more than fifty years. Punishment had been inflicted in several cases of riots and assaults; though in one case a clerical magistrate had done his utmost to shield the offenders. Half a dozen cases of demanding illegal tolls were reported; also cases of refusing to marry or to bury, and charging double fees for burial of dissenters' children. One clergyman, Evan Davies, of Llanrwst, had obtained fees for rebaptizing children and others, alleging that their baptism by dissenting ministers "was quite invalid, and would neither avail in earth or heaven." There had also been refusals to administer oaths required by law, and an attempt to hold students at Cheshunt College liable to ballot for service in the militia.

The eminent Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell, a devout Roman Catholic, was present at the meeting. He concluded an eloquent speech with these words: "Intolerance belongs not to Christianity: tyranny begot it, bigotry fostered it, and fraudulent divines clothed it in the stolen garments of religion." Resolutions were passed.

instructing the committee to take decisive measures to obtain (1) Relief in the matter of Burial—omitting parts of the service, and refusing to bury children of Baptist parents; (2) More effective punishment for disturbers of public worship; (3) Complete exemption of places of worship from poor rates; (4) Equal validity of Nonconformist with Anglican Registers of Baptisms; or, preferably, a General Registry of Births; (5) Perfect civil equality between all religious sects, but “without interfering with the establishment or revenues of the Church.” (*Cong. Mag.*, 1829, pp. 331-9.)

The Annual Meeting on 15th May, 1830, was presided over by Lord Nugent. About 70 cases had claimed attention during the year, nine or ten of which, however, were outside the purview of the Society. In 11 cases demands for poor rates and similar parochial charges on places of worship had been successfully resisted. In one of these the Communion plate had been seized, but restored. There had been illegal demands for tolls, burial fees, etc., and church rates of questionable legality; also misappropriation of charities; and an attempt to exclude the child of a Methodist from a public grammar school. Six refusals to bury were reported. One clergyman, at Southill, Beds., had refused to read the service over a deceased Baptist, but met the mourners at the graveside, and lectured them on the evils of Nonconformity! Even a worse exhibition of intolerance had occurred at Cambridge. Two young men from Linton in that county were under sentence of death for arson; the minister of the chapel which they had occasionally attended obtained from a magistrate an order for admission to the gaol, but was nevertheless prevented from holding any conversation with the prisoners after sentence. At Rayleigh and Mount-Nessing, in Essex, Nonconformist worship had been repeatedly obstructed by rioters, and as to the former place the magistrates had refused redress. Similar outrages had occurred at Haversham, Bucks.; the parish clergyman had protected the rioters, and a deformed girl had been deprived of a parish allowance of sixpence a week for the crime of occasionally attending Nonconformist worship! At a village in Cambridgeshire where a dissenting congregation had existed for 140 years, the lease of the meeting-house had expired. The congregation negotiated for a plot of freehold land on which to build; the parish clergyman endeavoured to out-bid them, and failing that set up a rival claimant to the estate. He was reported to have said; “The dissenters have been here since the days of Cromwell; they shall be here no longer; we will have no dissenters here, I will drive them from the parish.” The resolutions of last year were confirmed, and another added in favour of treating marriage entirely as a civil contract. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1830, pp. 437-44; *Evan. Mag.*, 216-17.)

No general meeting of the Society was held in 1831, nor, so far as we can discern, in 1832 or 33. All public attention was concentrated on Parliamentary Reform; and a notion seems to have prevailed that if once "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" were inscribed on the statute book, all grievances would be immediately redressed. Such, at least, is the impression produced by the report of a meeting held on 17th May, 1834, the Earl of Durham in the chair. An Act had been passed exempting all places of worship from poor rates; and a Committee of the House of Commons had recommended a system of Civil Registration; but a bill (which had been introduced) for the Commutation of Church-Rates, and another respecting marriages of dissenters, were of such a nature as to be totally unacceptable. The meeting passed strongly worded resolutions expressing "bitter disappointment and regret that adequate relief had not been supplied or attempted" by the administration; and proclaiming "their conviction that religion will most beneficially flourish where it receives only voluntary support."

During the interval since the last meeting above 150 cases had demanded attention. At Baldock, Chesham, and Newcastle Emlyn clergymen had illegally demanded burial fees for dissenters interred in burial grounds belonging to their own chapels. In a Dorset village a pluralist vicar, newly come to the parish, had virtually suppressed a Sunday school conducted by a dissenter; and when the Home Missionary Society appointed an agent to evangelize the much neglected neighbourhood, intimidated the villager who had engaged by written agreement to provide the agent with lodging and stabling. Exposure, however, had brought the priest to reason. (*Patriot*, 21st May, 1834.)

The Annual Meeting on 16th May, 1835, was remarkable for the presidential address of Lord Brougham; and for the unusual interest excited by the recent imprisonment of Mr. Childs of Bungay, by order of an Ecclesiastical Court, for non-payment of a Church rate, which might have been easily enforced by distraint. The resolutions demanded the abolition of compulsory Church-rates; the amendment of the marriage laws; a national Civil Registration of births, marriages, and deaths; the abolition of Ecclesiastical Tests in the national Universities; less costly methods of perpetuating Chapel Trusts; and the redress of several minor grievances connected with burials, parochial offices, etc.

On 14th May, 1836, the meeting was presided over by Lord Ebrington. About 70 cases had arisen affecting religious freedom and rights of conscience. The most scandalous was that of six men who, in default of paying fines, had been committed to hard labour in the gaol at Devises for "trespass," consisting of attending the preaching of the Gospel on a piece of waste land belonging to the Marquess of Ailesbury. After they were released they were

forbidden by the marquess's steward to hold meetings for worship in their cottages! In the neighbourhood of Coventry a clergyman had evicted the holders of several small allotments for the crime of attending a Home Mission chapel. Other instances of petty persecution were narrated. Resolutions expressed gratitude for the Municipal Reform Act; satisfaction with bills then before Parliament relating to marriage and registration; and "the firm conviction that nothing short of an entire exemption of all sects dissenting from the Established Church from the compulsory payment" of Church rates could be acceptable to English Protestant Dissenters.

At the meeting on 13th May, 1837, in which Lord Nugent occupied the chair, reports were received of violent assaults on open air preachers, for which only trivial penalties had been imposed; of the one bell of a meeting-house being objected to as a nuisance, where a chapel of ease with three bells was about to be erected; and of an attempt to appoint the police office as the place where marriages might be performed under the new Marriage Act! Resolutions were passed expressing satisfaction and gratitude for the Registration and Marriage Acts; welcoming the co-operation of the Dissenting deputies, and of a lately formed Church Rate Abolition Society; declaring confidence in the present administration; and enumerating various grievances which remained to be redressed.

The elections necessitated by the demise of the Crown having given a considerable accession of strength to the Conservative party, the hopes which had been cherished of a speedy removal of these grievances were evidently doomed to disappointment. An advertisement in the *Patriot* of 9th May, 1838, referred to "the past year, replete with intolerant and cruel persecution"; to "abuses of the new poor law system, prejudicial to religious liberty"; to a "contemplated establishment of National Education under the control of the State"; and to a recrudescence of "High Church and interested feeling, combined and operating . . . against the principle that perfect civil equality should be enjoyed by all religious denominations." It was thought that effort should be concentrated on an endeavour to abolish compulsory Church rates; and the committee of the "Protestant Society" were of opinion that the annual meeting already announced "would not be advantageously held." It was therefore postponed; and the following week the Committee offered two prizes of 100 guineas and 25 guineas respectively for Essays on the evils of National Religious Establishments. Several such essays were sent in, and were to be adjudicated by Dr. J. Pye Smith, Dr. T. Raffles, and Mr. W. Tooke; but whether the prizes were awarded or any of the essays published we have not been able to ascertain.

At the General Meeting held 11th May, 1839, under the presidency

of the Duke of Sussex, it was reported that no less than 71 applications for advice or assistance had been received, from 19 counties in England and 6 in Wales. These related to Church rates, illegal tolls and assessments, refusals to marry and to bury, inscriptions on tombstones, malicious prosecutions, riots instigated by clergymen and magistrates, encroachments on Trust Property, exclusion of dissenting ministers from workhouses, abuses under the recent Registration and Marriage Acts, and oppressive proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts.³ Resolutions were passed expressing pleasure at the progress that had been made toward religious freedom; testifying esteem and confidence towards Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Lord John Russell, and other consistent friends of Reform; and summarizing other points toward the attainment of which "unabated and even augmented endeavours should be made."

During this year a "Religious Freedom Society" was constituted, composed of "Local Associations in various parts of the United Kingdom, for Promoting the Civil Equality of all Religious Denominations." The constitution of this new Society was different from, and its basis broader than, that of the Protestant Society, but its objects and methods were practically identical. For several succeeding years this new Society held annual meetings; directing its efforts chiefly against compulsory Church rates and administrative abuses actuated by sectarian bias, but also against efforts which were made to establish elementary schools at the public cost but under State Church control. Ere long it was definitely committed to the principle of Disestablishment; and stimulated, if it did not actually originate, the conference which in 1844 gave birth to the "Anti-State Church Association," now known as the "Liberation Society." This development was not pleasing to all the friends of religious equality, as they disliked the idea of a society having religious aims, yet admitting into its fellowship men, not merely of any religion, but of no religion. In this dispute, however, the "Protestant Society" took no part.

After 1839 we do not find any record of annual or public meetings of the Protestant Society. It continued to exist, nevertheless, for several years, and its committee met from time to time and passed resolutions which were advertised in the public papers. Thus on 30th April, 1841, they expressed disappointment that no relief had been granted in the matter of Church rates, and indignation at the imprisonment, by an Ecclesiastical Court, of Messrs. Baines and Thorogood for resisting these impositions. They protested against the appointment in workhouses of rate paid

³ The worst cases were in Wales, at Llanelly and Llanon, where dissenters had been elected churchwardens, and then proceeded against in an ecclesiastical court, one for non-attendance at church, and the other for not providing material and vessels for the sacrament there. Both were imprisoned in default of payment of enormous bills of costs.

chaplains and schoolmasters, exclusively connected with the Established Church ; and added that they "became additionally convinced that the union of that Church with the State will ere long become an evil too obnoxious to be endured."

A meeting of the committee on 3rd May, 1843, passed a resolution on the recent death of the Duke of Sussex ; whose "favour, counsel, and support" the Society had enjoyed from its commencement ; and whose "benevolent patronage of useful charities, his encouragement of science and the arts, his efforts for education on liberal principles, his devotion to civil liberty and parliamentary reform" had won for him "an affection and respect which no flatteries could win, no splendour attract, nor any mere royalty of rank obtain." The committee also passed resolutions denouncing the educational clauses of a Factories Bill introduced by Sir James Graham and then before Parliament ; and urging that if those clauses were not withdrawn petitions against the bill should be addressed to both Houses, in supplementation to 12,350 that had already been presented. On 19th June following the committee met once more to express satisfaction at the withdrawal of the clauses, against which petitions had been presented with 2,068,059 signatures ; and to thank the Dissenting deputies, the Religious Freedom Society, the editors of numerous papers, and several members of Parliament, for the co-operation which had issued in this happy result.

No records of any later proceedings of the Society have come to our knowledge.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Dudley, Newbury, Sheriff Wales (*Supplementary*)

IN *Transactions*, vol. iii., pp. 393-4, mention is made of John Southwell, student under John Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales, schoolmaster at Kidderminster, and minister at Dudley and Newbury. Toulmin is there given as the authority for a tradition, possibly erroneous, that the academy at Sheriff Hales "was carried on for some time" by him in the absence of Woodhouse. And in vol. vi, p. 24, it is said that in 1688 he succeeded Woodbridge as pastor of Newbury, where he instructed eight students who were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund.

The Rev. A. G. Matthews of Tettenhall supplies information which serves to correct the latter statement. He has found, in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board, an entry that on May 11th, 1691, an order was made to pay £6 to Ebenezer Bradshaw, who was studying Hebrew and French with John Southwell at Dudley. It is evident from this that Southwell's removal to Newbury was not earlier than the latter part of 1691.

Amongst the *Baxter MSS.* in Williams's Library (fol. 3) is a letter written by Southwell to Richard Baxter under date June 24th, 1691, which is interpreted 1691. He first refers to one of his students, a Mr. Turton, whom Baxter desires to settle with Southwell's consent as minister at Awburne (Aldbourn), Wilts; and proceeds: "I have sent out some more, as the two Greenwoods, one John Southwell of Leicestershire, and Mr. Willets now Mr. Philip Foley's chaplain, and some few more. I have also one more besides Mr. Turton that is going of[[f]], and another that will be ready about half a year hence, and four or five more about a year and a half hence. I do not keep many, not above 12 or 15 of all sorts, and find it a great work to take care of them as they ought to be, for I do not love to send any from me before they are considerable schollars. This Mr. Turton is not old Mr. Turton's (y^e minister's) son, and is free from his prejudice and error." The writer concludes by saying that he will call on Baxter for some books which the latter had promised him. If "the two Greenwoods" include Daniel, he must belong to Dudley rather than Sheriff Hales; and the same applies to Willets, unless they were at both places; see *Transactions*, iii, 393-4.

The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board record on 14th November, 1692, a "grant to William Harris under John Southwell at Newbury, since June 24th"; on 17th June, 1693, a grant to four students at Newbury; and on 26th June the last grant to Southwell at Newbury.

Mr. Matthews further contributes a list of 27 students at Sheriff Hales, all but three (marked *) being additional to those enumerated in *Transactions*, vol. iii, pp. 392-4.

I. Students receiving grants from the Presbyterian Fund.

February 23rd, 1689-90.	Richard Edge.
December 18th, 1690.	John Lewis and Thomas Davis, lately with Mr. Woodhouse, now with James Owen, Oswestry.
July 6th, 1691.	Dr. Barnett's Son: also in 1695.
" "	Richard Peach.
" "	Stubbs: also in 1695 [probably minister at Wolverhampton 1697-1738].
" "	Theodore or Theophilus Westmacote. [One of this surname was minister at Chalford in 1711.]
February 22nd, 1692.	*James Thomson.
March 21th, 1692.	Bennett of Littleover; also John Bennett 1695. [Query whether the same?]
1692.	Stephen Hughes.
May 9th, 1692.	Thos. Cullen; also in 1695.
June 13th, "	Chas. Clemenson.
June 27th, "	Thos. Hill.
September 19th, 1692.	Stephen, son of Mr. Worth of Daintre [? Daventry].
October 10th, "	Mr. Laurence's son [removed to be minister at Wolverhampton on that date; query if son of Edward Laurence, ejected from Baschurch, Salop].
January 2nd, 1692-3	Isaac Owen.
May 8th, 1693.	Abraham Chambers.
June 26th, "	John Hinckley.

II. Other Students at Sheriff Hales.

February 20th, 1692.	Samuel Evance.
1695	William Worth 1695 Samuel Clarke.
"	*Jonathan Hand 1696 Nathaniel Taylor.
"	Thos. Boardman 1697 Richard Salt.
"	Job Jones. " *Paul Russell

Bushell of Frodsham

THE bare facts of the history of a family that founded Protestant Missions in the land of the Inquisition, sheltered Cromwell's chaplains in the days of Carolian persecution (with an impunity equal to that with which they maintained relations of friendship with Jesuit priests in the days of Puritan ascendancy), that defied the Bench in the days of Scroggs and Jeffreys and established for ever the freedom of juries to acquit fearlessly, must needs be of interest.

The earliest references available to the family of Bushell, living in Bishopsgate, are those in the will of Thomas Hutchins, a Merchant Taylor of St. Helen's there. Hutchins was, as is recorded in a note made seven years after his death, in the registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate: "a Merchant and a very charitable man, and a good benefactor to the poor of this parish."

When he died, in March, 1646-7, he left by his will (49 Fines, P.C.C.) bequests to the poor of his parish quite sufficient to justify the eulogiums of the register. Apart also from the legacies given from reasons of family or domestic affection (of which more hereafter) he left bequests to four ministers: "Mr. Peter Sterrey, Mr. Samuel Willes, Mr. Abraham Mocolyne and Mr. Richard Shert."

Both Sterrey and Willes form the subject of accounts in Palmer's edition of *Calamy*, and Sterrey receives notice at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Perhaps sufficient weight has not attached to a splendid Christian charity which exhibited itself in Sterrey's writings; in days when the forms of censure were not confined merely to the excited verbiage of theologians. Sterrey rebuked those of his day who insisted that the Pope was Antichrist. If so, he reminded them, many a humble Antichrist, follower of the Christ for whom popes and martyrs had suffered, sat enthroned at the right hand of God in heaven.

Calamy's account of Willes cannot be accurate. The date of the commencement of the Civil War is not consistent with Willes' alleged sojourn, one of some "considerable duration," at Great St. Helen's, and with "nearly twenty years of ministerial labour at Birmingham, prior to being ousted in 1660 or 1661." Palmer was obviously ignorant how long Willes stayed at Great St. Helen's. The will of Thomas Hutchins, which names him as

legatee, would indicate that he had been in the parish, and probably was still there, in 1647. I see no reason to doubt that he was the rector of Great St. Helen's named in Hennessey's *Novum Repertorium*, successor to Thomas Edwards in 1645, and himself succeeded by Arthur Barham in 1647.

Of Mr. Richard Shert, minister, I can find no trace, save in Hutchins' will. He is named there as husband to Katherine, "cousin" to the testator and mother of two daughters.

Mr. Peter Sterrey, who was one of Cromwell's chaplains, appears to have been distantly connected by marriage with Hutchins. His niece, Mary Hutchins, married, as will be seen by Table I, and had issue, among others, Thomas Bushell, in whose will (151 Pembroke, P.C.C.) a second group of Cromwellian ministers is named: "my cozen Mr. Peter Sterry, and Mr. Locquire, another minister." Mr. Richard Beare of Lisbon, whose deeds are hereafter chronicled, receives notice in juxtaposition. One or more of these was probably connected with Thomas Bushell, by reason of his marriage with Ann, daughter of Thomas Smithsby.

The will of Thomas Bushell would indicate that his family was of Cheshire origin. He names cousins, Thomas and Randolph Bushell, both of Fradesham in Cheshire, and a brother-in-law, James Bretergh, who had married his sister Deborah. The Breterghs were of a remarkable Puritan stock. Most seventeenth and eighteenth century memoirs of pious women contain some account of Mrs. Catherine Bretergh, the wife of Master Breuen of Breuen Stapleford, and of her voluble and protracted demise. This woman, according to the preacher of her funeral sermon, William Leigh of Standish, suffered great injuries from the malicious Papists, "who hated her husband for his religion's sake." They "killed his horses and cattle at divers times in the night." Yet, when she died, even their hardened hearts softened. "She was so blameless in her whole course that the Papists had nothing to say against her."

It is scarcely creditable that Dr. Halley, the learned author of *Lancashire Puritans and Nonconformity*, should have sneered at sufferings so awful and credible, yet his comment is: "If the Papists were so malicious as to kill her husband's horses, it is pleasing to learn they did not calumniate his wife. As far as calumny is concerned, the Papists seem to have been the less blameable of the parties."

At Frodsham a family of Bushell had settled for many generations preceding the seventeenth century. The first recorded marriage is in 1558. From the registers it becomes apparent that Mr. Bushell married Mary Hutchins on October 28th, 1616. He is almost certainly identical with the John Bushell of Mickledale, and John Bushell, schoolmaster, who is mentioned in other entries. It is from this John Bushell that the Bushells whose careers are

hereafter traced were descended. The registers' records of them have been embodied in a pedigree that must be, of course, to some extent conjectural, simply because the entry of a baptism never supplies the particulars of the future career of its subject which would render identification free from doubt. The pedigree is, nevertheless, I believe, accurate, and the evidence in favour of its conclusions sufficient.

Of the other brothers-in-law of Thomas Bushell not to be found in the Frodsham registers, but named in his will, one was Mr. Justice Blackwell, a Cromwellian judge, the other Captain Blackwell.

For Thomas Bushell himself: On December 5, 1649, a warrant issued from the Admiralty committee, on behalf of Thomas Bushell, merchant of London, providing convoy for his corn ships from Falmouth and Plymouth to the Downs.

Both Thomas and his brother, Edward, were at this time engaged in provisioning the army that operated in Ireland. Between October 10th and Nov. 12th they received £3098 for the supply of corn for this purpose.

In the following year Prince Rupert addressed a declaration to the kingdom of Portugal with respect to the coming of the Commonwealth fleet into the river and port of Lisbon. When Rupert had left the port of Kinsale, with the remnant of the Royalist fleet, he fled to the coasts of Portugal. Blake pursued him, drove him into the Tagus, and followed him into the neutral waters. Rupert urged that the Commonwealth fleet should be regarded as enemies of the State of Portugal. "If it be replied that they have sent an agent (not only to the Spanish King, an enemy of Portugal, but also to the King of Portugal) it may be answered that he was not thought of a few weeks before this fleet put to sea, and he was procured by the merchants of London, as was made known by their petition to the pretended Parliament in that behalf, contrived by two brothers that live here of the name of Bushell [*John and Edward as other documents indicate*] who still have a brother [*John probably*] here, notoriously interested on behalf of the rebels.

"At the first entrance, the lieutenant of the Commonwealth's admiral was sent on shore, and had private meetings and consultations in Bushell's house, and Mr. Taytum and other masters of English ships, entertained in the King of Portugal's service, go to and from the rebels' ships in the night, without leave of the king or ministers."

Three days later than the date of this appeal of Prince Rupert, that is on April 27th, 1650, the Admiralty committee reported that, for the furnishing of the Lisbon fleet with money, £4000, arrangement had been effected with Edward Bushell and George Clarke. All bills of exchange charged upon them by Colonels

Popham and Blake, at ten days' sight, for part of the £4000, were to be accepted and repaid to Bushell and Clarke at the rate of 10s. 11d. per milrea.

On July 11th Mr. Bushell sent to Lisbon a vessel, "smaller than the Trade's Increase, that yet could carry corn."

Meanwhile the King of Portugal, prepossessed in favour of the royal cause (probably by some such feeling as led Edward VII to declare of the Servian assassination that "he could not pardon such an offence against the Trade Union of Kings"), had facilitated the escape of Rupert. Blake seized twenty Portuguese ships of value, and the King of Portugal, although sincerely desirous not to enter into hostilities with England, as the frequent conferences of his ambassador with the Parliament indicate, retaliated by detaining John Bushell and Richard Beare. By September 10th the news had reached London, and Parliament demanded instant reparation. Probably Bushell's life was in little danger. Nearly fifty years afterwards the King of Portugal remained the honoured and trustworthy debtor of the family. But, in England, some apprehension was felt. Parliament proposed to confiscate sufficient of estates of Royalists known to have had dealings with Rupert to reimburse the English prisoners for any loss of goods, and extended the principle of the *lex talionis* in a fashion that supplies incidentally the only instance known to me of the grant of bail in a capital case.

In Newgate was a Catholic priest named George Gage. This George Gage was possibly the same as he who had been the envoy sent by James I to Rome in 1621. Of this George Gage, the half-brother, Francis, was afterwards the president of Douay, and probably the English prisoner was one of that devoted band whose lives were so freely given in effort to convert England again to Roman Catholicism. The evidence for his priesthood there was by strange mischance sufficient and conclusive at the moment that he was released on parole.

Of his own family, Thomas Gage, a Dominican, who had laboured long in South America, had recanted. Men of honour of all religions have done likewise. But Thomas Gage positively exulted in the opportunities afforded to him to bring to a loathsome death those most nearly of his own domestic circle. It was he who supplied the evidence against his half-brother's chaplain, and when Peter Wright and Arthur Bell, Jesuit priests, had suffered at Tyburn in 1651, he abandoned the last vestige of decency, and wrote such a treatise on the glorious "triumph" of his controversy "begun with them at Madrid and Paris and finished at Tyburn," that charity (to be extended even to this despicable wretch) is sore wrought in forbearing comment. He received his reward: a living near Deal.

It was this Thomas Gage who was summoned to the Council

early in 1650, to denounce priests known to him, and it was his half-brother who tenanted a cell in Newgate, awaiting the hook, the pitch pot and the saw of the executioner. All known facts suggest that it was Thomas Gage who hunted his brother to the death. George Gage had had a long run, and, if a strange letter in the Domestic State Papers be read by others as I read it, had made influential friends, or converts. His subsequent life and death, which forbid the suggestion that his action on behalf of the Lisbon prisoners was founded upon any hope to escape his doom, would lead to the supposition that among these friends was either Bushell or Beare.

Gage was required to enter into a recognizance of £20,000 (afterwards extended to £30,000) personally, and with three sureties, to go to Portugal, and within three months to procure the release of Richard Beare and John Bushell, and, failing therein, to surrender, either to the general of the fleet before Lisbon, or else to return to Newgate to endure the sentence of the law. So was George Gage tried beyond human strength. He delayed somewhat on his going, and, even whilst he waited, fifteen Portuguese (I conjecture all of wealth then to be found in London) were incarcerated in the Marshalsea.

Beare and Bushell were set at liberty, but not until Gage, hopeless of success, had returned to Newgate, eleven months later than the expiration of his parole. Already notice had been given to his sureties to produce his person, or in default to suffer the bail to be estreated. Probably Gage wavered between human fear and the reluctance to see his friends wholly ruined, or else prepared himself very carefully, in some foreign seminary, for death. But he did return.

Beare followed in hot haste to stay his fate, and bargained so successfully that Gage was released awhile on security, a hostage for John Bushell, still detained in Portugal.

The matter was settled in a fashion highly advantageous to Protestant interests. In Lisbon, where the Holy Inquisition maintained, it may be said without exaggeration, an unfriendly attitude towards Protestant missions, a preacher was permitted for the merchants.

In October, 1656, Dr. Ralph Cudworth wrote to Thurloe that he understood from Edward Bushell, his brother-in-law, that a preacher was needed at Lisbon, and, he said, he could not be so far wanting as not to certify that none fitter was than one "of great worth, both for piety and learning, Mr. Zachary Cradoch," who chanced to be what he did not mention, but what Thurloe might have guessed, a relative: his wife's cousin. The anxiety of Ralph on behalf "of godliness and ability" was duly rewarded. Zachary went far, first to Lisbon, and afterwards, in 1681, to Eton as provost. He died in 1695, leaving in his will mention neither

of Cudworths nor of Bushells, which seems to indicate that the Mammon of Unrighteousness is not the surest investment for repayment in this deceitful and ungrateful world.

So, on the basis of Gage's negotiations, the Protestant mission to Lisbon was founded : but he had died meanwhile, in prison, in or about 1651, a happier fate than had he lived to stand his long-awaited trial.

When Rupert had fled from the coast of Spain, he betook himself to the West Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a storm, and, despite the acknowledgement of the royal authority by the islands, Rupert, destitute of provision, found himself confronted with the necessity of living by the sea. Spanish and English vessels alike were his victims.

Among the other privateers that put out to deal with the royal pirates (gentlemanly and considerate pirates who carried pirate chaplains on board, fitted to deal with the cases of conscience that might arise) were some whose letters of marque were held by John and Edward Bushell.

Rupert, in a mercantile and shop-keeping spirit that scarcely befitted a pirate, returned to France, sold his ships and prizes, and thereafter commenced a course of life that gave to science and respectability what had seemed destined to wildest adventure and the gallows.

In the years that follow the Restoration the career of the Bushells becomes more difficult to trace. William had died in 1648. John died somewhere or somehow that the wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury do not record. Oh, all the suffering and loss, agony of poor human souls from Celibes to Seipsan those Wills in Partibus contain !

Prior to his death, wherever that happened, John Bushell lived some time in the Barbadoes, conjoined there in closest mercantile relation with Mr. Francis Bond. It was in their house that the fire that destroyed eight hundred houses at Bridgetown broke out upon April 18th, 1668.

An account of this fire is contained in two letters from the merchants, dated respectively April 20th and April 27th, 1668, and reprinted in pamphlet form (*B. Mus. Cat.* 8715 a 35). These rare pamphlets have been re-edited with explanatory preface by my wife, Margaret Whitebrook, and, from correspondence that ensued upon their publication, it becomes apparent that a family of Bushell, white settlers, still persists in the island, and that Francis Bond became a member of Council, and administered the Government in 1696 between the periods of Francis Russell (1694) and Ralph Grey (1698). For these particulars I am indebted to the present Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. N. C. Phillips.

To return to Bushell of London : In late October and early November of 1670, William Penn was charged with street-

preaching and William Mead with aiding and abetting him. The trial is a famous one, and replete with the most outrageous quips. Had it then been handled by Jeffreys, the Common Serjeant, he would probably have avoided the conflict with the jury that followed. They would have been as powerless in rout before his tongue as the Vicar of Wakefield opposed to a Billingsgate fish-porter.

What actually followed (after mauling and abuse of the prisoners such as could now occur only before they were charged) was this: "The jury were now desired to go upstairs, in order to agree upon a verdict, and the prisoners remained in the bail dock. After an hour and a half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above until sent for. The bench used many threats to the four that dissented; and the recorder addressing himself to one of them of the name of Bushell said: 'Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance and manifestly shew yourself an abetter of faction; I shall set a mark on you, Sir.'

Alderman Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower. 'Mr. Bushell, I have known you near this fourteen years* ; you have thrust yourself upon this jury.'

Alderman Bludworth. 'Mr. Bushel, we know what you are.'

Lord Mayor. 'Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, I will put a mark upon you.'

'The jury being then sent back to consider their verdict remained for some time, and found Mead not guilty, but William Penn guilty of speaking to an assembly in Gracious St.

Recorder. 'Gentlemen you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept, and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, OR TOBACCO † ; you shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.'" All night they were so kept.

On the Sunday morning ‡ they were again brought up, irate and persevering. When "much abuse was heaped on 'that factious fellow, Bushel' he observed that he had acted 'conscientiously,' which expression called forth some very pleasant jeers from the court; and the jury, sent back a third time, again returned the same verdict.

"The recorder at this greatly incensed and perplexed threatened Bushel with the weight of his vengeance. 'While he had anything to do with the city, he would have an eye on him.' The Lord Mayor termed him 'a pitiful fellow' and added, 'I will have his nose cut for this.'"

* (i) Mary Bushell—John Cudworth, (ii) P.C.C. *Administration Act Book*, 1652, f. 16. February 5th. Administration issued to Wm. Robinson, the natural and lawful only son of Martha Cudworth, late of the parish of Allhallows Barking, neire the Tower of London, etc.

† This transcended the usual form—inhumanly. The Jury asked for a chamber pot later, and it was refused.

‡ October 30th fell upon Sunday in 1670; the 22nd after Trinity.

Penn. "It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced."

Lord Mayor. "Stop his mouth, jailor; bring him fetters, and stake him to the ground."

"The court sat again until next morning at seven o'clock" and then returned both prisoners: "Not Guilty."

Recorder. "God keep your life out of my hands; the court fines you forty marks a man, and commands imprisonment till paid."

"Both jury and prisoners were forced together into the bail dock, for non-payment of their fines, whence they were carried to Newgate."

Penn's curious relationship to James II, a relationship paralleled conversely between Cromwell's family and at least one of his Catholic recusant neighbours, would have saved him any great danger.

At the present day Penn and Mead would have been tried, without a jury, upon a charge of obstruction, and possibly of "insulting the police." Penn would have been acquitted, but Mead found guilty of the use of obscene language, provided by a thoughtful constable, and the magistrate, after several pleasantries, would have awarded him a fortnight's hard labour.

In those days of lesser liberty and enlightenment, Bushell (Edward Bushell as the *Domestic State Papers* evidence) appealed. On November 3rd, 1670, Bushell moved the Court of Common Pleas for a Habeas Corpus, but the Court, after consideration of precedents, held that those cited applied to criminal proceedings, and not to imprisonment in default of the payment of a fine incurred in the course of civil process. At length, before a full bench of twelve judges of the same Court, decision was had that the fining and imprisonment were contrary to law. The jury was accordingly discharged; and, actions being brought against the Lord Mayor, the Recorder and the aldermen, exemplary damages were obtained.

The principle established was not that of the immunity of juries, or of their unrestrained freedom to give a verdict according to their conscience: remedy still remains whereby the givers of a perverse verdict may be brought to justice. What Bushell did establish was the immunity of juries from arbitrary and immediate treatment of their verdicts as a contempt of court.

The names of the jury deserve record. They were: Thomas Veer, Edward Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Healey, Henry Michal, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walkler, John Baily, William Lever, James Damask, William Plumsted.

When, in 1672, the lot of dissenting ministers was lightened by the Declaration of Indulgence, Bushell sought licences for his house at Homerton, and for that in Little St. Helen's. The preacher licensed was Mr. Peter Sterry. Sterry's abode in the

neighbourhood of Hackney, like that of Jeremy White, would be explicable by reference to the residence in the near neighbourhood of so many of the men and women who had once been great, in the short Cromwellian era; Fleetwood, the Cromwells, and the many whose names are to be found on the Hackney registers. The immunity of these from anything like persecution directed from the Court is remarkable. Bushell, as many other of the Puritans, notably Cradock, had influential friends among those politically opposed to him, and his application for Mr. Peter Sterry was granted upon May 16th, within a week of the time in which it was made. On November 19th following, Sterry died.

When a quarter of a century prior to this time Hutchins had made his will he had conjoined Humphrey Ford with Edward Bushell as co-executor, "in respect of his weakness and natural indisposition, as having special need of aid and assistance." Thereon Bushell proceeded to outlive his relatives and contemporaries.

His brother-in-law, John Cudworth, in February, 1674/5, being aware of mental incapacity, created a body of trustees for his children: Ralph Cudworth, Dr. Whichcote, Edward Bushell, Thomas Firmin and Samuel Brett, and gave to them and to his eldest son John Cudworth in trust lands and tenements, worth about £20,000, reserving to himself £50 a year and board and lodging. In May he made a will, omitting any clause declaring that he was of sound mind and memory. This will was proved on May 18th, four days after its signature. Both Bushell and Firmin, who survived to be sued upon the trusts created, alleged that they acted under the advice of the famous Mr. Serjeant Maynard, but John Cudworth the son, principal beneficiary, denied, in the course of an action raised against Bushell in 1691, that he had any knowledge of existing will or probate of any will of his father. The litigation between brothers and trustees and cousins became general, and, amidst it, Edward Bushell died in 1694; rather less wealthy than might have been expected. He was *inter alia* past Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

Among his legacies is £10 to Jeremy White, no doubt the chaplain of Cromwell, who, aspiring to marry Frances, the daughter of the Protector, was tricked into marrying her maid. The whole story, told in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, supplies an awful warning against the use of ingenious (and untruthful) excuses. In brief, Jeremy was found on his knees, kissing the hand of Frances. The Protector sought the reason. Jeremy replied that he had an unclerical fancy for the waiting-maid of Frances, and was asking aid in his suit. Cromwell gave him the aid all too willingly, had the maid brought, a chaplain also, and the two married before any explanation could be rendered.

Of the descendants of Edward Bushell, I have recorded some-

what in *London Citizens of 1651*. Such other information as is in my possession is derived from the registers of various City churches, of Brill in Buckinghamshire, and of Hackney in the north of London. Of this, such as is indubitably correct and relevant is embodied in the pedigree annexed. The registers furnish matter, of course, for conjecture and uncertainty, as all registers do : but fascinating as may be those states of mind in the sciences, in the fantastic speculations of medicine, physics and theology, they have no place in the unprosaic record of facts that constitutes the base of biography and of genealogy.

J. C. WHITEBROOK

The Antinomian Controversy

BEFORE the history of the so-called Antinomian controversy can be properly written, the literature of it will require to be carefully placed in chronological order. One pamphlet was generally the cause of another, and although the pamphlets sometimes contain the date of the year of their publication, a difficulty arises when pamphlets were published in the same year. The anonymity of the literature is another problem; and, in view of these facts, the following article does not profess to be either completely accurate or exhaustive.

The theological aspect of the controversy does not fall within the scope of this article, and was concerned with several abstruse points in the Protestant doctrine of Justification. Both the subjective and the objective features of this doctrine were revived, the topics of Faith, Election, and the Extent of Christ's Righteousness being discussed with acuteness, and occasionally with acrimony.

The doctrine of Justification was not finally settled, even by the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster standards. The views of Tobias Crisp, D.D. (1600-1643), gave the Assembly some trouble. (*Vide* article on Crisp in the *D.N.B.*)* From the Restoration, the subject was kept alive

* In brief, it may be said that Crisp and his followers laid such exclusive stress on the completeness of a believer's justification that they were accused of denying the obligation of the moral law; hence the name of "Antinomians." They in turn charged their opponents, whom they called "Neonomians," with going about to establish the Romish notion of Work-Righteousness. Usually, but not universally, the Independents favoured the views of Crisp, while the Presbyterians opposed them [*Ed.*].

by the writings of Crisp and by the discussion between Richard Baxter and John Owen. This earlier period of the controversy was never quite forgotten, and a link between this and the later period was Stephen Lobb's pamphlet: *The Glory of Free Grace Display'd*, 1680.

The whole question was once more raised through the republication of Crisp's works by his son: *Christ Alone Exalted*, 1690. The volume contained a certificate from some London ministers, who apparently professed to testify only to the correctness of Crisp's transcript of his father's sermons. The incident provoked irritation among both parties, but did not prevent them from drawing up "Heads of Agreement," at the beginning of the year 1692. This document was a testimony to the sincere relationship between the Presbyterians and the Independents in essential matters. They agreed to drop their designations, and to call themselves the "United Brethren." Several of the extreme Independents did not accept this compact, and they were a source of irritation to the Presbyterian party, as well as of injury to their own party, during the following ten years.

Both parties had carried on the Pinners' Hall Lecture, held every Tuesday, and it was there that Dr. Daniel Williams (the minister of the Hand Alley Presbyterian meeting-house) referred to the controversy "once, and only once," his reason being that Crisp's son had referred to him in the book recently published. Thomas Cole, the minister of Silver Street Independent meeting-house, took the reference personally, and when his turn came to preach at Pinners' Hall he replied to Williams. In order to heal matters, a friend suggested that Williams and Cole should meet; and this they did in the presence of other three

ministers. Williams read over his sermon, to which Cole took no exception, afterwards declaring at Pinners' Hall that there was no real difference between Williams and him. Williams made a similar declaration, but, unfortunately, "the calm did not endure." Cole, says he, "soon after broke into the wonted exclamations . . . and I was accounted the chief mark. Though often provoked, I never expressed my resentment there [Pinners' Hall], except in the first discourse."

The important event this year was the publication of a book by Williams: *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*; first edition, 1692, third edition, 1698; which came out in the summer. Williams had apparently heard that Cole was preparing a volume, and he forestalled Cole. The event created a stir, and caused much ill feeling between the two parties. The Independents drew up a Paper of Exceptions in October, 1692; and, as a result, a committee of ten was appointed by the United Brethren: five who had read the book, and five who had not.

It was from this time that the pamphlets began to appear. The writer of an interesting pamphlet remarked that the opponents of the Protestant view seemed jealous against Antinomianism, but forgot the other extreme of Arminianism.¹ In the autumn of 1692, Dr. William Bates published a sermon which he had preached: *Peace at Pinners' Hall Wisht*, to which a reply was given by a well known Independent minister, Isaac Chauncy: *Examen Confectionis Pacificae, or a Friendly Examination*. In a less friendly manner Chauncy tackled Williams: *Neonomianism Unmask'd, Part I*. He called Williams "the head of a new

¹ Vide *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification*, 1692. Generally attributed to Thomas Goodwin, but attributed by the D.N.B. to Robert Trail.

sect," and explained why he described him as a Neonomian.

The winter of 1692 saw a number of pamphlets, and the dispute went on through 1693. Williams issued *A Defence of Gospel Truth* (1693), and Chauncy published *A Rejoynder to Dr. Williams* (1693), that is, to a criticism by Williams (in his *Defence*) of the first part of *Neonomianism Unmask'd*. A sarcastic and orthodox pamphlet was written this year: *A War among the Angels of the Churches*, by "A Country Professor of Jesus Christ," which Williams considered was written "with an air of falsehood and prophaneness."

Stephen Lobb, who apparently had been silent on this subject since 1680, entered the field again by the publication of *A Peacable Enquiry* (1693).

Another element in the controversy was the incident associated with the name of Richard Davis. He was a schoolmaster, but exercised the pastoral function. He had been in London for a time, but removed to Rothwell, Northamptonshire, where he preached an ultra-Calvinistic theology, and practised various ecclesiastical eccentricities and extravagances. His actions disturbed the local Nonconformist ministers, and a pamphlet was written against him: *A True Account of a most horrid and dismal Plague begun at Rothwell, 1692*. In defence, Davis replied (*Truth and Innocency Vindicated Against*, etc.: licensed Nov. 4th, 1692), and referred to Williams by name. Thereupon nearly all the London ministers dissociated themselves from Davis (*The Sense of the United Ministers in and about London concerning*, etc., published in the winter of 1692/3). Dr. Williams identified the views of Davis with the views of Dr. Crisp, and stated that Crisp's son "put a book out of his own, to abet some of his father's opinions." These statements by Williams

definitely connect the Rothwell incident with the Antinomian controversy.

Chauncy had fastened the name of "Neonomianism" to the opinion of Williams and his friends, and in this year a volume appeared, the title of which suggested the source of Chauncy's views. It was entitled *Crispianism Unmask'd* (1693). It has generally been attributed to the well known Calvinistic clergyman, John Edwards, D.D. (1637-1716), but, according to Williams, it was written by "an abler man than another of the same name, who was also writing at that time."

The controversy in the year 1693 had therefore become well defined, Williams being recognised as the leader of the Presbyterian party, and Chauncy the leader of the Independents. Williams was of the opinion that Cole was "excited by more designing persons," with the result that "he could scarce in any sermon for a long time forbear breaking out against us." This is probably a reference to the influence of Stephen Lobb, whose political Nonconformity was well known. An attempt to avoid the issues was made by John Howe, in what Calamy called "two admirable sermons" (*The Carnality of Religious Contentions*, 1693).

Throughout the year 1693 the controversy was acute, and in 1694 the affair reached a crisis. Nathanael Mather contributed a pamphlet: *The Righteousness of God through Faith*, 1694; and William Lorimer defended the ministers who had put their signatures to the volume containing the reprint of Crisp's works. (*An Apology for the Ministers who Subscribed*, 1694). Williams also replied to Lobb's *Enquiry*. (*Man Made Righteous by etc.*, 1694.)

The feeling between the two parties had now

become intense, and the Independents demanded the withdrawal of the name of Dr. Williams from the list of preachers at Pinners' Hall. This dispute began in August, 1694, and finished on November 7th of the same year, with the result that the Presbyterians set up a Lecture at Salters' Hall, at the same day and hour as the Pinners' Hall Lecture. According to one report (*History of the Union between, etc.*, 1698: second edition), the Congregationalists did not fill the vacancies on the rota at Pinners' Hall until February, 1694/95. In the spring of this year (1694/95) a grave charge was raised against Dr. Williams, from which he was fully acquitted (*Eighteenth Century Nonconformity*, p. 17: published 1915).

In the year 1695 several pamphlets appeared, the chief being *Mediocria*, by John Humfry, a venerable figure in the Nonconformity of the times; *A Letter to Dr. Bates*, by Stephen Lobb; and *A Discourse on the True Nature of the Gospel*, by Thomas Goodwin, jr., of Pinner, Middlesex.

In the year 1696 Humfry, who had apparently been consulted by Lobb before the latter had published his *Letter to Dr. Bates*, attempted once more to mediate (*Pacification Touching the Doctrinal Dissent among etc.*). William Lorimer, a Scotch Presbyterian in London, with more Calvinism than his English Presbyterian brethren had, answered Thomas Goodwin, jr. (*Remarks on Mr. Goodwin's Discourse etc.*).

The feature of the year 1697 was the contributions made by Lobb and Vincent Alsop. The former published *A Report of the Present State of the Difference in etc.*, and about the same time issued a pamphlet on *The Growth of Error*. Another writer issued *A Confutation of some of Mr. Williams's Errors by etc.* Williams attributed this to Lobb, or to "a small instrument of his."

In reply, Vincent Alsop, the minister of Westminster Presbyterian meeting-house, published: *A Faithful Rebuke to a False Report* (1697), the wit of this clever writer giving much annoyance to his opponents. Isaac Chauncy came to the help of Lobb, in *A Plea for the Ancient Gospel* (1697).

In the following year Lobb published *A Defence of the Report* (1698), and Alsop replied with a *Vindication of the Faithful Rebuke* (1698). The most important contribution this year was the third edition, by Williams, of *Gospel Truth*, which in addition to other matter contained a long reply to Mather's pamphlet of 1694.

The controversy took a new turn in 1698, when Lobb published *An Appeal to the Bishop of Worcester for an Impartial Decision*. In this pamphlet Lobb accused Richard Baxter (who had died in 1691) of Socinianism. The bishop answered for himself: *A Discourse Concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction*; and Dr. John Edwards (previously mentioned) defended Baxter (*A Plea for the late Mr. Baxter*, 1699). Chauncy wrote several pamphlets which may be placed about this time, but it is evident that after the death of Lobb in 1699 the controversy became less heated. The publication by Williams of *An End to Discord* may be taken as the closing note in a dispute, which, although it died down, left its mark upon the opinions of the two parties until at least the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The basis of settlement was the doctrine contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with that in the Westminster Confession and the Savoy Confessional. It was a virtual victory for the historical Calvinistic position on the subject of Justification, which with Baxter's modifications became a generally accepted one. The controversy had confined itself to the metropolis, but its un-

settling effect in the provinces was seen in the book by Matthew Smith, of Mixenden, Yorkshire, and in a reference by Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. (Nightingale's *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 1396 ; published 1911.)

Considered after the lapse of over two centuries, there is no controversy in the history of Nonconformity that was more unfortunate or less profitable. Nothing was gained, and much denominational dislike was engendered. The Congregational Fund Board owed its existence to the quarrel (C.H.S. *Trans.* v. p. 134). It is needless now to apportion blame, but in fairness it may be said that the Presbyterians did their utmost to avoid the controversy. It is true that they were gradually gliding away from Calvinism, in some of its aspects upon which excessive emphasis had been placed during the seventeenth century ; but it is also true that on the matters for which they contended they had historical support, and their action at that time would probably be regarded to-day as wise and right by Presbyterian and Independent alike.

J. HAY COLLIGAN.

The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

(continued from p. 360)

THE Rev. James Fisher continued to preside over the Congregational fellowship in Sheffield until his death in January, 1666. In his frequent absences through imprisonment, the enforcement of the Five Mile Act, and ill health, there was no lack of displaced ministers to carry on the work until, in 1669, the Rev. Robert Durant, ejected from Crowle, was chosen pastor.¹⁶ The rooms in the workhouse not required for poor law purposes, now rented by Fisher's son, a surgeon, continued to be the place of meeting; licences for preaching there being granted to Richard Taylor, ejected from Great or Long Houghton, and, later, to Durant. Increasing in strength, the congregation became strong enough to adapt a building, known as the New Hall, as a home of its own. Immediately after its opening Durant died (February, 1678-9). After an interregnum of several years, Timothy Jollie entered on the ministry which gave to the early days of Sheffield Nonconformity their chief distinction. By 1700 a chapel had been built, known at first as the New Chapel, but later, and still, as the Upper Chapel. Its history has been written by one of its recent ministers, the Rev. J. E. Manning. He has conclusively proved that both Timothy Jollie and the church were Independent, not, as has often been said, Presbyterian¹⁷: testimony all the more weighty when we remember the author's environment.

This conflict of view leads to a whimsical inversion. On the one hand, the demonstration of the Unitarian inheritor of the spoils, implies that the overthrow of the Independent model was an invasion. On the other hand, Congregationalists are found depriving their ancestors of their main justification, by writing as if the seceders had been intruders in a (so-called) Presbyterian

¹⁶ I have accepted here, and later below, the statement of Calamy and his successors, that Durant was ejected from Crowle. But it is worth noting that inquiry at that place has failed to find any trace of him as holding the living there. A list of seventeenth century vicars does not contain his name.

¹⁷ *E.g.* Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 323, 341. In the great disruption on Jollie's death, the victory was won against a majority of the church members, Calvinists, by an unconstitutional alliance between the trustees and seat holders, but no question of Synodic rule was involved.

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church, not men who, unable to hold the fort of their own making on the old lines, left the captors in possession, preferring rather to build another to their own liking.

Among the Hunter MSS. at the British Museum¹⁸ there is a paper until recently forgotten and unnoticed entitled :

*The Names of the Pastor and People of the Church of Christ,
Meeting at Sheffield Upper Chapel.*

The first name enrolled is that of "the Revd. Mr. Jollie, pastor." The list is undated, and being the copy of a copy such clues as might otherwise be furnished by original handwriting, or handwritings, interlineations, ink, and so forth, are lacking. But a careful analysis leads to the conclusion that it is a roll of members extending from the beginning of Robert Durant's pastorate in 1669 to the occupation of Upper Chapel, under Timothy Jollie, in 1700. That it was not a "live" list at the latter date is evidenced by the retention of the names of members then deceased, and it is also clear that certain glosses have been added by later hands, probably at different times. Its most helpful feature is that to a few names, all too few, there is appended the date of admission. The earliest of these is 26th September, 1674, during Durant's pastorate; the latest 31st December, 1681, when Jollie's ministry was yet young.

Some members can be recognised as survivals from the first church, and there are Fisher's daughters, entered before Elizabeth Fisher's marriage with Timothy Jollie in 1681. Miss Durant is on the list; with sundry ejected ministers, like Richard Taylor, or their families. Students under Mr. Frankland, and later under Mr. Jollie at Attercliffe, are represented to the number of sixteen. Among these the name of Thomas Secker¹⁹ is somewhat puzzling, since as the future Archbishop of Canterbury was not born until 1693 he was manifestly too young for church membership in 1700. The fact that the name appears twice creates a suspicion that, if there were not two Thomas Seckers, it is a posthumous interpolation made after 1758, the year of the elevation to the primacy, by some one whose Nonconformity was dazzled by the glamour of setting up a nodding acquaintance with a mitre.

Of the 260 members (123 men and 137 women) the great majority were, of course, ordinary townfolk. All that it is neces-

¹⁸ Add. MS. 24437 I. 112.

¹⁹ Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions* iv, 336. We learn from a note on p. 478, vol. ii, of the second edition of *The Nonconformist's Memorial* that the list was shewn to Samuel Palmer, who accepted it as disproving a denial that Archbishop Secker had ever communicated in any dissenting church. Perhaps, it is safer to say that what it proved was the firm belief of the Sheffield Nonconformists of Secker's day that he had been a member of Jollie's church. And their knowledge was a matter within living memory. John Smith, the owner of the MS., was twenty-one years of age when Secker, after holding the primacy for ten years, died in 1768.

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ary to say of these here is that, even thus early, they represent the marked influence for good which Nonconformists have ever exercised on the public life of the place. It is the outlying members whose presence sets a problem to the elucidation of which the help of experts in Nonconformist lore is invited. There are especially two conspicuous groups of distant residents, one living at Fishlake, some eight and twenty miles from Sheffield, beyond Doncaster and near the Lincolnshire border; the other at Glapwell, twenty miles away, between Chesterfield and Mansfield, and on the confines of Nottinghamshire.

The Fishlake group comprises the following, and possibly others unidentified:

Nicholas Crabtree, of Fishlock (*sic*).

Anthroppe Crabtree, admitted 26 Sep., 1674.

Kate Dickinson.

Robt. Dickinson.

Dorcas Clarke, of Fishlock.

Thomas Law, of Cankley [Cantley, near Doncaster]
admitted 26 July, 1676.

Thomas Law's wife, of Cankley.

The Glapwell group is:

T. Woolhouse.

Elizabeth Woolhouse.

Miss Woolhouse.

Whorwood Hallows [female].

Nathaniel Bacon, admitted 26 Sep., 1675.

Mary Akers, July 28, 1678.

Sarah Akers.

Both these places have a marked personal association with Robert Durant. Fishlake is not far from Crowle, the scene of his ejection, and Reedness (the Redness of Calamy), where "he preached in private" until 1664, is near at hand. Haled thence to York Castle, he there formed a friendship with a fellow prisoner, Mr. Thomas Woolhouse, of Glapwell Hall, "that great supporter of Godly ministers," through whose recommendation he became Fisher's successor at Sheffield. Timothy Jollie was also on terms of close friendship with the Glapwell family. By his hands a long succession of Mr. Woolhouse's grandchildren were baptized, and we read in Mrs. Jollie's diary of journeys to Glapwell whose safe accomplishment was "a mercy worth remembering and being thankful for."²⁰

But such considerations do not explain the inclusion, as members, of these persons, and of others living at Retford and elsewhere, whose regular presence at Communion in Sheffield was manifestly

²⁰ Manning's *Good Puritan Woman*, p. 15; and *Upper Chapel*, p. 61.

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impossible.²¹ Yet on the duty of this the old church covenants are most solemnly insistent. Its neglect was so sinful a breach of duty as to be regarded as sure proof of spiritual backsliding. One of the names on the Fishlake list carries the difficulty a step further, for it brings under notice the case of a non-resident, Robert Dickinson, who was not merely a member, but an officer, a preaching elder of the Sheffield church. In 1672 a licence was granted to this Robert Dickinson for preaching in his house at Fishlake; and in his well known account of Timothy Jollie's ordination (April 25th, 1681) Oliver Heywood says:

"Besides Mr. T. Jolly we were desired to take a test of the gifts of other two *viz.* Mr. David Noble, formerly school-master at Morley, my son's master, now living with Mr. Woolhouse, in Derbyshire . . . Another was one Robert Dickinson, a member and ruling elder of that [Sheffield] society, an English scholar only, but a good man of rare parts, and hath preached about 10 years at seasons, and in his own house beyond Doncaster, 18 miles from Sheffield."²²

That Dickinson was still living at Fishlake in the August following is shewn by the register of the baptism of his two sons there by Timothy Jollie, in that month.

The rules of the Attercliffe church, previously mentioned, provide that members so situated, on occasion, as to make attendance at the ordinances at home inconvenient, may join with others "so long as the sacraments are dispensed according to the Scripture." But clearly this legislation is for casual absentees, not for permanent non-residents. And the same church, while welcoming strangers, seriously advised them to join themselves to others in the places where they dwell, if haply there "the ordinances are vouchsafed in due purity."

Were there none such available for the Fishlake, Glapwell, and Retford people, up to, and a few years after, the Toleration Act of 1688?²³ Of the larger towns within the area under consideration Doncaster had not a church until 1692, Chesterfield until 1694, and Mansfield until 1701. But more obscure places had their little fellowships: as Bolsover (in which parish Glapwell was situated) about 1662; Attercliffe 1676. And many Nonconformist squires, like Mr. Woolhouse, had chapels at their Halls, with resident chaplains ministering.

²¹ "Jno. Brooks of York" and "Mr. Brooks of Wakefield" had been students at the Attercliffe academy. The insertion of their subsequent pastorates is doubtless a later interpolation.

²² *Diaries* ii. 199. Richard, son of Nicholas and Anthruple Crabtree of Fishlake, also on the list of membership, was apprenticed to a Nonconformist Master Cutler, and his brother was bound to Abel Yates with whom Jollie "tabled," and in whose house, adjoining the New Hall Meeting, the above ordination took place.

²³ Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vi. 199.

A deduction which may, or may not, have a bearing on the subject under consideration, can be drawn from the registers of children baptised by Timothy Jollie.²⁴ These cover so wide a range of residence as to suggest that, though not so indefatigably peripatetic as Oliver Heywood, Jollie, notwithstanding the claims of his congregation and his tutorial duties, undertook many apostolic journeyings, not only to the places already mentioned, but even so far afield as to Pontefract, Beverley and Gainsborough. The baptisms indicate an eagerness on the part of many parents to seize opportunities afforded by visits primarily designed for the strengthening of the saints by prayer and preaching. Observances of the Lord's Supper at such times clearly would be very occasional communions. It is evident that many, like Oliver Heywood's daughter-in-law, owned Mr. Jollie as their "spiritual father." He "was also my son in the faith" adds Heywood.

There are incidents connected with the Glapwell Nonconformists which throw a vivid light on the venom of enemies who, not content with cruel persecution during life, carried their petty spite to the grave. It is no uncommon thing to read in Calamy some such sentence as this: "He was buried in his own garden, not being allowed to be interred in what was called holy ground."²⁵

An inhabitant of Bolsover, in which parish Glapwell lies, has left a quaint diary,²⁶ wherein there are the following entries relating to three members of the Upper Chapel, shewing another form of insult:

"22 July 1697. Sarah Akers was interred in Bolsover church yard, but had not Christian burial."

"14 Oct. 1698. Thomas Woolhouse, of Glapwell, esquire, was buried under the old tomb in the chancel belonging to Bolsover church, but had not Christian burial."

"22 March 1698. Mary, wife of John Akers buried without Christian burial."

The vicar of Bolsover had no power to prevent the interment of "that great supporter of Godly ministers" in "the old tomb in the chancel" where lay the dust of ancestors accumulated during 300 years; but while prohibiting any religious rites he did not scruple to exact a fee for "breaking ground." There is a bitter irony in these exhibitions of insensate bigotry when we remember that Bolsover was then cursed with a quick succession of fleeting vicars who might have sat for the portrait in *Lycidas* of those who "creep and intrude and climb into the fold." The living was under chronic sequestration. One vicar boarded with the church-

²⁴ Manning's *Upper Chapel*, p. 198, *et. seqq.*

²⁵ *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1803, III, 77; 455, etc.

²⁶ *Derbyshire Arch. Socy. Journal*, ix., p. 68.

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warden, went a-fishing with him, borrowed money from him, and decamped in a few months with all his belongings. The installation of the next was promptly followed by arrest for debt and shortly afterwards by trial at Derby on a charge of arson. His successor, with too tender a conscience to permit Christian burial to godfearing Dissenters, had his hand cut off in an unseemly broil at Chesterfield.

By such instruments, and by such methods, did the stainless Stuart and his saintly advisers seek to stamp out those wicked schismatics who, in the words of the Act of Uniformity, "following their own sensuality, living without knowledge and by great and scandalous neglect, lead to the decay and scandal of religion, and to the hazard of many souls."

On the death of Thomas Woolhouse, above mentioned, Glapwell Hall passed, through the marriage of his daughter and heiress (the Elizabeth Woolhouse of the membership list), to Samuel Hallowes, whose opulent Nonconformist family had already large possessions in other parts of Derbyshire: at Dronfield, Dethick and elsewhere. The name Samuel Hallowes occurs among Frankland's students at Rathmell in 1678, and again as one at Attercliffe, under Timothy Jollie in 1686. Thomas Hallowes, the eldest of the nine children issue of the above alliance, all baptized by Timothy Jollie, married Lady Catherine Brabazon, daughter of the Earl of Meath, and one of their daughters became the wife of John Cromwell (also baptised by Jollie), whose father, John Cromwell of Retford, and whose mother, Hephzibah, daughter of a prominent Sheffield Nonconformist, were both Upper Chapel members. His grandfather was the Rev. John Cromwell, ejected from Clayworth, Notts. We may gather from Calamy's interesting account of this minister²⁷ that although he had been favourably noticed by the Protector, not as a relative but as a namesake, his cognomen was his greatest misfortune after the Restoration, as giving additional zest to the virulence of his persecutors. The Rev. James Fisher describes him as "a scholar, by name Master Cromwell, one related to Master Hatfield's family"²⁸—and therefore connected with Fisher himself, Cromwell's wife being Mrs. Fisher's niece.

The name Whorwood Hallowes among Jollie's members, brings another faint suggestion of the Protector since Oliver's daughter, Bridget, was married to Henry Ireton at the house of Lady Whorwood, at Holton, now Bolton Park, Oxford. There were Whorwoods, important people at Sturton Castle, Staffordshire and they seem to have had some close connection with Mansfield. The name of Whorwood Hallowes does not appear in the

²⁷ *Nonconformist's Memorial*. Edition 1803. Vol. iii., p. 90.

²⁸ *The Wise Virgin*. Manning, p. 5.

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pedigrees of the family as compiled in Hunter's *Familiae Minorum Gentium* (Harleian Society).

There was recently announced the death, 28th September, 1914, of the Rev. Brabazon Chambre Hallowes, rector of Eastnor, Ledbury, son of the late Rev. Brabazon Hallowes, of Glapwell Hall. Which carries its own interpretation.

There has come to light what are believed to be the rooms, in Attercliffe Old Hall, granted by William Spencer for the use of Richard Frankland's (1686-1689) and Timothy Jollie's academy. (See C.H.S. *Transactions*, ii., 425; iv., 333.) This survival is one wing of the building, now divided into tenements, with an external brick-facing to the original stone masonry. The upper rooms are ornamented with ceilings and friezes of elaborate design, in plaster relief of fine workmanship. A crest is displayed, not yet identified as one borne by any local family. It is not that of Spencer, or Frankland, or Jollie, and is presumably the emblem of some earlier owner. Over the fireplace in the principal apartment is an oblong plaster panel, bearing this motto :

: WHAT . SOEVER . THOV . DOST . TAKE
: IN . HANDE . THINKE . OF . THE . ENDE
: & . SELDOM . SO . SHALT . THOV . OFENDE

In the first part of this paper (*ante* p. 357) reasons were given for thinking that there was, in Sheffield, in 1652, a "Reformed church," over which Vicar Fisher presided as pastor. An additional scrap of testimony is found in one of the "Remains" of Thomas Jollie given on p. 165 of this volume of the *Transactions*. There are set forth the conclusions arrived at by "the Elders and Messengers of the Congregational Churches" of the West Riding and adjoining counties, at a conference held in Sheffield, 22 July, 1658. It may be confidently assumed that Sheffield would not have been chosen as a place of assembly unless there existed in that town a Congregational church whose members were ready to welcome the delegates.

R. E. LEADER.

Puritanism in Little England beyond Wales¹

THE object of this paper is to shew how, in a part of the country not nearly so well known for its abounding and varied interest as it should be, the seeds of Independency and Congregationalism took root at an early date. The story is brought down to 1662, and I hope in a further paper to trace the course of events from that time, with some mention of the origin of the Congregational churches of south Pembrokeshire, and the men whom this corner of Wales, so distinct from the rest of the Principality, reared and contributed to the denominational life of the whole country. I am under great and manifest indebtedness to *The History of Pembrokeshire*, by the late Rev. James Phillips, one of the first members of the Congregational Historical Society, a zealous and well equipped antiquarian, and a devoted student of Nonconformist origins and history.

Any account of religion in Pembrokeshire should, I fancy, begin with the Druids; and my good friend Sir Edward Anwyl, whose untimely decease is a heavy loss both to Wales and to Congregationalism, would probably have started there and awakened his readers' interest at once. I cannot go into fields so remote, nor can I do more than touch on the wonderful Christian activity which in the fifth and sixth centuries had its headquarters in the little island of Caldy, off Tenby. Recent events have made Caldy famous

¹The name is sometimes erroneously applied to the peninsula of Gower, lying west of Swansea, in Glamorganshire. Its true connotation is south Pembrokeshire.

as a Benedictine community, but its chief glory must remain in those far off days when it was a rival to that other famous island and monastery of Lerins in the Gulf of Lyons. What Lerins did for south Gaul, Caldy did for Wales and for Brittany. It was an isle of saints, and the names of David, Gildas and Samson, stand out as lights in a dark age. After their day the next great name in the religious life of Little England is that of Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald the Welshman), the famous contemporary of Henry II, a native of Manorbier, and remembered both for his valuable surveys of Wales and Ireland, and for his long struggle for the see of St. David's.

Another long stride brings us to the days of the Reformation and the Marian persecution. Among those who suffered were two Pembrokeshire men: Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, at Carmarthen, and William Nicol of Haverfordwest, in his native town. He was an unlearned man (like Rawlins White of Cardiff: these were the only three who suffered in Wales), "who gained the honour of martyrdom by his earnestness in pressing upon others that truth which had been to himself the power of God unto salvation."

One who escaped the stake deserves mention here among the forerunners of Puritanism in Pembrokeshire. Robert Recorde (1510-1558), of Tenby (whose ancestors came from Kent), was at once Doctor of Sciences, Doctor of Physic, and a great divine. He was a fellow of All Souls, and especially noted as the first convert in England to the Copernican view of astronomy, and the first writer in English on Arithmetic and Algebra, which science he introduced into this country. He was the originator of the sign =. Our interest in him is not on these grounds, nor because he was one of Queen Mary's physicians, but that he was known as a staunch Protestant.

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Another sturdy Protestant was Sir John Perrot: Perrot is a great name in Pembrokeshire history. He was an illegitimate son of Henry VIII, and his morals, like his father's, were not above reproach. He found himself in trouble in Mary's reign, and was denounced by a neighbour for harbouring heretics. After a brief imprisonment he was sent to serve in the campaign against the French on the Flemish frontier. He was the ablest man in the county in the reign of Elizabeth, and was viceroy of Ireland 1584-8.

Another great county name is that of the Devereux, better known as Earls of Essex: Walter the first earl, Robert the second (ill-fated friend of Elizabeth and Viceroy of Ireland ere he was executed in 1601), and Robert, the third, the famous Parliamentary general. Then there were the Meyricks and the Philippses. These are worth noting because they created the atmosphere in which principles of Puritanism and afterwards of Nonconformity took root and throve.

Before we leave Elizabethan times it behoves us to glance at Robert Holland, M.A. (Cantab.), a native of Conway (1557-1622?), who held three rectories in Pembrokeshire and one in Carmarthenshire. He wrote a *Holy History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's Nativity, Life, Acts, &c., gathered into English metre, and published to withdraw vain wits from all unsavoury and wicked rhymes and fables to some love and liking of spiritual songs and holy scriptures,* 1594. Another work from his pen contained Stories of Two Welshmen meeting on a mountain and discussing all they had seen and heard about conjurers, wizards, &c.

Under the Perrots and the Devereux the county in the Elizabethan age acquired an importance out of proportion to its size and resources, and this was not diminished in the stormy days of the

17th century. Pembrokeshire was Protestant, and its Protestantism was of the Puritan type. In 1620 the Mayor and Corporation of Haverfordwest asserted that in their town no recusant had been known since the Reformation. Side by side with the incumbents of the parishes were the "lecturers" or preaching curates, who played an important part in the religious life of the first thirty or forty years of the century. Among them was Stephen Goffe, afterwards Puritan rector of Stanmer in Sussex, and father of William Goffe the Cromwellian general. When he was at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, he raised a subscription towards the founding of a church and college in the city of Prague in Bohemia, and gave 2s., not a bad contribution compared with the Mayor's sixpence.

Anthony Rudd, Bishop of St. David's 1594-1614, favoured such men; he had strong Puritan leanings, and pleaded the cause of those who objected to the use of the cross in baptism.

Next but one to Rudd at St. David's was William Laud. It is curious that though he only visited his see twice, he insisted (when he became Archbishop) on his successor residing in it. The presence of his iron hand was soon felt in Pembrokeshire as everywhere else. There were several suppressions for Nonconformity, and the vicar of Amroth, near Saundersfoot in the south east of the county, got into trouble for refusing to read the Book of Sports. He was the father of Peregrine Phillips (see below), to whom the oldest Congregational churches in Pembrokeshire trace their foundation. One of the thorns in Laud's side was a Pembrokeshire gentleman named John White, a remarkable person of whom something must now be said.

John White, 1590-1645, "Century White," was born at Henllan, Rhoscrowther, on the south side

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of Milford Haven, 29th January, 1590. He descended from a wealthy family of merchants identified with Tenby. One Thos. White, six times mayor, aided the Earls of Richmond (Henry VII) and Pembroke to escape to Brittany after the battle of Tewkesbury; his brother John was seven times mayor.

John White matriculated at Jesus College, 1607, entered the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar 1618. He became a Bencher in 1641. A Puritan from his youth, in 1625 he and eleven others formed themselves into a committee for buying up unappropriated tithes so as to make better provision for a preaching ministry. Laud set his machinery in motion, the association was dissolved, its funds and patronage confiscated to the king's use, and the feoffees censured in the Star Chamber. Laud "fell bitterly on White as an underminer of the Church."

In 1640 White was M.P. for Southwark. He was elected chairman of the Grand Committee of the House to inquire into immoralities of the clergy, and of a sub-committee for considering how to replace scandalous ministers by Puritan preachers. In November, 1643, he issued a Report: *The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates.*² It was so lurid that his own party dissuaded him from putting out a Second Century. As regards episcopacy he advocated a root and branch policy of extirpation, spoke at the trial of twelve bishops in January, 1641-2, and was appointed a member of the Commons Committee to hear the bishops' defence in the Lords. He gave evidence against Laud on two occasions. He was frequently deputed by the House of Commons to draft

² See Summary in *Transactions*, vi, 57-58.

letters and impeachments; the First Charter of Massachusetts was procured under his advice, and perhaps drafted by him. He died 29th January, 1644-5, and was buried in the Temple church, the House of Commons in a body attending the funeral. His epitaph runs:

“Here lyeth John, a burning shining light
His name, life, actions, were all White.”

The earliest editions of Baxter's *Saints' Rest* included among the attractions of the Heavenly City the meeting with Brooke and Hampden, Pym and White. White's daughter married Dr. Annesley, and her daughter was the mother of John and Charles Wesley. White's contemporaries describe him as a grave and learned lawyer. So extreme was his hostility to the episcopal system that after his death his opponents tried to damage his reputation by charges of immorality. His elder brother, Griffith White, was high sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1626, and a staunch and active Parliamentarian there throughout the Civil War.

When the great struggle began, Pembrokeshire, alone among the twelve counties of Wales, was on the side of the Puritans, for it was the one county where Puritanism had any real hold upon the upper classes. The leaders of the anti-court party were Sir James Perrot (son of Sir John), and his brother-in-law, Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle. Perrot, who was M.P. for Haverfordwest, was a Puritan of the noblest type, a man of great ability and accomplishments, the author of several treatises, philosophical and religious, and the intimate friend of Henry Vaughan the Silurist. Other county gentry were equally eager, as were the three towns: Pembroke, Haverfordwest and Tenby, for “the House and the Word.” The Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary arms,

the Earl of Essex, was a Pembrokeshire squire; the Adjutant-General, Sir John Meyrick, was another, and in his own regiment several of the officers were Pembrokeshire men.

With the rest of Wales in the hands of the Cavaliers and no parliamentary force nearer than Gloucester or Bristol, the Roundheads of Pembrokeshire were in a difficult position. Pembroke Castle and town were secured by the energy of the Mayor, John Poyer, but Tenby and Haverfordwest could offer little resistance, and Puritanism was weak in the north of the county. In January, 1644, the Royalists besieged Pembroke, but were repulsed, and the Roundheads took the offensive, and with aid from England cleared the county of the enemy in three months, only to lose most of it to the energy of a new Royalist general. Pembroke and Tenby, however, held out stoutly for the Parliament; and in July, 1645, six weeks after Naseby, the Royalist party in the county was hopelessly beaten (by Laugharne at Colby Moor).

John Meyrick, Laugharne and Poyer are mentioned by Baxter as opposed to Independency. They probably thought that the episcopal system could be reformed from within. There was also a personal grievance. Poyer was irritated by Griffith White, the brother of John, and with the county gentry and Laugharne went over to the Royalists, held Pembroke Castle, and raised an insurrection throughout Pembrokeshire, Carmarthen and Glamorgan. It was short-lived, and Pembrokeshire Puritans as a body had no share in it. Poyer and Laugharne were driven into Pembroke Castle, which Cromwell himself besieged. It held out for six weeks, then starvation brought about surrender. Poyer was shot at Covent Garden and died very penitently. Crom-

well went on to Haverfordwest where he saved St. Mary's church from destruction.

During the siege of Pembroke he made the acquaintance of Peregrine Phillips (1623-1691), son of the vicar of Amroth, who had been suspended for "Inconformity" under Laud. Young Phillips had passed from the Haverfordwest grammar school to Oxford, where the Civil War had put an end to his studies. He took orders, and became curate at Kidwelly. His talents as a preacher in both Welsh and English soon attracted the notice of the Puritan gentry of the neighbourhood, and he was presented to three livings: Monkton and St. Mary's in Pembroke, and Cosheston a few miles away. He figures, together with Adam Hawkins and Thomas Hughes, names which we shall meet again, in a list (probably of 1649) which enumerates fourteen licensed preachers for Pembrokeshire.

No record remains of the way in which the news of Charles I's execution was received in Pembrokeshire, but when Cromwell came in the summer of 1649 to sail for Ireland he was cordially welcomed. It is to his honour that he saved St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, from being stripped of lead. Peregrine Phillips preached on board his ship the day before he sailed for Dublin.

In the following winter Hugh Peters spent some months in Pembrokeshire. He seems to have conferred with local leaders as to the possibility of organizing an Independent church. At his trial eleven years later a Milford doctor, Wm. Yonge, who had been called in to attend Peters, was base enough to give garbled evidence of his private conversations with his patient and helped to secure his condemnation.³

Pembrokeshire men helped to put down the Royalist rising in Cardiganshire in 1651, and sent

³T. G. Crippen: *Life of Hugh Peters*, p. 46 ff., 72 f.

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a contingent to Worcester, where Major-General Wm. Goffe, a Haverfordwest man, brilliantly sustained the high reputation he had gained at Dunbar, where he had led Cromwell's own Ironsides to the charge. Wm. Goffe was a member of the High Court that had condemned Charles. At the Restoration he escaped to New England. Colonel Pride was also a native of Haverfordwest. In a severe visitation of plague at Haverfordwest in 1651-2, Stephen Love, the Puritan rector of St. Thomas's, did right Christian work for the poverty stricken people. His name stands at the head of a list of deceased members of the oldest Congregational church in Pembrokeshire, Albany, Haverfordwest, founded by P. Phillips. He died in 1656.

In Pembrokeshire, the hand of the Puritan evictor pressed heavily on the unworthy Anglican clergy.⁴ The authorities evicted some on the ground of worldliness, against whom no immorality could be alleged, but they did much to provide a really efficient ministry, and would have done more if their labours had not been cut short by the Restoration. When Stephen Love died the four Haverfordwest parishes were united. Love's people did not like this, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, and secured the services of Peregrine Phillips, by this time minister of Llangwm and Freystrop. Thus the earliest Nonconformist congregation in the county was the result of a secession from the Church of the Commonwealth, and this explains the presence of Love's name on the Albany church roll, though the beginning of that church is usually dated as

⁴ Walker reports 34 or 35 evictions in about 145 parishes. As the whole number for Wales and Monmouthshire was 136, it shews what a clean sweep was made in Pembrokeshire. Of these twelve were evicted for drunkenness, nine for inefficiency, five for "malignancy" (i.e., active opposition to the Parliament), three as pluralists, one for keeping an ale-house, and four for unspecified causes. It is to their credit that none was charged with gross immorality. See *Transactions*, vi, 193 ff. None of these was reinstated in 1660.

1662. About this time the Baptists begin to appear in the county ; they came with Vavasor Powell in 1654. In 1657 George Fox paid his first visit to the county ; his interesting experiences are recorded in his *Journal*. In 1659 Elizabeth Holmes, a Quaker missionary, laboured with great success in south Pembrokeshire, and with Alice Burkett was imprisoned at Haverfordwest on the information of Adam Hawkins, who had the effrontery to visit them in prison and express his sympathy.

The Rev. James Phillips points out that the Restoration brought about one memorable result in Pembrokeshire : a breach between the landed gentry and Puritanism. The political traditions of Puritanism were not wholly sacrificed, but on the religious side the breach was irreparable. Before the Civil War there had been no Protestant dissent in Pembrokeshire, though the germs were there. Afterwards there were middle class and working class Dissenters on whom the persecutor, whether clergyman or Tory squire, could wreak his spite under the form of law ; but the squires, whether Tory or Whig, were Churchmen all. The storm broke first on the Quakers ; it will suffice to say that if the Puritans had now and again scourged them with whips, the Cavaliers beat them incessantly with scorpions. It is easy to understand why the Quakers of Pembrokeshire furnished so large a proportion of the first colonists of Pennsylvania, where Haverford College is only the most prominent of many names that perpetuate the old home.

When the Act of 1662 came into effect there were eleven ejections in Pembrokeshire, mainly in the south. They were Thomas Hughes, of Begelley ; Adam Hawkins, of St. Ishmael's ; Per. Phillips, of Llangwm ; Christopher Jackson, of

Lampeter Velfrey; John Luntley, of Llanstadwell; Morgan Thomas, of Mathry; John Bywater, of Pembroke; John Carver, of Tenby; Stephen Young, of Rhoscrowther; David Williams, of Llanfihangel; Thomas Warren, of Narberth. The three last named ultimately conformed; the most famous of them was Young, who had been among the guards on the scaffold at the execution of Charles I. Of most of the eleven nothing more is left than the name and the memory of their faithfulness. History and tradition alike have passed them by to centre on the achievements of Peregrine Phillips. Despite the kindness he had shewn in shielding Episcopal ministers from disturbance in earlier days persecution followed him to the end. The Five Mile Act was put in force against him, and two imprisonments shew how obnoxious he was to the new authorities. In 1672 he was one of two Pembroke ministers who (through Dan. Higgs and Stephen Hughes of Swansea) received a licence to preach in his own house at Dredgman Hill, a mile outside Haverfordwest, and also at the house of Richard Meyler in the town. The name Meyler is still found in the neighbourhood. The other licensed minister of 1672 was John Jones of Kilgerran on the Cardigan border. Both are described as Congregationalists.⁵ But the persecution was renewed, and at the time of Monmouth's rebellion Phillips had to go into hiding. He lived to see the great deliverance in 1688, dying three years later.

To him two churches, one English and one Welsh, trace their origin: Albany, Haverfordwest, and Treffgarn. These are the oldest in the county. (The date 1635 given to Goodwick in the *Year Book* is an error. Goodwick is quite a new cause, founded in 1905.)

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⁵ See *Transactions* ii, 111, 15, 98, 111, and Turner, *Original Records*.

Congregationalism in the Fen Country

(See Map page 428)

SHORTLY after the Revolution one George Doughty, a member of some unspecified Congregational church, probably that at Bishop's Stortford, began to preach in the fen country between Ely and Newmarket. As a result of his efforts a gathered church was constituted in August, 1692; the chief meeting-places of which were at Burwell and Soham, but the members of which, 16 in number, were drawn from six parishes. In 1694 Mr. Doughty was ordained as pastor of this widely scattered flock; which by 1707 had enrolled 136 members from 22 villages and hamlets, the most remote of which were about 20 miles apart from each other. In 1712 the church divided into two, Mr. Doughty retaining the pastorate of those who gathered at Soham, and a Mr. Royston becoming pastor of the Burwell section. Thus originated two Congregational churches which are flourishing to this day.

According to the Evans MS. in Williams's Library, the church at Soham in 1717 had 200 hearers, of whom 13 were county voters, and that at Burwell had 320 hearers, 14 being county voters. At that time there was also a Presbyterian church at "Fordham and Soham," with 150 hearers; and one at Swaffham Prior, of which no statistics are given.

Among the MSS. in the Congregational Library is a kind of journal in the handwriting of Mr. Doughty, narrating the leading incidents in his ministry. It is entitled *The Church Book*, but is

obviously a private, rather than a public, record. This appears from the very loose manner in which baptisms are noted; often the date is omitted, only the month being given; often the name of the child without that of the parents; at other times the name of the parents without that of the child. Accessions to the church are recorded, and cases of discipline, but usually not deaths or removals.

It is evident that the church exemplified the extreme type of Independency, claiming plenary authority in all ecclesiastical affairs *ex jure divino*. Mr. Doughty's ordination was regarded as the sole act of the local church; the messengers of other churches being invited merely as witnesses, and not one of them holding the pastoral office. In such an ordination there could be no pretence of any such tradition of order or authority as was insisted on alike by Presbyterians and Episcopalians; and it is probably on this account that the Evans MS. (1717) explicitly describes Mr. Doughty as a lay preacher. Moreover, there are signs of a tendency to increasing rigidity. The original church covenant was unexceptionable; but quite early we find participation in "false worship" censured, and later (perhaps as a result of the controversy about occasional conformity) attendance on worship conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer is declared by resolution to be sinful. When the church covenant is formally renewed in 1707 the whole 107 propositions of the Assembly's Catechism are declared to be the faith (*i.e.* creed) of the church.

An interesting feature in the MS. is the abundance of marginal references to Scripture. It would seem that every act must be sanctioned by an express Biblical precept or precedent. There is often an amusing crudity in the application,

and, in common with most people in those days, Mr. Doughty and his fellowship never thought it possible that they might be mistaken.

It only remains to say that the MS. is printed *verbatim et literatim*, care being taken to preserve all the erratic spelling, the random use of capitals, and the grammatical solecisms, most of which are provincialisms. The sign is used to denote cancellations.

From some memoranda in Mr. Doughty's handwriting it appears that he was born at Hadleigh, Suffolk, in February, 1661; and was living at Bishop's Stortford at least from 1683 to 1690.

The Church Book, 1692

(Figures in parentheses thus (5) indicate original pagination)

1692 the sixth month and 3^d day this church of Christ . . . in and about Soham was gathered by the ministry of George Doughty planted, constituted and built [*sic*] and set down, at Burwell in cambridg-sheer with 16 members . . . 10 Brothers and six sisters, in the presence of elders and . . . Bretheren [*viz* Bury Cambridg and Rowell] of other churches.*

approved by
proportion from
Act. 11. 23-28,
Gal. 2. 9

phi. 4. 6
psa. 66. 16
1 pet. 3. 13

the Matter of
a church
1 king. 6. 7
1 Cor. 1. 2 & 14. 33
Act. 9. 41
1 Pet. 2. 2-5
see Jer. 31. 6
& 50. 5
Isaiah 2. 2
Luk. 14. 28
Act. 9. 41

* in a later
hand

1. they had spoke their experences before . . each other (2) on days of solemn prayer Appointed for that purpose. ~~Here~~ here *faith in christ for salvation, & repentance from sin, & observance of God is confessed.*

2ly. being satisfied [*in the judgment of Rational charity*] in each others fitness for so weighty and solemn an undertaking, they Appointed 1692 . . . the 3^d day of August or the six Month for their embodying, in which meeting were the bretheren of other churches to be . . . encouragers Directors (3) and to help them with their prayers, & to be witnesses of their holy faith and order of the Gospel or Christian church-state.

* Col. 2. 5, Act. 11. 23-26, 1 Tim. 6. 12, 2 Tim. 2. 3

phi. 4. 6

the found-
ation
Mat. 16. 16-17
1 pet. 3. 15
Luk. 3. 41
with
Act. 14. 23
Jos. 14. 8
Deu. 29. 9-15
Gen. 17. 7

1 One . . . deputed to be their mouth began in prayer.

2 . . . asked them if satisfied to walk together as Bretheren and Sisters in the lord, which was testified by lifting up of hands.

3. then they prayed Again the work being uery Solemn work. (4)

4. The mouth asked them if they were willing to

Act. 2. 89
 1 Cor. 7. 14
 Rom. 11. 17
 1 Ph. 6. 4
 Ezek. 16. 21
 Psal. 115. 13,
 & 147. 14

the
 formal causes

Zech. 8. 23
 Psa. 119. 106
 Isah. 19. 18-21
 Act. 5. 13
 & 9. 29
 Col. 2. 2, 5
 Deu. 27. 26
 Exo. 19. 4-8
 & 20. 19
 & 24. 3-9
 Deu. 25. 18
 & 29. 10-11
 Jos. 24. 15
 2 Chr. 14 & 15 &
 29 & 34
 Ezra 10. 19
 Neh. 9. 38
 & 10. 29
 Isah 44. 46
 Jer. 50. 5
 Deu. 27. 26
 Ezra. 2. 62
 Neh. 7. 5, 64
 Psa. 87. 6
 Isah 4. 3

give them selves and children Added since to the lord & one another by the will of God 2 Cor. 8. 5 ; which was testified as before. lam. 3. 41 with Act. 14. 23.

Here the Heads of the Couenant are Read.

1 as to . . . the Duties of A church-state.

2 priuiledges of it in case of obedience to the holy faith and order, Rules of the Gospel.

3 penalties or censures of it in case of sin, & Disobedience (5) which they promised a mutual obseruance of & submission to in the lord as he he [*sic*] should help them which was testified by lifting up of their hands, to this they said Amen to . . . and subscribed their names in a Register or church Book, *and the places where they lived. all that could writ set their names themselves, them that could not made their mark & another wrot their names by it.*

[* * This is written in the margin.]

the Bretheren

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------|
| Robbard Moody | } | of Islam |
| Steuen Godfery | | |
| thomas Scot | } | of Market ¹ |
| Robbard Ossby | | |
| Robbard Heart | } | of Burwel |
| thomas frog | | |
| John Deakes | } | of Reach |
| (6) Edward Deakes | | |
| Richard chest | } | of reach |
| John Ripply | | |

Sisters

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Elizabeth jolnson | of langmedow |
| Eals Garner | of reach |
| Marget Cropply | of Soham |
| Sarah Scales | of Soham |
| Caterin hills | of . . . Reach |
| Sarah Doughty | of Soham |

then one of the witnesses . . gave them the right hand of fellowship, & the Mouth pronounced them in the name of Christ (7) a true independent church of Christ, to whom Christ had given power for all church Administration.

Mat. 16. 19

* This reference seems irrealent.
¹ Newmarket.
² In the parish of Bottisham.

5 two were Added the same day viz
Sister Spinner of Market and Sister Simson . . .
[now Sister Brown of fordham.]

1 they spoke their experences.

2 withdrew [a prudent custome in other cases.

Act. 4. 15.]

3 then the deputed brother asked the church if they were (8) Satisfied and Approved it, and if their lives . . . and conversation were now as became the . . . Gospel; which being affirmed by the testimony of some of them that were best Acquainted with them, he spake to the church. You that are for the Admission of [&c.] into fellowship with this church testifie it with lifting up of your hands.

then he saith he [*sic*] I conclude (9) it is the judgment of the church that they should be admitted.

then they were called in, ¹he said i give you notice that the church consent to your Admission.

2 he Asked them if they were willing to covenant with the lord and us his people . . . which being Affirmed [by yis.]

Here the Heads of it are read, in the precepts, promises and priviledges & penalties or censures instituted by the King [Christ Jesus] & founder (10) of this sacred corporation, Body politick, society, and community.

You promise in the presence of God, Angels, & men to submit in the lord to all these heads as he shall help you [yis.]

And, saith he, i promise in the name of Christ and . . . his church that we will perform our duties to you for your edification & comfort in the lord as becomes a church of Christ as he shall help us.

4 then he gave them the right hand of fellowship: he took (11) them by the right hand and said, Sister, you having given yourself to the lord and to us by the will of God, i in the name of Christ and with the consent of this church Admit you a Member of this church of the living God, and give you the right hand of fellowship, and the lord bless you in Zion.

5 then their names were put into the church Register or Book.

6 M^r. Daus preached from psa 132. 13, prayed, sung, and dismissed the Assembly. (12) they gave me a call to Minister the word to them, thus ended the day of our first embodying, Associating, & bulding [*sic*.]

Num. 33. 1 & with page 12 hereto.

Pa. 48. 10
& 66. 16
Mat. 16. 16-18
Rom. 10. 10
Iosh 43. 24
& 44. 4, 5
see page 107

Act. 14. 22
it is in the greek
it was a sign by
which the de-
termining note
of the church
was signified

Gal. 2. 9

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- 1692 15 day of the tenth month and fift day of the week Susana Doughty was born at Soham in Cambridg-sheer, and after Baptized by M^r Davis.
- 1692 9 month Robbard heart was Born and Baptized.
- (13) 1693 sixth month and about the sixth day Dannel Needs and John kidd [of Burwell] and jaruis Sumner of Soham and thomas Cob of Ditton and Sister turner of Burwell was Added.
- 1693 eight month 29 Day our Brother Doughty was Added, having testimony 1 by Messengers sent, that the church to which he belonged had given him Discharge, and liberty to joyn with another church 2ly by a letter of Recommendation testimonial (14) as followeth :—
- this is to certify all persons whom it may concern, that our beloved brother M^r George Doughty being known by us for many years past has led a life as was becoming the Gospel of Christ for the time he lived in these parts. . . . and we do belive that no person whatsoever has aught to say against the same. (15) and this we testifie by subscribing our hands this 18 of October 1693.

Act. 16. 27
Rom. 16. 1, 2
1 Cor. 16. 8
2 Cor. 3. 1-3
Col. 4. 10
... 2 John. 8. 9

John Etridge
Antony Nickholds
Zechariah Nickholds
Bretheren in fellowship.

and Rickhard Rallins
townsman and member of a neighbour church.

- 1693 Ninth month and about the Sixth Day Warin, Chanpher, lee, palmer (of Burwell), Deakes (of Reach) Benson (of Willbram) was Added 15 Day Elin and William Spaldin, John hunt (of Reach), John Watson of Burwel. (16) were Added.
- in this month we received a greeting letter from Gyhorn [Guyhirne], who by their messengers gave us the right hand of fellowship.
- 12 Month 8 Day Sarah Scales of Soham was cut off for lying, braking couenant, and obstinate backsliding, joyning with a fals worship, and standing up as God-mother for a child.
- 1694 (17) Second Month 25 Day. John and Edward Deakes and his wife was excommunicated, all coming short of morality, & their wickedness caused the name of Christ to be evil spoken of.
- 1694 Sixth Month & 22 Day. Sister churches were greeted to send their messengers to us on the fourth day of October next, being the Day Appointed for my Ordination having been called to minister the word to them

Rev. 22 15
Luk. 2. 64
Gal. . . 5. 12
2 Thes. 3. 6

1 Cor. 5. 11
1 Tim. 1. 20

Act. 15. 24
1 . . . 28. 26
2 Cor. 1. 3
phi. 4. 21
Act. 11. 23
28 & 24. 29

1 Tim. 6. 13
2 Tim. 2. 2
1 Tim. 5. 10
Rom. 16. 10
1 Cor. 16. 8

1694

Act. 4. 15
Pro. 18. 16
& 11. 4

phil. 4. 6
Eph. 6. 19-20
1 Tim. 3. 10

(19)

on the day of their first enchurching (18) and having about two years proof of me.
Eight Month 4^t Day being come.
☛ here persons Advice . . . and conclude in private how to proceed in publick.

1 Brother Ripply was Appointed Mouth that day for order's sake.

2 some time was spent in prayer.

3 the call was repeated and accepted.

☛ here should have been Account how I was received and owned in their connection and embodying.

4 then . . . the mouth said you that are for choosing . . . Brother Doughty into pastoral office testifie it by lifting up of hands, which was done.

(20)

So Act. 1. 15, 23, 26, the church chose by Suffrage one Mathias into Judas Bishoprick . . . I & [sic] Apostolical office trust and charge. And Act. 6. 2-3, 5 the church chose seven Deacons, & Act. 14. 23 greek, and when they had ordained them Elders by Election in all the churches [or congregations] And had prayed with fasting they commended them to the lord on whom they believed.

here the mouth turns himself to the Elected and tell [sic] him he is to declare his Acceptance, 1 which he doth with all grauety and humility . . . that which moved me to the work was Exo. 4. 15, Isah. 61. 1, Jer. 1. 6, Luk. 9. 62, Jos. 1. 8, &c.

2 Declare his judgment & faith.

1 Tim. 6. 13
2 Tim. 2. 9

3 here he is charged to perform the Duties of his office according to the Rule of Christs (21) service Book and ligtyrge of his (?) testament only.

Col. 4. 17
1 Tim. 6. 18

4 he covenanted or promised so to do as Christ shall help him.

Act. 20. 28
with
7. 17
Tit. 1. 5-7
Isah. 62. 5
Heb. 18. 7. 17
1 Thes. 5. 13, 19
1 Cor. 11. 1

5 . . . the mouth in Christ's name and by the consent of the church pronounce and declare they own him as their Stated pastor Elder or Bishop, & promise to perform their duties & to submit to him in the lord as Christ shall help them.

6 then the Messengers of of [sic] Bury church, [M^r Noble Brother offord], of Cambridg church [M^r Cragg & M^r Coolig] (22) prayed and exhorted both pastor and church to their particular Duties, and gave us . . . in the name of their churches the Right hand of fellowship with holy wishes as . . . Zech. 4. 6, & Act. 9. 31 & 20. 32.

And on the same day was brother ward of Maket [?Newmarket], brother fosit of Safham [?Swaffham]

Nam. 6. 28. 28
Heb. 7. 7

Prior], & old sister Ripply of Reach was Added to us. (23) And then . . . [Tho most unworthy] I entered upon my office in prayer & singing psa. 84 and dismissed the Assembly with a blessing.

1694

John 19. 14
Pro. 16. 1
2 Cor 13. 5
Exo. 12. 1. 6
Isa. 28. 6

So ended the Day of my ordination, eight month & Seventh Day. Appointed that on the fift day of the week before the Lords day we brok bread we should always every month have a church meeting.

Ezra 10. 8
Num. 9. 15
Matt. 18. 15-17
Gal. 5. 12
1 Cor. 18. 22
2 Thes. 3. 6

(24) 1694 tenth month thomas frog of langmidow was cast out for long violent (?) & impenitent withdrawing from Church Assemblies.

1694

eleventh month thomas heart was baptized.

1694

12 month 24 day Brother Hinsly of Exnon [Exning], sister howlit of Burwell & old sister Garner of Reach was Added.

(25) 1694. 12 month about the 20 day Robbard Watson was Baptized.

1695 1 month old sister Casbon (?) of burwell was Added.

1695 2 month, 21 day, John Robbins of Soham was Added.

About this time Richard Chest of Reach was Rejected & Excluded for publick and gross Drunkenness, being mad drunk.

1 Cor. 11, 13

1695 4 month and Sixth day Brother Trowel of Soham, brother (26) & sister Brown of Burwell and sister Watson of fordham was Added.

1695 4t month 7t day Mary trowel was born & on the 16 day was Baptized.

1695 4 month it was Acted at a church meeting that on the sixth day of the fourth month every year we should praise God for his mercy in increasing the church (27) And several things concerning the sister church And on the same day Sister Spinner of Market was dismissed to it.

1695 4 month 23 day Sister Millington of Moutin [? Moulton] and old sister Spalden of Gazly was Added.

~~in~~ in 1695 William Spalden, Caleb Woodos, and Marget Palmer was born & Baptized.

1695 5 month & 14 day.—Sister haward of Moutin brother bye of Cattligns^s & brother Shephard of Exnon was added.

(28) 1695 6 moneth brother Milison of Moutin & brother halock of cattlig was joyned.

1695 7t moneth 1 day John Petchy of Burwell was Added.

1695 7t moneth . . . 12 day Brother Trowel was chosen Ruling Elder. & now it was . . . Acted that he that (29) objected against what was propounded in the church

^s Catledge, otherwise Kirtling.

1 Cor. 11. 16 & 18
& 1. 10 & 12: 25
& 14. 33

2 Thos. 3. 6. 14

1695

1695

8 month

(30) 1695

1695

1695

1 Cor. 14. 3-37

Act. 18. 27

1696

1696

1696

1696

Gen. 17. 1-10
was renewed

Exo. 19. 8 & 20. 19

& 24. 8-8

Ezek. 16. 8

& that in

Exo. 19. 8

was renewed

Deu. 29. 1-15

& ... in Jos. 24. 15

2 Chr. 15 & 29 & 34

Ezra 10 (33)

Neh. 9. 1-38

with 10. 29

Se Deu. 6. 18,

& 10. 20

Examples

Heb. 10. 1-29

Isah 48. 1

2 Chr. 16 & 34

Psa. 119. 106

prophecies

Isah 45. 23 &

19. 18-21 & 65. 16

Heb. 13. 1, 15, 25

Nut. 2. 2, 17

1 Cor. 14. 23

(?) 6. 11

1 Chr. 28. 7

Tit. 3. 8

meeting and not give Scripture Reason it should not be minded, and if obstinate he should be Admonished as a causer of Disunion & Schism.

7^t moneth 15 day John kidd the elder and younger of Soham was Added. my daughter Elisabeth was born at Burwel the forth of the week & 23 day of the eight month & Baptized by my self.

9^t moneth & 10 day brother and sister pamphilin was Added.

. . 10^t moneth 1 day brother Burlls was added & brother Chest Restored, *and again afterwards cut off.* & the 10 day Shadrach Warin was born & Baptized.

11 moneth 3 day liberty for prophesie by Approved Members & when judged fit to send them out with the (31) presence of sister churches & our own Approbation & prayers. And that burwell and Soham should be equal in all days of worship.

1 moneth brother and sister Hariss . . was Added, and William Hariss was born y^e 26 day & Baptized the 31 day.

2 moneth 23 day brother and sister Eaton of Soham was Added.

& on the 30 day Anna Watson was Baptized.

3^d moneth Elisabeth eaton was Baptized.

4^t moneth 17 Day. A solemn Renewal of our couenant, we . . make and writ a sure couenant this day.

As the lord liveth I will faithfully and constantly discharge the duties of my office to you, and not leave you at any time without you consent, so help me o God for Christs sake. 2 Sam. 4. 3, Ruth 3. 13.

Of hands lifted up se Heb. 3. 6 psa. 141. 2 lam. 3. 41 1 Tim. 2. 8 See Rev. 10. 5 psa. 63. 4 & 119. 48 & . . 134. 2.

As the lord liveth wee will constantly walk together in Attendance upon the Ministry, & performance of our Duties to our present pastor [Brother Doughty] & walk together in all the ordinances of our Exalted King Christ Jesus, & not leave his Ministry at any time [except on just & weighty occasion] (34) to attend on any other Ministry without his & the churches consent & leave.

And when he is remoued by death we will abide walk & worship together in Christs institutions till we have chosen another pastor

So help us o God for Jesus Sake

Subscribed by

George Doughty, pastor

- (35) William fosit, Deacon
 Thomas Trowel, Ruling Elder
 William Pamplin | John Ripply
 brother Brown | brother Kidd the elder
 John Robbins | brother Burls
 brother Cobb | brother Shephard
 brother Militon | brother Eaton
 Sister Doughty my dear wife
 Sister Eaton | haworth
 Hariss | howlett
 Watson | Waren
 Militon | Ripply
- 1696 6 moneth 16 day
 Anna Miller of Saffham & john Petchy was Baptized.
- (36) 1696 7t month 9 day Sister Riddly & Sister trowel was added.
 1696 10 month Sister Hills, Simson, Cannon, & Richard
 Robbins of Soham was Added, & Susanna trowel was
 Baptized.
- 1696 12 Moneth 18 day Robbard Ready of Burwel was
 Added, (37) And it was Acted when the weather did not
 permit the church to come together at Burwell it should
 keep the lords day together & so they at Soham.
- Feb. 10. 25 1697 1 moneth 24 day Sister Palmer and Petchy of Burwell
 was Added.
- 1697 28 day of this Moneth Sister Pirr & Sister Canphire of
 Burwell was Added.
- 1697 2 moneth 15 day old Sister Elsdon of Burwel was Added.
- (38) 1697 4t Moneth 6 day Sister Simson of fordham was Added.
 1697 4 Moneth 10 day brother Carrow y^e younger Sister
 Casbon the younger of burwell & Caterin Spalden the
 younger of Gazly was Added.
- (39) 1697 6 m. 1 d. Elisabeth Watson was cut off for lying,
 theft, &c.
- Rom. 22. 15 1697 9 moneth 25 day Sister web, Smith, howlet, of burwell
 was Added, & David Ready was Baptized, & brother
 petchy left us to go to M^r Culy⁴ by consent after con-
 fessing his sin in withdrawing from & leauing church
 Assemblies for seueral lord's days.
- Ezra 10. 8
 Heb. 10. 25 1697 9t moneth old Sister Smith of Burwel was Added on
 the 28 day & Sarah Houllet was Baptized.
- 1697 11t Moneth 28 day . . . Sister fouler, Watson of Burwell
 was Added; & on the sixth day of this moneth William
 Eaton was Baptized.
- 1697 12t Moneth Brother Ward of Market had a letter sent
 him to Admonish him of his sin & duty & to

* Mr. Culy was pastor of a church at Guyhirne.

- Isaiah 28. 1 reform (41) which he did not ; after long waiting, was cut off for gross drunkenness, &c.
- the 20 day of this Moneth Benjamin Shephard was Baptized.
- 1698 1 moneth 17 day Sister Shawe of Exnon & Harly of Burwel was Added, & Sister linsdill cut off for toal [*sic*] neglect of her duties, Strange Marriage, & Realing fals [*sic*].
- Gen. 6. 3 with 7. 1, &c. Neh. 13. 25 2 Cor. 6. 14-15 1 Cor. 7. 39
- (42) 1698 2 m. 16 day Sister olard . . . of Snalwell was added.
- 1698 3d moneth 12 day old brother Edwards of Burwell was Added, & it was Acted if any Absented 3 times together from a church Meeting it should bring them under Admonition.
- Ezra 10. 6 Heb. 10. 25 Act. 20. 7 1 Thes. 5. 11-14
- (43) on the 4^t day brother Spalding two boys twinns was Baptized.
- on the 5^t day of this Moneth Brother Milton's daughter was Baptized.
- 1698 3^d moneth & 16 day, Sister benson of Willbram was dismissed to the Church at Cambridg to which M^r Hussy is pastor.
- Ezek. 48. 11 Rom. 16. 1, 2
- 1698 4t M. 11 day John Hariss was Baptised at whom (? home) ; & on the 17 day of this Moneth Sister Staples & Bridg of Soham was Added.
- (44) 1698 5^t moneth 17 day thomas trowel was Baptized.
- 1698 10 M. 2 day, Sister Euerit of Soham was Added & on the 16 day of the same Moneth Sister Coleman of Soham was Added ; & 23 day Sister Brook of Burwel was Added.
- 1698 12 M. 26 day John Simson of Soham was Baptized.
- (45) 1699 1 m. 26 day brother Smith of Burwel & Warren of *Structon (?) was Added.
- Place not identified*
- in 1699 Sister Simson's of fordham child was Baptized ; & Brother Warrens son was Baptized.
- & in this year the state of the church was sent to london.
- & in this year we kept thanksgiving days, & also fast days for the protestants in France.
- (46) 1699 2 M 16 day brother Ueele of . . . Stecher* & Pirr of Exnon & Sister Goodchild of Chauely was added.
- not identified*
- 1699 3d M 7 day Sister Priss Brook of Burwl was Added.
- 1699 4t M 11 day Sister Weebe (?) of Snalewel & *Neinford of Dittin was Added & on the 29 instance [*sic*] Sister Hills of Soham was excommunicated for Strange Marriage, . . . joyning with fals worship, . . . seperation from the church, & being impenitent in all.
- *Winford
- (47) 1699 7t moneth brother wriht of lidgate was added.
- 2 Thes. 3. 6-14 Ezra 10. 8
- 1699 9 M 12 day Edward Smith was cast out for his sinful
- Jer. 23. 10

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- neglect of church duties & blasphemous swearing.
- (48) 1700 12 m . . . 11 day Ralph Eaton was Baptized & on the 26 Elisabeth Kidd was Baptized.
- 1700 2 m. Benjamin Watson was Baptized.
- 1700 3 m. 7 day. brother Smith of Cheuely & Sister Adams of Soham was Added; & on the 12 day Sister Gant of Snailwel was Added.
- 30 day Sister Tailer of Burwell was Added.
- (49) 1700 4t. M. 3 day. Brother Shephards son was Baptized.
- 24 day Elisabeth Watson was baptized.
- 5t M. 8 day, brother Chemp of Cheventon,⁵ Oynon, & Sister Oynon was Added. & on the 27 day the church received a letter from M^r Culy & that church; charged me with eight things in a funeral sermon which he heard me preach at Burwel for sister Howlet. the church in Answer doth find that in all (50) my time with them I delivered no fals Doctrin, & that all those 8 things as they expressed them they slandered me; yet if I had said them . . . expressly so they were in a sence all true, viz :—
1. Spaking to sinners, I said that a believer, if he sinned with the sinner, without he Repent he would be Danned with the sinner.
- (51) 2. No acceptance with God without faith.
3. that none Are Accepted without union with Christ, & that uital union is not before & without faith.
4. that they are not in Christ before or without faith : this is true as to uital union & the habit of faith.
5. nor their sins pardoned without faith; i. e. Applycatorily received to our conscience's discharge.
- 6 nor saved before & without faith. Eph. 2. 8, Heb. 10. 39, Act. 16. 31.
- (52) 8 that persons must be seperated, conuerted, born again, before they can believe i.e. Actually.
- 1700 6t M. 8 day Ann Chemp was baptized at whom, at which time I preached a sermon there.
- 1700 8 M. 16 day John Ripply was Baptized.
- 1700 9 M. 14 day brother Paterson & sister Dolbee of Elly was Added.
- (53) 1700 12 M. 16 day Brother Smith was Restored.
- 1700 9t Month we received this Dismission.
- thomas Jennings pastor, with the Bretheren of the Church ouer which the holy Ghost hath made Mee Bishop or overseer to the church of Christ at Soham & the places Adjacent, to which M^r Doughty is pastor; grace mercy and peace be multiplied &c.

All these they called dangerous Heresies Luk 13. 3

Eph. 1. 6
Rom. 8. 9
Eph. 3. 17
Rom. 8. 9
Eph. 3. 17
2 Cor. 9. 17

Rom. 7. 1
Act. 16. 9
Se Tit. 3. 5

(52)
1 Joh. 8. 1
Joh. 1. 12, 13
1 Joh. 3. 15, 16
phi. 2. 13

1700

1700

1700

(53) 1700

1700

⁵ If Chevington is meant, that village is 9 miles from Soham and 12 from Burwell.

- (54) Dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ ; wheras our Brother & Sister Pateson are in fellowship with us, but being so far Remote from us that they cannot walk in the order and fellowship of the Gospel with us, and we never heard anything of them that was not becoming the Gospel, desiring their dismission & Approuing their Reasons for the same, we do grant their request, & do hereby (55) discharge them from their neer Relation . . with and obligation to us, and commit them to your particular watch, & care, desiring [yet not doubting . . . but you will] you to receive them in the Lord, and that you will be euery way helpfull to them, to the promoting their edification and comfort . . . [Accounting them Members . . . with us only till you actually receive them] for which Spiritual Ends we commend you with them to God & the word of his grace &c.
- (56)

Subscribed by the consent and in the behalf of the Church of Christ at Barrington & therabouts by
 thomas Jenning pastor
 thomas Stokes, Richard Day
 Robbard bars, Deacons

Act. 20. 39
 Rom. 16. 1, 2

1700 10 Month 24 day Edward trowel was Baptized: the same day I preached his Mother's funeral sermon.

(57) 1701
 Ro 2 Cor. 6. 15
 1 Cor. 7. 39
 Psa. 46
 1 den. 28. 6
 Pro. 12. 26
 Gen. 6. 2
 with 2 Kings
 8. 18, 2 Chr. 18. 1
 & 19. 2, Ezra 4. 1,
 & 9. 1, 2, 14,
 Neh. 18.
 1 Cor. 9. 5 with
 Phi. 3. 17 & 4. 9

1 Month 3d Day, it was noted (1) that persons truly Godly should endeavour to dispose of themselves & . . . Seed in Marriage to Religious persons.

(2) to worship the true God in a fals Manner was very sinful & the idolatry forbidden in the Second Commandment. 1 Cor. 10. 7, 1 Joh. 5. 21, Rev. 18. 4 & 14. 1, 12.

(3) therefore the Godly should not marry with such. 2 Chr. 18. 1, & 19. 2, 2 King 8. 18, Gen. 6. 2 . . . 2 Joh. 10, 11 . . . Gen. 2. 18, 20, 1 Cor. 7. 39, & 9. 5.

(58) 1701 1 Month & 6 day Sister Blinkensops was added. 14 day it was noted those that married with the . . . wicked should be admonished & kept from the lords table till they confessed their sin against the Rules in 1 Cor. 7. 39 & 9. 5, 2 Cor. 6. 15.

Mat. 5. 23, 24

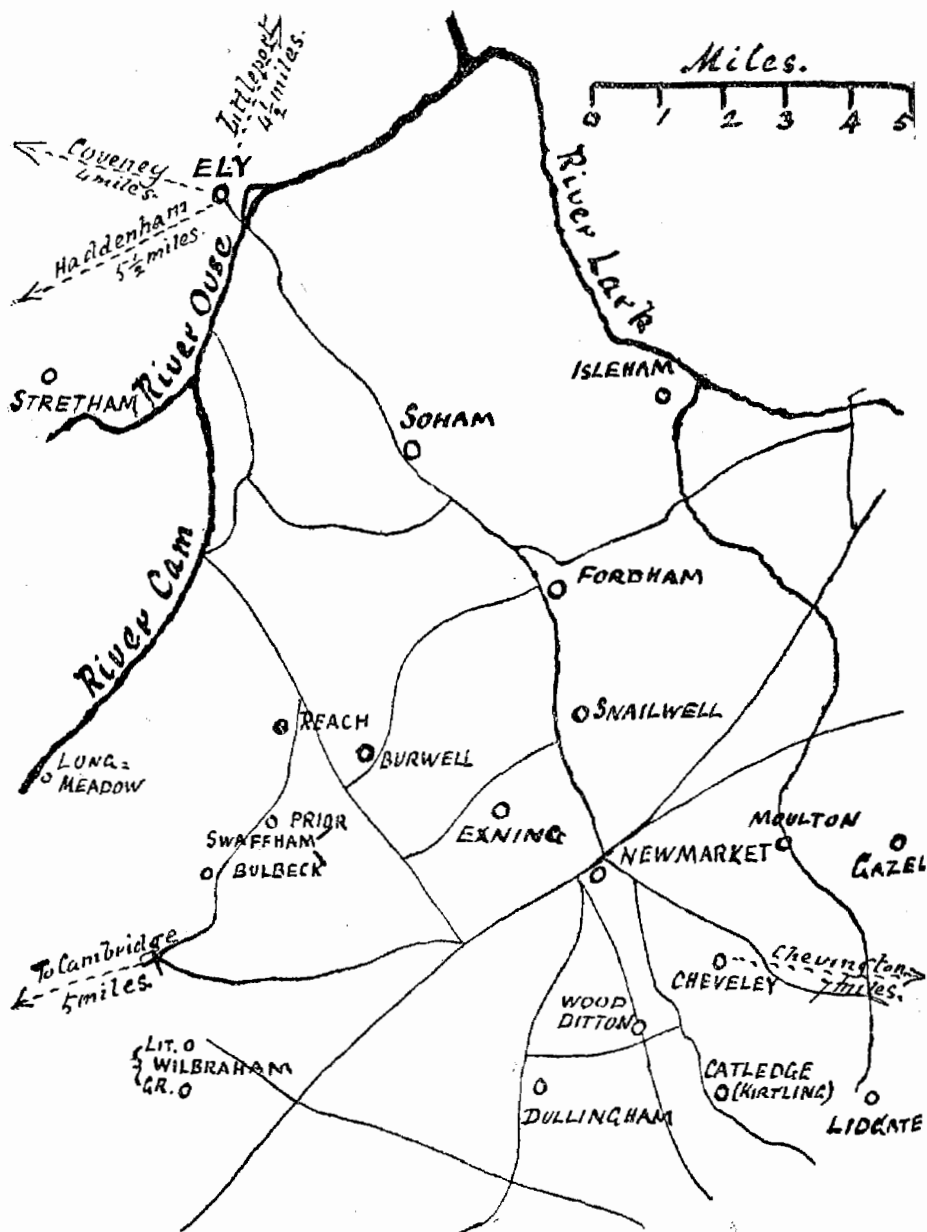
(59) 1701 2 M & 8 day Elisabeth Warren was Baptized.

[interlined]

& on the 10 day a letter | of M^r trowels | was read to the church to satisfy them that he had hopes of his . . . 3d wives grace, else he would not have had her &c. He promised perseuerance in the church & desires its prayers, & subscribed himself their brother in the

(60) nearest and best Relation thomas Trowel.

[To be continued]



Map to Illustrate Congregationalism in the Fen Country.