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EDITORIAL

E have again to apologize to our members for delayed publication. This is due to the retirement from business of our late printer, Mr. F. S. Thacker, to whom the Society is deeply indebted, not only for careful work, but for keen personal interest in its welfare. New arrangements for publication thus became necessary, which the Secretaries hope will give general satisfaction.

Owing to war conditions, the May Meetings of the Congregational Union were reduced to a minimum. It was thought advisable therefore to dispense with the usual General Meeting of our Society. The Committee, however, met at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 9th May, to transact necessary business. An interesting paper was read by Rev. A. Gordon, M.A., which will appear in our next issue.

A Correction.—In Cleal's History of Congregationalism in Surrey, p. 63, it is stated that Rev. Wm. Berry, of Warminster, was the first pastor of Camberwell Green Church. Mr. Cleal is not primarily responsible for this error, which he has taken over from Dr. Waddington's Surrey Congregational History. But the fact is that the first pastor of Camberwell Green was Rev. John Berry, a lineal descendant in the fourth generation of Colonel James Berry, the friend of Cromwell and Baxter. John Berry was born at Birmingham in 1757; studied at Homerton; ministered at Shaftesbury 1778-80, at Romsey 1780-94, at West Bromwich 1794-96; was classical tutor at Homerton 1796-1800, pastor at Camberwell 1800-12, and—retiring through feeble health—was assistant at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, 1812-17. He died in 1821. He was the father of Joseph Berry, of Warminster and Reading, and of Cornelius Berry, of Hatfield Heath.

Whitefield's "Weekly History," etc.—In the years 1741-42 a serial was published in small folio, entitled "The Weekly History, or An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars relating to the (Trans. Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 120.)

present Progress of the Gospel. By the encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield." Altogether 84 numbers were issued, some of which reached a second or third impression. A sequel to this appeared in 1742-43, in a different form, i.e. 12mo; the title now being "An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel." There were six numbers, usually of 84 pages each; three of which were designed to be bound up as "Vol. ii," and three as "Vol. iii." These are extremely rare; they are not to be found in the British Museum, Williams's Library, or the Wesleyan Bookroom; indeed the only copy which a diligent search has yet revealed is in the Congregational Library, where vols. ii and iii are bound in one.

What seems like a continuation of the same series is "The Christian History; or a General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland, and America; so far as The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, his Fellow-Labourers, and Assistants are Concerned." This is in small 8vo; the paging is continuous, 1-238. For half the extent there are no numbers or dates of issue, but the first sheet contains a letter dated 17 January, 1746; from p. 127 to the end the monthly issues were dated January to July 1748. An advertisement on the final page announces that "This is the last number of the Christian History that will be now printed." From first to last the publisher was John Lewis in Bartholomew Close.

Tyerman, in his Life of Whitefield (vol. ii, pp. 105-19), gives numerous extracts of letters from the "Christian History" of date 1744 flg., "a book (he says) now nearly non-existent." There appears to have been a serial entitled "The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain, America, etc.," published by T. Prince at Boston, Mass., in 104 weekly numbers, ending 23rd February, 1744-45. It is possible this may be the work from which Tyerman quotes. But it would be interesting to know whether that had any circulation in England, or was published in an English edition; or whether there was any English serial publication which would link up The Christian History of 1747-48 with the "Account" of 1743.

Supplementary Note to "The Story of the Western College"; see

vol. vii, pp. 98 flg.

The statement on p. 98, 11. 27-8, that the four men first sent to Ottery "had already received classical tuition in their London Academy" should probably read "had been examined by members of the Board, and found duly qualified," [The Fund Board had usually imposed on its students a severe entrance examination.] Add, "These students received from the Board an allowance of £12 a year each."

At foot of page 99 add, "There were usually seven in residence,

who were each allowed £14 per annum."

On page 100, 1. 20 (after date), insert "The allowance for the board of the students was £14 each; Mr. Reader received an honorarium as tutor of £20, and the expense of removing his

library."

On page 101, l. 8 (after full stop), add "Here the allowance for each student was £20, and the tutor's honorarium £50." In line 11 (after full stop) add "Indeed in 1798 the Board resolved to discontinue the Academy; a prospect which was only averted by the interposition of the 'Western Calvinistic Association,' whose secretary reported that 'they were desirous of concurring with the Fund and the King's Head Society for the support of the Academy under the care of Rev. James Small.' From this time the academy ceased to be entirely dependent for support and direction on the Fund Board; but it frequently received liberal grants in aid, which since 1875 have been regarded as a regular source of income."

[The above correction and additions are from A Brief Historical Sketch of the Educational Institutions Connected with the Congregational Fund Board, by Rev. P. J. Turquand, 1896.]

Nonconformity in Staffordshire, 1660-70

HE first outstanding event that calls for attention is the ejection of ministers at Bartholomewtide 1662. There were about 170 parish churches and chapels in the county, and from these. Calamy says, 48 ministers were ejected. Of only one of these. Richard Hinks of Tipton, does he state that he was an Independent. Perhaps also, on the evidence of the licences of 1672, Thomas Buxton of Tettenhall, should be so reckoned. Probably 4 of the 48 named by Calamy should be removed from the roll of honour: but two others at any rate should be added, one of whom is Dr. Robert Wild, the lampoonist, who was appointed to the living of Tatenhill in September 1660.

Of these 46 ejections, 9 took place before August. Some of the ministers suffered acutely from poverty and persecution. It is significant that the author of the Fourth "Plea for Nonconformists" (1683) takes six of his instances of persecution from Stafford-Eighteen of the 46 appear in the Episcopal Return of 1669 as heads of conventicles either in Staffordshire or in neighbouring counties. In 1672 twentytwo of them were licensed to "teach" in Staffordshire, and twelve in other counties. As compared with the ejected ministers in other parts of England, a much larger proportion of those who thus suffered in Staffordshire, kept up public worship in their old parishes, and

also survived the Toleration Act.

For a list of those ejected, modified in accordance with the above reckoning, see Collections for a History of Staffordshire, edited by William Salt Archæological Society, 1915: pp. lix.

Close on Bartholomewtide 1662. Hackett, then bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, issued a questionary entitled "Articles of Inquiry concerning matters ecclesiastical. exhibited to the ministers, churchwardens, and sidesmen of every parish within the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry." Earlier in the same year an inquiry for the discovery of disaffection to the established church had been instituted by the civil authorities. The return made by the constable of Grindon, a moorland village near Leek, to the inquiries put to him by the High Constable of the Hundred of Totmanslowe, is still extant [see Sleigh's History of Leek, p. 196]. The bishop's questionary was far more comprehensive, and no small part of it was aimed at the rooting out of dissent. Of the parson it was asked, Is he episcopally ordained? Has he satisfied the requirements of the Act of Uniformity? Does he read the Services for 5th November, 30th January, and 29th May? Doth he take diligent care to reduce all Sectaries, Separatists, and Refractory persons to the obedience of the doctrine and government of this church? And doth he offer himself, being an able learned man, to confer with Popish Recusants to convert them? If there be a Lecturer does he read the Book of Common Praver service fully once a month? If a stranger comes to a church, he is not to be allowed to occupy the pulpit unless he show his Orders, and his licence to preach. "Such as may be discerned to be Papists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Anabaptists, Separatists, Quakers, and the like, are not only to be presented, but 12d. is to be levied on every such person, and so many of them, for every Sunday as absent themselves from the church, and to be employed in the maintenance of the poor; whereof account is to be made to the Justices of the Peace." Those who have conventicles in their houses and those who keep their children unbaptized are to be reported. The records of Presentations in the ecclesiastical courts are more nearly complete for 1665

and 1668 than for any other years. In 1665 there were 110 dissenters presented, of whom 35 were excommunicated. In 1668 there were 184 presented, of whom 25 had already been presented in 1665, and 151 were excommunicated.

For the years 1663 and 1664 we have some light on Staffordshire Nonconformity from a series of letters preserved among the State Papers in the Public Record Office [Calendar S.P.D. 1663, 1664]. Broughton, one of the Justices for the county, from his residence at Beaudesert, near Lichfield, wrote to inform the successive Secretaries of State—first Bennet and later Sir Joseph Williamson-what was going forward in the parts within his own jurisdiction and its neighbourhood. Rightly or wrongly, Broughton believed that, with the aid of his "never-erring scout," he was unravelling a whole network of intrigue which spread from London through Staffordshire as far as Scotland and Ireland. Suspicion fell, naturally enough, especially on those who had borne arms for the Parliament and the Protector. From a return furnished him by the constables Sir Bryan reported that living within five miles of Lichfield, Stafford, Cheadle, Darlaston, and Burton there were as many as 1,128 of these old soldiers. This figure, he confidently affirms, considerably underestimates their real strength.

A letter of 25th May, 1663, gave Bennet some alarming information. There was talk in Staffordshire of a rising in Ireland and Scotland, to which from 40,000 to 50,000 persons had promised their support. The old soldiers living about Codsall and Oken, two villages in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, were waiting to take the field, and some of them had already gone. In a letter of the following day Sir Bryan announced that he had brought one culprit to book. For saying, "These are sad days, and the king cannot reign long," and that "there were good laws in Oliver's days," he had put "an old rebellious soldier" under arrest.

The letter has more to add: John Wallhouse of Hatherton, "a man of quality, formerly Lambert's adjutant," had asked one Morton of Ingleton which side he would take in case of disturbance. replied that he would take the side which paid him Thereupon Wallhouse had made use of the conspirators' watchword: "The sword," he said, "would hew before the scythe mows." Four days later, on 30th May, Sir Bryan wrote: "It's very strange there should be so much smoke in these parts and none in others," On 20th May Renalds (probably William Reynolds ejected from Nottingham in 1662 [see Nonconf. Mem. ii, p. 291]), had been preaching at a conventicle, "a thing he ever did when plots were in agitation." Among his hearers had been a number of old soldiers and officers. A few days after, Waring. formerly governor of Shrewsbury, Stone, governor of Stafford under the Long Parliament, and Backhouse, governor of Stafford in Cromwell's day, with many old soldiers from Shropshire and Staffordshire, had met at Wolverhampton on unknown business. It had been their way all along to use markets as their meetingplaces, and drovers as agents for distributing information from London.

Two months later, in July, Sir Bryan was still full of alarm about the men of the old Parliamentary Army. The borough of Walsall was negotiating a renewal of its charter. Acting on the advice of a lawyer, whose house in Wolverhampton had been the rendezvous of the old soldiers recently meeting in that town, one party in the corporation was endeavouring to secure an independent jurisdiction, which would place the town outside the authority of the county justices. This scheme was being strongly opposed by other members of the corporation, who foresaw the dreadful possibility that with four ejected

¹ But ? if John Reynolds, ej. from Wolverhampton Collegiate Church, 1661.—ED.

ministers resident there conventicles might be held in Walsall, and no authority be at hand willing to suppress them. These misgivings were increased by the "very threatening aspect" of the old soldiers in those parts, many of whom went armed. All this had been represented to Sir Bryan, with the request that he would in his turn represent it to Sir Joseph Williamson. He was further empowered to offer the Secretary the sum of £20 if he would prevent the renewal of the charter altogether.

After the midsummer of 1663 he wrote reassuringly of the prospects of the supposed rebellion. Discouragement was spreading among the conspirators. "Danvers had become fearful of himself," and had "left agents and silenced ministers to carry on the business in Leicestershire." By the beginning of 1664 the Presbyterians of Staffordshire were said to be no longer standing firm; they had been daunted by the failure of some in high position at court to aid them. But "they hotspurs Anabaptists and Quakers go on more fierce." If they can get officers, and if a rising in Scotland and Ireland draw off the royal troops, mischief may be expected from them. Subsequently Sir Bryan eliminates the Quakers as refusing to fight, and being only wellwishers to the rebels, so that in the end the Anabaptists and Independents are alone left in the plot.

What amount of truth underlies Broughton's view of the political temper of the Staffordshire Nonconformists, it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It was common belief throughout the country that certain sections of dissent meditated violent measures, and if that was the case the government had certainly given them strong provocation. Another correspondent of Bennet's says that "there was a continuous carrying on the rebellious designs before 12th October, 1663," and he gives the name of the appointed Staffordshire agitator as Fletcher (S.P.D. 1664, p. 33). Calton, the Derbyshire agitator, turned informer in 1664, and stated

that there was an intended rising of Presbyterians in Staffordshire, that Major Gledman was waiting in London to take command of 400 men, for whose use the best horses in Penkridge Fair have been purchased

(ibid. p. 47).

Something should be said of the conventicles held in Staffordshire during this time of persecution. The largest and most frequent was held in the neighbourhood of Burton-on-Trent. Situated on the eastern border of the county, it was easily accessible from Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, and thus provided a convenient rallying point for the dissenters of a large part of the North Midlands. In the episcopal return of 1669 there were said to be two conventicles in the town, meeting in more than six houses, with more than five teachers. One was of Presbyterians, the other of Anabaptists. In both cases the numbers are said to be "great." Altogether there were 16 places in the county where conventicles were held: [see Lyon Turner, Original Records, vol. i, p. 60, and vol. iii, p. 83]. A letter of Sir Bryan Broughton, written in August 1663, reports a conventicle at Burton as meeting continuously for several days, and being attended by from 200 to 300 persons. Subsequently the heads of the gathering were summoned to the Bishop's Court; "But they were so saucy with him that the old priest said he hoped soon to stand on even ground with him." The offenders were handed over to Sir Bryan in his capacity of Justice, and he required the two parsons to give security for their better behaviour in future. On their refusal to do so they were committed to the common gaol.

The conventicle of which we have fullest particulars is one held in 1667 at Oldbury (S.P.D. Car. ii, 217, 60), which drew the major part of its attendants from Staffordshire, though the place of meeting is just outside the county boundary. A chapel had been consecrated there in 1520, but during the latter part of the seventeenth century it was used only by dissenters, until they were dispossessed by the bishop of Worcester soon after the Revolution. In and around this building there assembled, on Sunday, 15th September, 1667, a congregation variously estimated by seven witnesses, two of whom were informers, as numbering from 400 to 4.000. The preacher was a stranger from London, who informed one of the witnesses, whom he had visited on the day previous, that he was episcopally ordained, and did preach by that authority. His name was generally believed to be Morden, but some thought it Fraser. His text was "Thy kingdom come"; his doctrine, that the saints were to pray for the coming of Christ in glory to reward all working and suffering servants; to prove which he produced several texts of Scripture. He was prevented from developing his theme further by the arrival of a detachment of soldiers. sent by Lord Windsor to break up the meeting and arrest the preacher. In the latter particular they failed, for "he shifted himself away in the crowd, and escaped." The local Justices held an inquiry, and felt the matter to be of sufficient importance to report to Whitehall. those present," they wrote, "many, though not in the least affected with the way, came as lookers on; some delighted in the novelty; and others, we believe, no conventiclers, which last found themselves deceived, expecting another person of a different opinion or discourse to the person preaching. We cannot discover any combination towards a disturbance in any of those present, more than what may be gathered from the preacher's rambling discourse, which without doubt savours of as much, and may draw a suspicion upon many more there to be of his mind."

In 1668 there took place at Betley, in North Staffordshire, an event of interest as indicative of the temper of the times, and also for the sake of the persons involved. Strong hopes were being entertained by Nonconformists throughout the kingdom that they might shortly receive some measure of indulgence, if not of toleration. These hopes were abroad in Staffordshire. Hackett wrote to Sheldon complaining of "sectaries who did openly boast what assurance they had in the undertakings of a great Duke to procure them a most factious toleration. And their party laboured much with many members of this county, and have gained Mr. Dyot our new burgess unto them, for they wholely possess him and converse with him. But I trust God will strengthen the Commons to continue in what they have so well begun, which is oil unto my navel and

marrow to my bones."

Encouraged by such expectations, some residents at Betley, after "gaining a general consent, invited Philip Henry and Edward Lawrence (ejected from Baschurch, Shropshire) to preach at their parish church, one in the morning and the other in the evening of a Sunday in February. The occurrence attracted notice in more than one quarter. "We in Staffordshire." runs an extract from a news-letter (S.P.D. 1668, p. 209), "hear much of the Comprehension Bill prepared by the King and Council, and want to know the truth. The hopes of the Presbyterians are high; one of them, a silenced minister, got into a church at Betley, and had 400 to 500 auditors, coming 8 or 9 miles. He read no Common Prayer, only a chapter; and then up and preached. His sermon was fair and honest; but the action showed a great deal of confidence." Meantime rumour had been busy with the doings of the Betley preachers, and they had soon assumed the most amazing proportions. On 5th March, 1668, Major-General Egerton, member for the county, informed the House of Commons that the two ministers had torn up the Book of Common Prayer, trampled the surplice under their feet, and pulled the minister of the place out of the pulpit (see Williams's Life of Philip Henry, p. 112). Honourable members, in a mood of sullen and bitter opposition to the royal proposals of toleration, were ready to give a willing ear to any wild story about the enormities of Nonconformists, of which this was not the only example. After hearing Egerton's statement they appointed a committee of 34 "to examine the matter of information touching the insolencies of Nonconformists in Staffordshire, and also to receive information and examine such matters as shall be offered, concerning the illegal conventicles and disturbances of Nonconformists, by whom and what means they received encouragement, or anything that may relate thereto." If the committee sat it never reported to the House [see Commons Journals, ix, p. 369]; nor did Philip Henry or Lawrence suffer any penalties for their action.

From 1664 Lichfield is the chief centre of interest in the Nonconformity of the county. Bishop Hackett was in more or less close correspondence with Archbishop Sheldon on the affairs of his diocese [see Index, Tanner MSS, in the Bodleian Library. The letters touch on various subjects, but a large part of them is given to the doings of the ecclesiastically disaffected under the bishop's jurisdiction. Possibly his lordship felt that he might reckon all the more confidently on Sheldon's interest and help, as his grace was a native of Stafford-Hackett writes on one occasion that he had paid a visit to the primate's "birth-town" of Stanton really a hamlet under the Weaver Hills on the northeast bounds of the county, and "while my company were entertained in the hall with oat-cakes and nappy ale, I continued in the parlour and dropped out "some Latin verses in honour of the archbishop's birthplace." These "I clapped over the chimney, where I hope they will remain."

There is one topic that runs throughout the correspondence with melancholy reiteration, and that is the enormities of Thomas Wood, dean of Lichfield. At one time Hackett is urging "his most humble request

(and in great earnest) to your Grace to entreat with my lord Bishop of Durham to call off our most untractable and filthy-natured Dean from hence, and to command him to his benefice or his prebend at Durham." Again later he laments, "Oh! that so comely a structure as our cathedral is improved to be, should have the worst

Dean to preside in it that ever was preferred."

The dean's offences were many; but it can hardly have been the least of them that he was a pronounced supporter of Nonconformists. "Puritanism hath spread excessively in our city, not only by his sufferance but by his furtherance." "He is their patron on all occasions," the bishop declares. On one occasion his lordship rebuked him for his friendliness with such persons; Wood scornfully replied, "He did so and he would do so." On another occasion he writes that, in spite of his age and infirmities, he is ready to attend Parliament in the hope that he may "concur in some strict act against Nonconformists and conventicles." But he makes it the condition of his journey to London that Sheldon should summon the dean to Convocation; "for I am resolved not to leave him behind me, being assured that he will make insufferable disturbance in my absence, give most scandalous countenance to Presbyterians, and the very worst of them." The bishop's vexation was increased by the obstacles which Wood placed in the way of any strong measures against the Lichfield dissenters. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the city was in the hands of the dean, and he resolutely refused to cite offenders into his court, or to punish those that were presented. On the welcome and not infrequent occasions when he relieved the cathedral of his presence, he appointed as his surrogate not one of the resident canons or prebends, but "left the court in charge of a singing man of the quire, whose brain is cracked and is most contemptuous to all." The bishop could do nothing but hold up his hands in helpless horror at the irregularities which went on unchecked around him. "The Presbyterians of the city

do what they list," he complains, "come not to the Holv Communion. baptize in hugger-mugger, are presented for their faults, but no order taken with them. I know of no city in England so much neglected for ecclesiastical government, and this done under my nose."

But if the dean's conduct made ordinary ecclesiastical proceedings impossible, Hackett found opportunity of resorting to other measures against the more outstanding culprits. Among the inhabitants of Lichfield were two whom he describes as "rich and violent Nonconformists, discarded aldermen," who "do much oppose me." They were, he affirms, the two richest men in the city except one, and yet they "would never contribute a doit to the reparation" of the cathedral.

The two men thus stigmatized were Thomas Minors and his brother-in-law William Jesson. Minors was by calling a mercer. He had taken an active part in public affairs during the Interregnum; had been one of the committee appointed in 1648 to sequester the property of the Dean and Chapter for the maintenance of two ministers in Lichfield (see Lords Journals, x, p. 178); and had been three times returned to Parliament as member for the city under the Protectorate [Harwood's Lichfield, If he did not contribute to the restoration of the cathedral, his name is still remembered as one of the city's benefactors, for he left a house and endowment that thirty poor boys might "be taught to spell and read in English books until they can well read chapters in the Bible, without any reward from parents or friends" [ibid. p. 479]. It was probably to Minors and Jesson that Hackett referred when he denounced the dean for giving countenance to none but the greatest Nonconformists. As a mark of his favour, probably not without a large admixture of malicious pleasure in vexing the bishop and chapter, Wood had allotted to them the highest pews in the nave of the cathedral, used at sermon-time. So that "violent Nonconformists" though they were, Minors and Jesson occupied a place of honour above the Chancellor and several others of the cathedral officials and their families.

Having failed to detach them from their Nonconformity by other methods, the bishop finally took advantage of an opportunity the two offenders gave him of taking a more drastic step for their reduction to They were found to have been holding and attending conventicles. That in itself was a sufficient ground for displacing them from their offensively prominent pew. So the bishop's version of the case runs. His lordship denies Minors' statement that he held no conventicle until he was deprived of his pew. But the matter did not end there. To make an example of two such leading Nonconformists would, the bishop thought, be an edifying lesson not only for Lichfield but for the whole diocese. Accordingly Hackett appealed to the archbishop, and received from him "the comfortable expectation" that the two offenders should be summoned to London to appear before the Council. This "comfortable expectation" was duly satisfied. On 8th July, 1660, a pursuivant arrived at Lichfield. armed with the necessary warrant. It was therein set forth that Minors and Jesson were charged "with seducing and drawing many of his Majesty's subjects into unlawful meetings and conventicles, and that on Sunday the 13th of this instant June, there being a multitude of people assembled in an unlawful meeting in the house of the said Minors, he refused to admit the Constables and Deciners of the said city (being lawfully authorized) into his house, to suppress and apprehend the said persons so met together, notwithstanding he was thereunto required" [Privy Council Register, No. 61, P. 349]. The bishop was jubilant; "the terror of it," he writes, "will go far to suppress factions not only in this city but in the whole diocese-and there was great need of it." "I thank God for your grace's great care to

Baily's Dictionary.)

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suppress thoroughly the conventicles of Lichfield." But two days later he found reason to lower his tone. Even those who were likely to have been cowed by the recent arrests proved themselves undaunted. "These Schismatics will never mend," Hackett writes in despair on 12th July; "for yesterday in the morning, and so on till evening, a conventicle of about 80 persons was held at Elmhurst a mile from Lichfield in the house of one Hill; to which Minors his foreman of his shop, with the most of his family, and the wife of Jesson and most of his family resorted, with all the wonted gang; and the ringleader among them is Rixam, our city carrier, no way fit for that trust, being a transcendent Schismatic." I

Meantime Minors and Jesson had been conducted to London. They were brought before the Council on 13th July, and again committed to custody until further order [P.C. Reg. No. 61, p. 356]. Seven days later Hackett wrote to Sheldon: "No more could be expected, no more could be desired, than your Grace hath effected about Minors and Jesson, whose stubbornness I did predict to myself, and I wish they may be brought to better order and conformity by their lingering restraint, which hath struck terror into many sectaries. yet not into all, no, not into our city of Lichfield: for vesterday some of their disciples gathered at Longdon, under Sir Bryan Broughton's nose, who is a very careful justiciary to punish them." On 28th July Minors and Jesson reappeared before the Council, and presented a petition. They declared themselves "heartily sorry that by the liberty they have presumed to take in the exercise of their conscience in private meetings they have in any degree incurred his Majesty's displeasure; and do most humbly implore his gracious pardon, resolving for the future to avoid keeping any such meetings

¹ James Rixam appears in the 1669 return as leader of a conventicle at Newborough Chapel near Lichfield. (See *Original Records*, vol. i, p. 63.)

as may give offence to his Majesty or scandal to his government." They therefore humbly prayed his Majesty would be pleased to release them, urging the further plea that as they were tradesmen their continued detention would bring distress upon the many poor people dependent on them. The petition gained its end, and the two petitioners were discharged sibid. p. 374]. The bishop's comment is one of qualified approval: "God reward your most excellent Grace for reducing Minors and Jesson to so much obedience, as to make promise to the Greatest to avoid the keeping of private meetings which may give offence." But his lordship detected a loophole of which the two offenders might avail themselves; "If others keep the meetings they have not engaged not to be present at them." He is full of misgivings for the future. "I do not exceed out of ill will in my information against the Presbyterians and other Sectaries, that they grow so insolent and regardless of their betters in all my diocese that in my apprehension they are hatching some dangerous mischief; and when harvest is brought in, I fear some violent attempt from them. Their looks, gestures, and words agree to it."

So ends the episode of Minors and Jesson. They both lived to take advantage of the Indulgence of 1672, if we may identify Jesson with the "Wry Jeslen" of the licences [see *Original Records*, vol. i, p. 517].

A. G. MATTHEWS.

[See also C.H.S. Trans., vol. iii, pp. 33-47.]

The Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire.

(The substance of a paper read by W. Wimbury, Esq., at Birmingham, on 4th October, 1916.)

T is fitting that some reference should be made to the work of Congregationalism in Worcestershire at a meeting of the Congregational Union held in Birmingham: for it is a fact that the formation of the National Union was in a large measure due to the influence of some distinguished members of the Worcestershire Union, which was formed some years earlier than the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and had well-nigh become venerable in age and service when the Warwickshire and Staffordshire Unions were called into being. John Angell James, the great preacher and pastor of Carr's Lane Church. was for nearly a quarter of a century a member of the Worcestershire Union: he had seen the benefits which arose from combination, and as county unions had been formed in some of the more progressive centres, he had encouraged leading men of the denomination to labour for the consolidation of these local unions into a national union. A meeting was held on the 10th May, 1831, at which Mr. James moved a resolution: "That it is highly desirable and important to establish a union of Congregational churches throughout England and Wales, founded on the broadest recognition of their own distinctive principles," etc. A committee was appointed to consider the scheme, and the constitution of the Worcestershire Union was largely followed by that committee. It was on the motion of John Angell James that, on 8th May, 1832, the report of the provisional committee was adopted, and the Congregational Union of England and Wales was at that moment formed.

The story of Congregationalism in Worcestershire stretches back to the earlier part of the seventeenth century. As there were Reformers before the Reformation, so there were Free Churchmen before it was possible to form Free Churches. It should not be forgotten that from Worcestershire sprang that brave-hearted Lollard John Badby, who in 1409 was burned in Smithfield; nor that the cathedral city possessed the honourable distinction of having among its bishops the two noble Protestant martyrs, Hugh

Latimer and John Hooper, who sowed the seeds of Free Churchism in a tumultuous and dangerous age; nor, furthermore, that to Worcestershire belongs the high distinction of being the first county outside London in which, as far back as 1548, English Bibles were printed for the use of the people. Thus might it be said of Worcestershire, in the words of Sir Walter Mildmay to Queen Elizabeth. "I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God

only knows what will be the fruit thereof."

It is worth while to look at some of the fruit which this prolific Free Church tree has produced. Several of the early churches were described as "Presbyterian." This term only applied to the form of church government which they adopted, and did not bear much theological significance. Calvinism has never been indigenous to the soil of Worcestershire. I have examined several trust-deeds in the county; they are surprisingly free both from Calvinism and Arianism. Some are so "open" that they could apply to any form of Free Church worship; while in cases where doctrinal statements are made they are so broad, yet evangelical, that John Wesley would have subscribed to them without scruple.

In 1636 Richard Baxter, then a young man of twenty-three, was ordained at Worcester by Bishop Thornborough as a minister of the Established Church. He in reality became the founder and inspirer of Free Churchism in the county; and while he laboured as a faithful pastor at Kidderminster, he actually saw the cathedral church at Worcester converted into a Congregational meeting-house, with a grant made for its sustenance by the then governing body of the city. The first duly appointed Congregational minister was Symon More, whom Baxter describes as "an old Independent," and his meeting-house for ten years was the cathedral. So that while the Anglicans claim an unbroken episcopal succession from the year 680, there was at least one decade during which Mr. More, an Independent, was bishop in the cathedral, if by that word is meant the overseer of the flock.

The number of ministers ejected or silenced in Worcestershire either at the Restoration or by the Act of Uniformity was 47, of whom five afterwards conformed. Among those ejected several writers mention Baxter as vicar of Kidderminster. This was not so. He came to Kidderminster in 1640, remained a short time, then attended Cromwell's army, and returned to Kidderminster. There he laboured until the Restoration, supplying the place of the actual vicar, Dance, who had been sequestrated. In 1660 he was silenced by the reactionary party then in power, and left the town never to return. While Worcester rightly claims to take the lead in the Congregational movement in the shire, it was through the labours of Baxter that the inspiration came which led to the consolidation of Congregationalism and the spiritual liberty of the people.

It is not claimed on behalf of BAXTER CHURCH, KIDDERMINSTER. that the great Puritan divine whose name it bears was in any way personally associated with it. His ministry was exercised in the parish church, where for sixteen years he laboured with apostolic zeal. From a condition of spiritual darkness he let in the light of the gospel to the town, and effected a spiritual reformation which was, and still is, regarded as almost miraculous, for the influence of his labours has not vet passed away. In one sense Baxter's appointment demonstrates the wisdom of the popular election of pastors; for he was called to the work not by king, bishop, or lay patron, but by the vote of the leading churchmen among whom he was to minister; and he declared that his work at Kidderminster "vielded me the greatest fruits of comfort." He loved the people, and was as affectionately loved by them; and when he was not allowed even to preach a farewell sermon, they who were most warmly attached to him at once left the Establishment and formed themselves into a spiritual fellowship. They refused to recognize prelacy in any form, and as a body of faithful worshippers became Congregational. This was in the year 1660. The Rev. Thomas Baldwin, vicar of Chaddesley Corbett, had frequently assisted Baxter in his pastoral work. Of him Baxter wrote: "Having parted with my dear flock . . . I left Mr. Baldwin to live privately among them and oversee them in my stead, and visit them from house to house." When in 1662 the great ejection took place, Mr. Baldwin was appointed the first dissenting minister. Baxter had endeavoured to prevent any open rupture. He strove to get all the ministers in Worcestershire—Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent—to work harmoniously together, meeting in conference for study, prayer, and mutual advice. He was not very successful; but it is gratifying to record that at the present time such conferences are actually being held at Kidderminster; the Archdeacon of Worcester, the vicars of the Kidderminster district, and all the Free Church ministers meet and discuss questions affecting the spiritual wellbeing of the community, doctrinal differences being alone excluded. In this connection one may recall an incident related concerning Mr. Baldwin's successor, Rev. John Spilsbury (1693-1727). Mr. Spilsbury at his first coming said his desire was not to draw people away from the parish church, but solely "to serve God in the Gospel of His Son, and to do good to their souls." The then vicar sought an interview, and, referring to the above statement, said, "Young man, can you lay your hand upon your heart and say that?" "I can," replied Mr. Spilsbury. "Then from this time (said the vicar) we are one, and our aims and views are the same."

Baxter Church has throughout its long and honourable history been a leader in all religious and Free Church movements. Four buildings for its accommodation have successively occupied the same site, being erected in 1693, 1753, 1824, and 1885 respectively. Only to the present edifice has the name of "Baxter Church" been attached, it being obvious that the former designation. "The Old Meeting," was inappropriate. Its records are well preserved and fairly complete; the baptismal register dates back to 1727. Among its most distinguished members was Joseph Williams (1602-1755), whose published diary is remarkable as "indicating saintliness, scholarship, and indefatigable diligence in all well doing." The church commenced a Sunday school before the lahours of Robert Raikes were known, and a day-school before the founding of the "National" Society. It has been in a large sense a mother of churches. The Countess of Huntingdon's church was an offshoot in 1774; the "New Meeting-house" was founded in 1782 by members who had adopted Arianism. Other offshoots were the mission church at Crossway Green, 1857, and the fine Congregafignal church at Stourbort, 1870; and one of the deacons, the late Mr. Edward Smith, President of the Adult School Union, for nearly thirty years carried on interesting religious work at Wribben-

hall (Bewdley). The history of Angel Street Church, Worcester, has been so fully written by the late Rev. W. Urwick, M.A., that it is not necessary to narrate it here in much detail. As already related, the first Congregational church in the city was for ten years accustomed to meet in the cathedral; but it was not till some years later that it was regularly organized. Symon More was the first minister; but Thomas Badland, a native of Worcester, and ejected from Willenhall, Staffs, by the Act of Uniformity, was the first duly appointed pastor. He laboured in the city for twenty-five years (1663-88). The church has had a long line of distinguished men associated with it; but the greatest period in its history began when Robert Vaughan accepted the pastorate in 1810. He was afterwards known as minister at Kensington for twenty years, Professor of Modern History in the University of London, and then principal of Lancashire Independent College. cessor (1826-56), Dr. George Redford, was conspicuous in a public controversy on the errors of Roman Catholicism; he was chairman of the Congregational Union in 1834, and drew up its "Confession of Faith," which is usually printed in the Year Book. Somewhat later came Rev. R. Vaughan Pryce, LL.B. (1871-76), afterwards principal of New College. The most prominent lay member of the church in recent times was Thomas Rowley Hill, who was for fifteen years M.P. for the city. He gave of his wealth for the spread of God's work not only in the city but in many parts of the shire, and laboured unceasingly for the welfare of his fellows. It was largely through his influence and generosity that the handsome Sunday schools at Angel Street and the church at Malvern were erected; and in his lifetime he greatly aided

the mission churches which have been successfully carried on in

several villages.

In this work the members of Angel Street have long been keenly interested. As far back as 1823 mission work was carried on at Ombersley, where a new chapel was built about 1861. A chapel was opened in 1854 at Hallow, the gift of Mr. T. R. Hill. About 1859 a building was opened at Fernhill Heath, and a Sunday school established; and in 1864 Mr. Jos. Grainger purchased a plot of ground at Pole Elm, which he made over to the church

on condition that a chapel should be built thereon.

The foundation of the STOURBRIDGE CHURCH was in the main due to the influence of the Foleys, one of whom had been intimately associated with Richard Baxter at Kidderminster. The Foleys introduced the iron trade into the district, and amassed much wealth. They were Presbyterians, of the Evangelical type. Foley of Prestwood Hall offered protection and hospitality to some of the persecuted ministers, one of whom, Gervase O'Brien¹ (ejected from the rectory of Old Swinford) obtained a licence under the Indulgence to preach in his own house. Here, in 1672, he gathered the faithful; and for some years religious services were held, which issued in the organization of a definite Christian community, and the erection, about 1688, of the Coventry Street Chapel. The Sergeants and Hornblowers, who were at that time active workers in the Kidderminster district, also exercised much influence at Stourbridge.

It would seem from these facts that the date of this church should be 1672, rather than 1698, in which year Rev. George Flower was called to the pastorate. The church was called Presbyterian; but in principle it was absolutely Independent and Evangelical. There is no evidence that its founders had the

slightest degree of sympathy with Socinianism.

Mr. Fowler ministered from 1698 to 1733. Those were strenuous and often persecuting days. A wave of rebellion swept through the land, and in many parts of the Midlands, including Wolverhampton, Dudley, Birmingham, and Stourbridge fierce attacks were made on Nonconformist conventicles. some places the people defended their churches successfully, and the rioters fled, but in other places it was not so. At Stourbridge in 1715 a mob attacked the chapel in Coventry Street. and a half-pay officer volunteered to Mr. Flower to defend it: but he, fearing bloodshed, declined the offer. The mob carried everything movable to the market-place, made a pile, and burnt it. An Act of Parliament was passed to deal severely with the rioters and provide some compensation to the persons wronged. The damage done at Stourbridge was assessed at £304 12s. 4d.; but the Government only paid £130 4s. Id. towards the restoration.

¹ Palmer and Turner both call him Jarvis Bryan.

While this was in progress the house of Samuel Cator, behind the partially destroyed building, was registered at Quarter Sessions as a place of worship. It is said that on the Sunday following the riot the preacher took for his text, "Sin no more, lest a worse

thing come upon thee."

Afterwards the church was troubled with the Arian controversy. Some left, and joined a Unitarian church. For a while the Independents and a local body known as "St. Phæbe's" coalesced. In 1801 a reorganization took place, and Rev. John Richards became pastor. His advent was like the rising of the sun after a dark night. A new chapel was opened on 14th June, 1810, which was subsequently much enlarged and improved. Mr. Richards was instrumental in initiating movements at Lye and Brierley Hill, which led to the establishment of Independent churches in these places. The mission church at Chawnhill (1894)

is also due to the activity of members of this church.

At DUDLEY the influence of Richard Baxter, who laboured there for a short time, had entirely passed away, and for great part of a century the town was in a dark spiritual condition. The clergy of the Established Church were such as left much to be desired; and the old Presbyterian church, founded before the Revolution, had become altogether Arian or Unitarian. November 1753 Whitefield visited Dudley; his searching address induced a spirit of hearing, and some were brought to Christ. Some of Lady Huntingdon's students from the Welsh college afterwards visited the town; they were not endowed with much learning, but what they lacked in that respect they made up by zeal and energy. They paved the way for the erection of a building in which Calvinistic views were advocated. Among the first who came was Mr. W. Jones. He, with others, preached for some time in a house in King Street. This soon became too small, and it was found necessary to build a regular place of worship, of which the foundation stones were laid in 1788 by William Jones, Joseph Underhill, and Thomas Wilson. To these three the honour of founding Congregationalism in Dudley is due. A church was constituted in 1792. For some years it was supplied chiefly by occasional preachers from Birmingham and neighbouring places. Mr. Best, preacher at Cradley, took it under his care for a short time; then he conformed to the Established Church under circumstances which inflicted great, though temporary, injury on local Congregationalism.

In the summer of 1801 Mr. Jas. Dawson, a student from Hoxton Academy, was called to the pastorate. At the time everything connected with the place was altogether discouraging; but

^a Apparently a nickname for a small society of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion; see memoir of J. Richards in Congregational Year Book, 1855.—ED.

The Unitarian chapel was built in 1788. Its adherents claim to represent the original Presbyterian Society.—ED.

Mr. Dawson set earnestly to work, and gave a remarkable impetus to the religious life of the town. He was ordained in 1803. In 1809 a gallery was erected; in 1815 side-galleries were added; in 1819 further accommodation had to be provided; in 1823 ground was acquired for enlarging the building; in 1836 an organ was introduced. Two years later it was decided to rebuild on an enlarged plan; and in 1840 the present spacious church was opened. When Mr. Dawson died in 1843, not only Free Churchmen but the whole community mourned the loss of a great, good, and faithful minister.

Of many excellent pastors who have since served the church, probably the most widely known is Rev. Geo. Wade Robinson (1869-71). From King Street church have branched off several flourishing churches in the neighbourhood—as *Tipton* (1830), *Brierley Hill* (1840), *Woodside* (1844), *Netherton* (1858), and the fine mission hall known as *Park Hall* (1906). Another offshoot is Christ Church, otherwise "The Firs," which was constituted as a Congregational church in 1865: the present building was

erected in 1882.

The inception of the Congregational interest in the charming old-world parish of Broadway, which nestles at the foot of the Cotswold Hills, was due to the Rev. John Dawson, the Baptist minister at Evesham. It was in 1788 that he began his evangelistic work, and they were indeed dark and stormy days in Broadway when the seeds of Congregationalism were sown. Gross drunkenness, open immorality, and lawless vice reigned unchecked; the vicarage was held by an absentee incumbent, and the curate who discharged the duties was a man of intemperate habits, and regardless of the spiritual welfare of the people. When Mr. Dawson began to preach in the open air he was faced with brutal, vigorous opposition, and the few tradesmen who ventured to give countenance to the good work were made to suffer the effects of a severe boycott. Time after time efforts were made to break up the religious gatherings; but the Lord was with His people, and in the end the gospel triumphed over evil and spiritual darkness. In 1798 a small chapel was erected for "the community of Protestant Dissenters called Independents"; the religious society was organized in 1808. In these days, when we have by the Central Fund made some moderate provision for our underpaid ministers, it is interesting to read that Rev. John Morris—whose name has been for more than a century honourably associated with the Broadway Church—carried on for several years a successful ministry on a stipend of f_{125} a year. But we read that with an increasing family he found it impossible to meet household expenses, so he resigned the pastorate and went into business, continuing to preach occasionally. John Angell Jones and Dr. Raffles were interested in the work at Broadway; and when the present building was erected in 1843 they preached at the opening services. Among other good men who laboured for the spiritual needs of the people were Rev. Thomas Rogers (father of the late revered Dr. J. Guinness Rogers), who while pastor here died suddenly in 1854. Good work has been done in more modern times in Broadway. A small branch church has been founded and sustained at Childs Wickham (where preaching was commenced as far back as 1843); and at Laverton, a village hard by, the Misses Adam, formerly of Kidderminster, have erected a large mission hall, and at their own cost sustain an evangelist, who ministers to a much-attached people.

(To be continued.)

In a previous paper (Transactions, vol. vi, No. 6, p. 404) I endeavoured to sketch the history of Puritanism and Separatism in South Pembrokeshire down to the Restoration in 1660 and the Ejectment of 1662. I pointed out the exceptional strength of the free spirit in this remote corner of Britain, and what I wrote has just received interesting illustration from some paragraphs on the new Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, which I reproduce, with slight adaptation, from the Church Times of 22nd December, 1916.1

The home of the George family lies in Pembrokeshire. The county formed part of the old principality of Dyfed, and was much afflicted by Danish inroads, but the strongest influence was Norman and Flemish. The Welsh natives in some parts of the county would seem to have been almost exterminated and replaced by the Flemings who followed in the train of the Norman barons. In these parts the Welsh language is never heard. And where the Flemish invasion did not extirpate the native population (in the North of the county) it greatly modified its life and mind. Perhaps it might be said that the Fleming was the first of the Welsh Radicals. He certainly was the first tithe defaulter, as Giraldus Cambrensis when Archdeacon of Brecon found to his cost. At a far later date the Puritanism of Pembrokeshire struck observers with amazement. Cavaliers, while allowing that Wales in general was a centre of loyalty, yet declared that in Pembrokeshire they encountered a fiercer Puritanism than they had ever met in England. At the same time the Fleming has left in Pembroke-

¹ I may be allowed a line to add that one of the best friends of my youth was William George, a second cousin of the Premier. He was a deacon at Trinity Church, Pembroke Dock, and I gladly pay this little tribute to his memory.

shire a taste for the good things of life not to be seen in the ordinary Welsh peasant home, and the consequent easier view of things in general. Pembrokeshire has left its mark in Mr. Lloyd George's character (though he was born in Manchester, where his father, a Unitarian schoolmaster, had migrated from the south via Carnarvonshire; to which county the son reverted, though he spent some time as a boy in the ancestral shire). It may be seen in the occasional recklessness and demagogy which is alien to the cautious Welshman of a purer ethnic type. It appears also in his quick power to adapt himself to a new situation and to grasp the mind of the foreigner, for he comes of a stock that represents many nationalities.

I broke off the story with the death of Peregrine Phillips, the most noteworthy name in Pembrokeshire Nonconformity at the end of the seventeenth century. He had been assisted in his work by John Luntley the miller, ex-rector of Nolton and Llanstadwell (d. 1672), who was one of the eleven ejected ministers.

Before trying to continue the story into more modern times I may here quote some interesting information given me by that most indefatigable and courteous investigator, Prof. G. Lyon Turner. It relates to the clerical subsidy for Pembroke, 1661. The first name on the list is interesting in view of what has been said above.

THE SUBSCRIPCON OF THE FFREE & VOLUNTARIE BENEVOLENCE OF THE REVEREND CLERGIE WITHIN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF St. Davids, 26 Sep. 1661.

TTT	£	s.	d.
William George—Rector of Stackpole	Ö	ij	0
William Pritchard—Vicar of Manorbir (Manorbier)	ij	X	0
Ethelred Wigan—Vicar of Panneley (Penally)	ij	0	О
	v		
[Henry Griffith was here sequestered for "Plurali-			
ties."—W.]			
Lewis Gwynne—Rect' of Rudbeston (Rudbaxton)	iij	0	0
[He was "turned out" of Bridle (at Bridell) for	•		
"Insufficiency."—W.]			
William Jones—Rect of Cosheston	ij	х	0
[He was "turned out" by the Propagators for "In-	•		
sufficiency."—W.]			

156 Independency in "Little England beyond	Wa	les	
Nicholas White Visar of St. Israels (St. Israels)	t	S.	d.
Nicholas White—Vicar of St. Israels (St. Issels) [He was "turned out" by the Propagators for "Insufficiency."]	J	0	0
m 1 · 0 · 1 · 5 · - (a ·)	iij	^	^
[He was sequestered from Lowchurch (Lud- church)—W.]	**1	•	0
TT 14 T . TO 4 T 4 AT 4 A	;	^	
[Thomas Brown was sequestered from Leveston for	J	0	0
"Pluralities." W. also gives Llaneston (?) as a			
place whence some one was sequestered whose			J.
name he did not know.]			
II III''' (O)	i	^	0
The had been "turned out" hence by the Propa	J .	0	0
[He had been "turned out" hence by the Propagators for "Drunkenness."—W.]			
Matthew Lewelin—Vicar of Castlemartyn	:	^	^
[Calling him "Matth. Llewelling," W. says he was	,)	0	0
"turned out" hence for "Insufficiency."]			
Samuel Edwards—Rector of poolchwihan (Pwllcrochan)	:	~-	_
MO1 O. 100 M D 4 - 6 - 6 XXV M - O 11 -		X	0
	•	X	
Nicholas Bevan—Rector of Hasbard (Hasguard)	V :	0	
Richard Arnold of Martletwy	-	0	
John Owens—Vict of Roche	V	0	0
[W. says Thomas Morgan was sequestered from			
Roch by the Propagators for Drunkenness.]	:::	_	_
David Williams—Vica of Ambleston	iij	U	0
[He was "turned out" for Drunkenness by the			
Propagators.—W.]			_
Einon Thomas—Llisivaran (Llys-y-fran)	J	X	0
John Perrott—Vict of Whitechurch	•	0	0
John Mountford—Vice of Monke Towne (Monkton)	¥	O	0
[He was sequestered from Martletwy.—W.]		-	_
Thomas Freeman—Vict of Stainton (Steynton)	V	0	0
Matthew Lord—Vict of Marloes	j	0	0
Phillipp Williams—Rect of Robeston	J	0	0
[He was sequestered thence mainly for Malignancy.			
Fined £400—vide W.]			_
Adam ffawkins—Vica' of S' Ishmaels	j	a	0
[Calamy (iii. 506) has him in his list of those ejected			
in Pembrokeshire. He has his name as "Mr.			
Adam Hawkins." His subscribing to the "free			
and voluntary benevolence to his Majesty on			
Sep. 26, 1661," shows that he was not "turned			
out" at the Restoration, but stayed on until			
the Act of Uniformity compelled him to leave,			
24th August, 1662.			
In the Report sent in 1665-66 by the Bishop of			
St. David's (William Lucy), under Article 6,			

Independency in "Little England beyond Wales" 1	57 d.
Independency in Little Linguista beyond water	d.
£ s.	
"Concerning Nonconformist Ministers" he	
gives two in this county:—the one Thomas	
Freeman, who has since conformed and enjoys	
one Benefice; and the other, "ADAM HAWKINS	
clerke was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of St.	
Ismaels in the County of Pembrocke for non-	
subscripcon, and now lives quietly and peace-	
ably in the Countrey in relacon to both Church	
and State." That is, he simply subsided into	
quiet life, and did not hold Conventicles in	
spite of the Penal Statutes.]	
Rinold Moris-Vic of Mamlothoge (Maenclochog) j o	0
Morgan Williams—Rector of Keterston (Letterston) ij o	0
John Phillipps—Vic of Llandiloe (near Maenclochog) j o	0
[W. says he was "turned out" of this vicarage	
and that of Llanhowell by the Propagators	
for "Drunkenness,"]	
	О
John Price—Vicc. of ffishgard (Fishguard) j o	0
["Turned out" hence by the Propagators for	
"Drunkenness.]	
Thomas Jones—Rector of St Llawrence j o	0
[Sequestered hence for "Insufficiency."—W.	
Henry Purefoy—Rector of St Llansome (? Lambston or	
Llangum) v o	0

Subscribed before the Commission
William Owen D.D.
William Jones Archd. of Carn.
Ed. Vaughan Archd. of Cardigan.

This list should be read in connexion with the note at *Trans.*, vol. vi, p. 412.

Our next piece of information is from fourteen years later.

William Lloyd—of S' Petrox Anthony Jones—of Boulston

In 1675 Henry Maurice, pastor of the Nonconformist church in Breconshire, sent to Mr. Edward Terril of Bristol "a catalogue of all the congregated churches in the general counties of Wales, together with the names of their pastors and other church officers." We are told that "The only Church extant at this time in Pembrokeshire is that which meets at or about Haverfordwest (i.e. at Treffarn), which was gathered at first by Mr. Peregrine Phillips, who is still the pastor of it. It has been much shattered of late years, between the troubles of the times and the Quakers. Captain Longman is elder of it, and Hugh Harris, deacon. They are Independent in their

judgment. There was another gathered church here [? at Narberth] before the late changes, when Mr. Thomas Warren [ejected from Narberth; afterwards conformed] was pastor—teaching elder. But the pastor and teacher returned to England upon the change, so that his church was so dissipated between the world and the Quakers that it is long since extinct; except some few that continued faithful, who have since joined with the church at Haverfordwest."

Maurice also mentions a small company gathered into church order by James Davies, a moderate Presbyterian.¹ "These meet at Captain Jenkin Jones's house, which Mr. Jones is a teacher among them. Most of these people were in church order before, being gathered originally by Mr. Charles Price, who was their pastor, and so continued till the scattering times came." ²

Very little information is available for the early part of the eighteenth century. Dr. John Evans's statistics of Nonconformist congregations (and their voting power) in 1715 yield the following

meagre information regarding Independents:-

Pembroke ... Thomas Davies, scholar.

Haverfordwest Thomas Davies (? same as above).

Evan Davies.

Trefgarn ... Hugh Harris (80 years old).

Unfortunately the columns giving "average attendance" and "social and political standing" are blank, though we learn that the Presbyterians at New Chapel, Newport, and Trewen (which are grouped) had a company of 500, including 22 voters, and the

Baptists 900, with 4 ministers, but only 8 votes.

Though not strictly relevant to this paper, I cannot help recording the fact here that in 1713 Sir Arthur Owen, M.P. for Pembroke Boroughs, just saved the Hanoverian Succession Bill in the House of Commons. It looked as though there were a Stuart majority in the House, and a Whig member ran out in great distress in search of some of his partisans. He met Sir Arthur in the nick of time. "I made one step into the House," the latter used to say, "and my voice made the number equal for the Bill—117—and the Tories had no more." Griffith Rice, M.P. for Carmarthenshire, immediately followed, and so gave the majority for the new succession.

² Rees, Hist. of Prot. Nonconformity in Wales, p. 216.

¹ James Davies (of Cardigan) is described as Congregational in the Licences issued in 1672. His church (Welsh) still thrives at Llechryd, and it has sent out vigorous offshoots. Jenkin (otherwise John) Jones, also Congregational, lived near by, at Kilgerran in Pembrokeshire. (See *Trans.*, vol. ii, p. 12.)

A few words may be said about the connexion of the district with the Evangelical Revival. Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle (1662-1737), the fourth baronet, known as "the good Sir John," made a good impression on his contemporaries and helped to shape history. As his forefathers had aided the cause of constitutional freedom, so he threw himself with ardour into the movements which led to the great religious awakening. He was related to Sir Robert Walpole, and this gave him weight in official circles. He was a pillar of the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., the Society for the Reformation of Manners, and the Charity Schools. It was he who presented his brother-in-law, Griffith Jones, to the living of Llandowror (Carm.) and so rendered incalculable service to Welsh Methodism. He was the friend and patron of John and Charles Wesley, and it was through his kindness that George Whitefield was able to stay on at Oxford, for Sir John granted him £30

a year.

Another remarkable Pembrokeshire man was John Gambold (1711-71), son of the rector of Puncheston, one of the earliest members of the Holy Club at Oxford, and afterwards a Moravian bishop, who spent the last three years of his life as Moravian minister at Haverfordwest. John Cennick, of the same community, was also in the county in 1751-53 and left a memory reverently cherished. Though Moravianism never took deep root or spread very widely in Pembrokeshire soil, it was a distinct enrichment of the religious life of the county. The visits of John Wesley and the work of Howel Harris and Howell Davies must be left to the historians of Methodism, Wesleyan, and Calvinistic. Nor can I do more than mention the visits of John Howard to the county jail in Haverfordwest in 1782 and 1785. But the writer of A Gentleman's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales in June and July, 1774, has some interesting notes. St. David's Cathedral he found in a dirty and slovenly condition, and though the choral service was performed twice a day it was very seldom any congregation attended. He was troubled to find that Methodism had "extended its baleful influence even to this remote angle of our island, for two chapels of the different persuasions of Wesley and Lady Huntingdon flourish at Haverfordwest. Both chapels are regularly crowded, but whether superstition, novelty, or curiosity is the cause I shall not pretend to determine. I have since seen in the most retired spots of this county a wretched cottage bursting with the fulness of its congregation, and multi-

Its missionaries arrived in 1743 and excited great religious enthusiasm. Another Pembrokeshire man who was connected with this church was David Mathias, who after preaching throughout the country, passed on to Devon and Yorkshire, where he died.

tudes in a heavy rain imbibing with gaping mouths the poisonous tenets of a mechanical (i.e. artisan) preacher."

George Whitefield had some great times in the county. After his day fresh life was infused into South Pembrokeshire Methodism by Captain Joss, the Scotsman who had become assistant-pastor of the London Tabernacle, and Rowland Hill. One outcome of this was the building of the Tabernacle at Haverfordwest in 1774 (Lady Huntingdon's chapel noticed by the "Gentleman" above mentioned). The terms of its Trust Deed, 1776, are significant. While thoroughly Calvinist, they are perhaps the earliest evidence of the tendency of the Whitefield societies to break with the Calvinistic Methodism of Wales and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and to gravitate towards Independency. When the Countess felt aggrieved by the line taken by the leaders of the Gloucester Association and by the Tabernacle Association generally, she put in the forefront of her complaints the use of the Tabernacle at Haverfordwest and insisted as a sine qua non of peace that the Gloucester Association should surrender the chapel to the C.M. Association of Wales. But Rowland Hill and his friends in Gloucester and Pembrokeshire were firm. The parting of the ways had come. Whitefield Methodism was gradually merged in Congregationalism, to be followed ultimately—such is the irony of history—by the Countess's own Connexion.

The evangelist who did most, though unwittingly, for Congregationalism was John Relly. In April 1743 Whitefield was preaching at Jeffreston "to several thousands very like the Kingswood colliers." Among his hearers was a young man named lames Relly, who came to disturb the service, but was converted. He threw himself with all the energy of his nature into the work of his new Master, and soon found a fellow-worker in his younger brother, John. The labours of these men recall those of the Haldanes in Scotland. James Relly became one of Whitefield's regular assistants and preached much in England, but it was in South Pembrokeshire that the brothers did their most enduring work, forming societies and opening preaching-houses. They published a joint-volume of "hymns, poems, and spiritual songs." lames's theology passed through some wonderful phases. adopted Calvanism in its extremest forms, and so roused the ire of Wesley that he was the first to receive the epithet "Antinomian" from the great preacher. But Relly passed to the other end of the theological scale and became a preacher of Universalism. He died in London in 1778, his closing years being darkened by failure and trouble. Meanwhile John Relly was anxious for the congregations under his charge at Pembroke, Cosheston, Lamphey, Jeffreston, Templeton, Narberth, and elsewhere. never contemplated handing them over to the Methodist Association; and though he would have welcomed amalgamation with

the Moravians, the ecclesiastical polity of the latter proved an insuperable barrier. He died at Carew in 1777, and 1,800 attentive hearers listened to the funeral sermon. His societies seem to have furnished the nucleus of Congregational churches.

I return now to the oldest of our churches, Albany, Haverfordwest. Peregrine Phillips was succeeded in 1691 by Thomas Davies, a native of Llanybree, Carmarthenshire. During his pastorate branches were formed into distinct churches at Trefgarn (Welsh) and Pembroke (this must have ied out, as the present church dates only from 1811). I cannot here give the history of the church in any detail, but some of its ministers were noteworthy. Among them was John Evans (pastor, 1789—d. 1808). who had been educated at the Oswestry Academy. He preached a noted sermon at Carmarthen to refute the accusation brought against Nonconformists that they were disloyal to the State and supporters of the French Revolution. His son. John Evans, Q.C. (d. 1864), was leader of the South Wales Circuit, and the first Nonconformist M.P. for a Welsh constituency, being elected for Haverfordwest Borough in 1847. He sat till 1852. when he was defeated. The Rev. John Evans was followed at Albany by John Bulmer (b. 1784, d. Nov. 1857). He was trained at Rotherham under Dr. Edward Williams, and came to Haverfordwest in 1812 on probation. He was ordained there in 1813, and remained till 1840, when he removed to Rugeley, thence to Bristol, Newbury, and Llangrove and Ruxton in Herefordshire. Not long before he left Haverfordwest he started a monthly paper, The Pembrokeshire Congregational Magazine. He contributed biographical and historical articles to various journals, and also published The Vicar of Llandovery, or Light from the Welshman's Candle (Haverfordwest, 1821), an account of the famous Rees Prichard, with translations from his well-known book of poems.

These notes must draw to an end. But one cannot close them without mention of Caleb Morris, the Pembrokeshire man, who, at Fetter Lane, London, became perhaps the greatest preacher of his age; and then Morgan Harry (1800-42), a native of Lampeter Velfrey, trained, thanks to the kindness of Lady Barham, at Newport Pagnell. He was ordained at Banbury, and afterwards ministered at New Broad Street, London. He was an honorary secretary of the Peace Society, and in his theology was ahead of most ministers of the denomination. Nearer to our own day is David Thomas (1813-94), born near Tenby, and induced to the ministry by Caleb Morris and then Morgan Harry. Thomas of Stockwell is a name that will not easily be forgotten, and it is interesting to know that he had much to do with forming the characters of two such workers in the field of Social Christianity as Catherine Booth, the mother of the Salvation Army, and Wilson

Carlile, founder of the Church Army. He was one of the originators of the University College at Aberystwyth and of the Working Men's Club and Institute.

The Rev. Morlais Jones, though a native of Carmarthenshire, won his spurs at Narberth. The church at Pembroke gave out the Simon brothers—Henry, Mark, Thomas, and Edwin; the fifth brother, Walter, long and faithfully served the church at home as its secretary. From Pembroke also came the distinguished

Chinese missionary and scholar, George Owen.

Milford will always be associated with Caleb Guion, a man of burly frame, great heart, and shrewd mind. His ministry covered the latter half of the nineteenth century, and his kindness to young men has enshrined him in many hearts. He had a great knack of using the Socratic method. These are no longer with us, nor are Lewis James, James Phillips, or Herber Evans. Some future historian must record their achievements. But we still have Justin Evans, and Morgan Gibbon, and Thomas Rees (Principal of Bangor), and Dr. Alfred Rowland, though I think he was not himself born in the county.

Perhaps I have done enough to show that Little England has not been without distinction in the annals of Puritanism and Independency. There are other names which I might have enumerated, but it is good to know that the succession is being maintained, not least, on the side of loyal and devoted laymen. The thirty-five churches in South Pembrokeshire are somewhat isolated, but they continue to bear effective witness, and they look for encouragement and fellowship to the churches of their own

faith and order in the larger England.

The order of their formation as usually given is: Albany. Haverfordwest, 1662; Keystone, 1781; Tabernacle, Haverfordwest, 1700; St. Florence, 1800; Rhosmarket, 1801; Manorbier Newton, 1802; Milford, 1808; Sardis, 1809; Pembroke, 1811; Little Haven, 1812; Tier's Cross, 1815; Naberth, 1817; Templetcn. 1818; Tenby, 1822; Zion's Hill, 1823; Albion Square, Pembroke Dock, 1824; Horeb, 1826; St. Ishmael's, 1827; Wolfsdale, 1827; Middlehill, 1830; Nebo, 1832; Crundale, 1837; Dale, 1838; Saundersfoot, 1838: Longstone, 1848; Trinity, Pembroke Dock, 1850; Lanteague, 1854; West Hook, 1857; Nolton, 1857; Carew Newton, 1862; Neyland, 1862; Reynoldston, 1867; Amroth, 1869; Penally, 1887; Goodwick, 1905. Goodwick is really in the north of the county, but it is an English cause established concurrently with the development of the Fishguard route to Ireland. The only two English churches in Cardiganshire, Cardigan and Aberystwyth, are associated with those of South Pembrokeshire for County Union purposes.

It is an unhappy feature that at a time when so much is being thought of and done towards closer union, several churches in

Little England, formerly grouped with another or two others under one pastor, have broken away. There is a problem of Central Fund Administration here, and also of Ministerial Settlements and Removals, but these are matters that lie outside the province of the historian.

ALEXANDER GRIEVE.

The Gainsborough Bible

In the study of one of our London ministers there is treasured a most interesting old Bible. It is strongly bound in leather, and there are indications that once the covers were elaborately decorated with designs in gold. The interest lies in the fact that at one time it belonged to Thomas Gainsborough, the celebrated artist, and that the Gainsborough family were closely connected with Independency. Inside the Book there are two signatures. The first is as follows: "Thomas Gainsborough, 1718, Ex dono Patris sui." The second is that of "John Gainsborough, 1769." There was a third signature, but, unfortunately, it has been cut out, under circumstances which will be recorded later on.

Thomas Gainsborough, whose signature appears on the first page, was the father of the painter. In examining the registers of Friars Street Congregational church, Sudbury, Suffolk, it was discovered that for nearly two hundred years, i.e. from 1685 till 1852, the lives of the Gainsborough family were bound up with the history of Sudbury Independency. There are twenty entries altogether. Thomas Gainsborough's name is the first of the family on the church roll. He was the second son of the Borough Chief Constable of the time of Charles the Second. His wife Elizabeth was also a member. Four of their children were baptized in the old meeting house. The painter and six of his nine brothers and sisters were also baptized there. On the old church's historic dial the hands are always pointing to the font, the pew, or the vault of the Gainsboroughs. Their vault was a centre from which the positions of other graves were measured. In that vault lie the remains of the grandfather and grandmother, father, mother, and brother of the great artist. The old church books show that the members of this family were liberal benefactors. The name is found everywhere in the records, as members, workers, and sub-The first owner of the Bible (father of the painter) was a crape maker. Sudbury was one of the first towns in which Edward III settled the Flemish weavers, and has always been celebrated for its hand-weaving. He is described by writers of the time as "a fine old man, who wore his hair carefully parted, and was remarkable for the whiteness and regularity of his teeth." When in full dress he always wore a sword, and was very expert

in the use of it. He lost a good deal of money by bad debts, because he was too kind-hearted to press for payment when his debtors were in difficulties. He always refused to avail himself of a practice common in his trade of taking "toll" from the spinners, which amounted to about one-third of their small weekly wage. He died on 29th October, 1748, at the age of sixty-five. At his death his Bible was given to Thomas, his illustrious son, who was born in the year 1727. The day of the month is not recorded. The nearest date we can discover is that of 14th May, when he was baptized at the Independent meeting house. He was educated at the old grammar school of his native town.

The bench on which he sat, while deep employed, Though mangled, hacked, and hewed not yet destroyed, The wall on which he tried his graving skill, The yery name he carved existing still.

This is not the place to describe the wonderful genius of one of England's greatest artists, but it is interesting to note that his early religious education was received from the lips of the minister of the old Independent church. His name was written on the page next to his father's in the old Bible. But the half page was cut out and the signature destroyed by Miss Emily Gainsborough in the year 1851. This lady was the last of the family, and was a most devoted Congregationalist, but she had some peculiarities. Among her possessions were some pictures painted by Thomas Gainsborough, and his Bible. Now just before her death she was greatly bothered by certain persons who wished to obtain these pictures and the signature in the Bible. Had she given them to any one of the many applicants she would have offended the others, so she had all the pictures collected in a heap in her garden, and cutting out the signature in the Bible she added it to the pile. Then she ordered the gardener to set fire to the lot; this was done, and so the burnt-offering was complete. The man who carried out the order related the whole circumstance to the writer of this brief sketch.

The one word "Bible" remains; this is probably in the hand-

writing of the artist himself.

As we have already noted, the signature of John Gainsborough, 1769, appears on the page facing that of Thomas Gainsborough, senior. On the death of the painter the Bible was handed to his brother John. In Sudbury he was known as Scheming Jack, because he was always trying to invent things. He constructed a pair of wings with which to fly, and, amid a crowd of spectators, landed in a ditch at the bottom of the elevation from which he started. He invented a cradle which would rock itself; a cuckoo which would sing all the year round. He made a timekeeper which would correct the longitude within the limits required by

Act of Parliament 12 Anne, 1714, and the Government did give him a small sum of money as a reward for his ingenuity, but the timepiece was of small practical use. He died in 1772 at the age of sixty, leaving a house full of tin and brass models of all kinds of things, most of them unfinished, and few of them revealing their purpose.

Another of the painter's brothers, Humphrey Gainsborough, was an Independent minister, and was for many years pastor of the church at Henley-on-Thames. He, too, had great mechanical skill. His experiments with the steam engine were far in advance of his time. In the British Museum there is a sun-dial capable of pointing the hour to a second, in any part of the world; this was made by him, as was also a fireproof box and a tide mill. He was a good pastor and an eloquent preacher, greatly beloved by his people. He was offered preferment in the Anglican Church, but in reply he said, "I dwell among mine own people."

The old Bible and the signatures it contains carries one back to the days when Independency not only produced strong men and women, but when it gave to the nation leaders in Literature and Art. As old Thomas Iordan sang in 1645:—

"Although they were not understood, Yet from their spirit and their blood Did flow a fair and fertile flood Of thoughts and deeds, both great and good."

CHAS. H. VINE.

Henry Jacob's Church in New England

A Tercentenary Memorial

T is well known that the "Church of the Pilgrim Fathers." in the New Kent Road, Southwark, claims historical continuity with the fellowship gathered by Henry Jacob in 1616. The claim is not undisputed (see C.H.S. Trans., vol. ii, p. 201-6); and it must be owned that there are two links missing from the chain of evidence, which can only be supplied by probable conjecture. But the probability is very strong, and such counter-evidence as has been adduced is by no means conclusive. We may, therefore, without too much presumption, recognize the validity of the claim. But even if that claim were finally discredited the fellowship of 1616 would still have its living representatives. There are in the State of Massachusetts two evangelical churches of the Congregational order, both of which represent, by unbroken succession, the church of which Jacob and Lothrop were successively pastors, and of which the latter, in 1634, led a large proportion—perhaps a majority—of the members to seek freedom on the wild New England shore. Between "Pilgrim" and the churches at Scituate and Barnstable West there is no rivalry; they are not "sister churches" in the conventional sense; they are branches of one stem, and each of them in that character has recently celebrated its tercentenary. courtesy of Rev. B. Z. Stambaugh, of Scituate, and Rev. G. E. Allen, of Barnstable, we are enabled to present a brief outline of the history of the American branches; and in order to give completeness to the story-though it involves the repetition of a twice-told tale—we prefix a concise account of the vicissitudes of the church in London.

"The Antient Church," of which Greenwood was teacher and Barrowe and Penry were members, was scattered after the judicial murder of those faithful witnesses, a majority of its members taking refuge in Holland. Those who remained appear still to have accounted themselves members of "the antient church"; and to them notice was given, within a few days, of the constitution of the Jacob fellowship in 1616. They

seem to have had some doubts as to the legitimacy of the latter until they had consulted John Robinson, who satisfied them that Jacob and his associates were "a true church." Whether any of the older fellowship then united with this younger church does not appear: certainly the two did not coalesce before 1632 whatever may have happened afterwards; for when, in that year, a number of them were imprisoned, they had as fellowprisoners two members of "the antient church." Meanwhile two important events had occurred. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers set off on their adventurous voyage; and there is a constant tradition, though there seems to be no documentary evidence. that the London contingent who joined them at Southampton. consisted of members of the church gathered by Jacob. And in 1624 Jacob migrated to the region then vaguely designated "Virginia," where he soon afterwards died. For a year or two the members of the church "edified one another in the best manner they could according to their gifts received from above," and then obtained a pastor in the person of John Lothrop. formerly parish minister at Egerton, Kent. Under his ministry the membership was largely augmented.

Indeed the number so increased that it was desirable for the sake of security to divide into smaller companies, and this became still more urgent because of divergences of opinion on "the Truth of the Parish Churches," i.e. whether the parish assembly was a true church, able to administer valid sacraments. To this was added a further question, as to the propriety of Infant Baptism. Accordingly about 1631 an amicable separation took place, issuing in the formation, under the pastorate of Mr. Spilsbury, of the earliest known Calvinistic Baptist church.

In 1632 the membership, notwithstanding this separation, was about sixty. On the 29th April in that year forty-two of these were arrested in a house in Blackfriars, of whom some were admitted to bail and others imprisoned; among the latter were Mr. Lothrop and Praise-God Barbone. But even while these were in prison as many as fourteen names are recorded as

accessions to the fellowship.

In 1634 Mr. Lothrop, after near two years' imprisonment, obtained release on condition of leaving the country; and accordingly he set out for New England with about thirty members of the church. Their fortunes will be related hereafter; it may suffice here to say that both those who emigrated and those who remained accounted themselves as equally representative of the fellowship of 1616. It was not till 1637 that the London branch of the church was again provided with a pastor. This was Henry Jessey, M.A., whose life-story is told with all requisite fullness in the Nonconformists' Memorial. The church still continued to increase, and about 1640 another division took place. It is

commonly said that this, like the former, was on account of the Baptismal controversy: but this must be an error, since as late as 1642 Mr. Barbone, who was chosen pastor of the offshoot

church, wrote in favour of Infant Baptism.

Still the controversy waxed keen, the method as well as the subject of baptism being disputed; and in 1645 Mr. Iessev himself adopted Baptist opinions, and was immersed by the Rev. Hansard Knollys. But throughout his long pastorate the questions relating to baptism were left to the individual conscience and mutual tolerance. At some unrecorded date after the meeting of the Long Parliament Jessey was appointed Morning Lecturer at St George's Church, Southwark. In the after part of the day he was accustomed to minister to the Select church. Where the latter met we have no certain information: the other branch of the church seems to have usually met at Barbone's house at the corner of Fleet Street and Fetter Lane. This branch disappears from history before the fall of the Commonwealth; and from the Restoration the other branch passes temporarily out of sight. Jessey was deprived of his lectureship, silenced, imprisoned, and died shortly after his release. The church then seems to have divided; those who held Baptist opinions adopted the principle of close communion, chose Henry Forty as their pastor, and when he left London coalesced with the Baptist Church that had been constituted under Spilsbury in 1631. This is now represented by a church in Stoke Newington. It is believed that the pædobaptist section united with the church which had been gathered by Hubbard in 1621; which had for its pastors in succession John Canne, Samuel How, and Stephen More; and which had been accustomed to meet in Deadman's Place, Southwark. The general disorganization and persecution of Nonconformity after Restoration, and the loss or absence of contemporary records, make it impossible to affirm with certainty what befell this united fellowship. It may have been finally dispersed; but the general belief is that it became merged in the society which gathered around Thomas Wadsworth. Wadsworth was the very popular rector of Newington Butts, whence he was displaced at the Restoration. He was then chosen minister of St. Lawrence Poulteney, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He then gathered a congregation in Globe Alley, Maid Lane, where there was a large meeting house in 1669. He was assisted by Andrew Parsons, ejected from Wem, Salop; and in 1672 Parsons was licensed to preach in Deadman's Place—doubtless the old meeting-house where More had formerly ministered. At the same time Wadsworth was licensed for a meeting at Theobalds, Herts, and, as a matter of fact, the two ministers alternated their services between the two places. Wadsworth died in 1676, and for several months the services at Maid Lane were conducted by the cele-

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brated Richard Baxter. James Lambert was then called to the pastorate. Little is known of him except that he was a popular preacher, and that he died at the age of 45 in 1680. The choice of his successor led to a division of the congregation. Those who favoured Nathaniel Oldfield continued to worship at Maid Lane. the other section occupied the meeting-house in Deadman's Place' These had as their pastor Ionathan Owen, who gave to the church the four silver Communion cups which it still possesses. For a few vears Mr. Owen had as assistant Philip King, who died in 1600, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Mr. Owen resigned in 1702, having adopted Baptist opinions, and was afterwards assistant minister in a Baptist congregation in Bristol. He was followed at Deadman's Place by Rev. John Killinghall, from Beccles, who held the pastorate until his death in 1740. [The congregation in Maid Lane, after a succession of six ministers from Mr. Oldfield. was dispersed in 1752.]

It is to be observed that the historic continuity of the present "Pilgrim Church" with that which enjoyed the ministrations of Jacob, Lothrop, and Jessey depends entirely on whether, after the death of Jessey in 1663, the pædobaptist section of that church united with the congregation which rallied around Wadsworth. The probability is strong, but positive evidence is lacking. If such continuity failed in London, it certainly survives in New England.

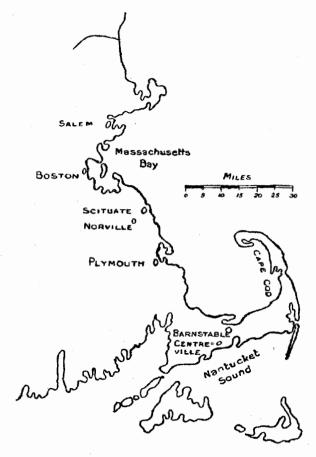
We must now look to another congregation of which the origin is due to the Act of Uniformity. Rev. John Chester, ejected from Weatherby in Leicestershire, was reported in 1669 as ministering in "a large meeting-house, into which the smaller conventicles empty themselves." In 1672 he was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in a house in Maid Lane. In 1687 the meeting-house in Zoar Street was built for his use, a building which was only demolished in the middle of the nineteenth century. Mr. Chester died in 1696, having retired two years earlier. His successor, Henry Read, only lived until 1698. He was followed by Samuel Palmer, who in 1703 wrote a vigorous defence of Dissenters and their academics, and in 1705 a still more vigorous sequel; but in 1710 himself conformed to the State Church, which "gained but little reputation by her new convert." His successor was Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt, who in 1740 removed with his congregation to the meeting-house in Deadman's Place, where the two societies were united. In 1743 Dr. Marryatt, in addition to his pastorate, undertook the post of divinity tutor in the Academy of the Congregational Fund Board. He died in 1754. His successors were Timothy Lamb, 1755; James Watson, D.D., 1763; and John Humphries, 1784.

Shortly after Mr. Humphries' settlement, it was decided to erect a new meeting-house. This was located in Union Street, and was opened in 1788. The old building in Deadman's Place

was then demolished, and the site is now covered by Barclav and

Perkins's Brewery.

The following ministers occupied in succession the pulpit in Union Street: Dr. Humphries, 1788-1820; W. C. Kidd. 1820-23: John Arundel—sometime Secretary of the London Missionary



Society—1823-45; John Lyon, 1845; John Waddington, D.D.—

the historian of Congregationalism—1846-71.

It was by the dogged persistence of Dr. Waddington, maintained in the face of almost insuperable difficulties and obstructions, that the present church building was raised; and even to this day it has not been found possible to complete the tower and spire

which formed part of the original design. Dr. Waddington occupied his later years with literary work, and died in 1880.

Pilgrim Church stands in an impoverished neighbourhood, and its work is carried on amidst those difficulties which commonly beset a "down-town" church. The ministers since Dr. Waddington have been A. F. Barfield, 1871-79; Lloyd Harris, 1879-83; F. Barclay, 1884-92; F. Docker, 1892-1905; George Dent, 1006-17.

It should be noted that Benjamin Hanbury (1778-1864), author of Historic Memorials relating to the Independents, was a deacon of the church when it was located in Union Street; and it was he whose careful research established the probability of its

continuity with the fellowship of 1616.

We now proceed to a brief sketch of the two New England churches in which the historical succession has been undoubtedly maintained. On the release of John Lothrop from prison in April 1634 he, with thirty-four members of the church, prepared to sail for New England. They arrived at Boston by the ship Griffin on 18th September; and on 27th of the same month "proceeded to an early settlement in the wilderness, called Scituate," about half-way between Boston and New Plymouth.

The town of Scituate had "begun to be settled before 1628, by men of Kent." During the first years of the settlement religious work had been carried on by a Mr. Giles Saxton, although no church had been formed. A meeting-house had already been erected near the harbour, on the site now occupied by the old burying-ground in Meeting-house Lane, when Mr. Lothrop and his church arrived. It was probably in consideration of this fact that the church was "re-gathered" (28th January, 1635, N.S.) as The Church of Christ in Scituate; and those who had been under Mr. Saxton, as well as those with Mr. Lothrop, were considered charter members. In 1630 Mr. Lothrop and a majority of the church removed to Barnstable. The remaining few, however, continued "in a Church State," and in the same year called as pastor the Rev. Charles Chauncy, who had also been a minister of the Established Church. Mr. Chauncy was a strict immersionist, and also insisted upon administering the Communion every Sunday evening. This created disturbance. Because of his insistence upon the necessity of certain forms in the Sacraments he was accused of "popery"; and nearly half the members withdrew, forming the South Parish, but claiming to be the First Church, on the grounds that the pastor and the majority of the members were "apostate." This organization still exists as the Unitarian church of Norwell (formerly South Scituate). In 1654

^{*} See Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii, pp. 451-5.

Mr. Chauncy was called to the presidency of Harvard College, where he succeeded the Rev. Henry Dunster. Mr. Dunster came at once to Scituate, where he laboured in the ministry until his death. The unique distinction thus belongs to this church of having among its pastors the first two presidents of the leading University in America.

In the years that followed the Scituate Church continued in peace and prosperity under the leadership of able pastors for nearly two hundred years. On 23rd March, 1711, the Covenant was modified and renewed. The meeting-house was removed from the Harbour to Scituate Centre in 1737. Stoves were first

used to heat the church in 1824.

It was during the pastorate of the Rev. Nehemiah Thomas (1702-1825) that the church suffered its most serious division. The Unitarian controversy, which was agitating the churches throughout New England, made itself felt here. The very small majority of the church, which contended that the Covenant of 1711 ought to be enforced, was opposed by a large majority of the parish society, and by the pastor himself. It finally dismissed the pastor in regular form (after an ecclesiastical council, in which the neighbouring churches had participated), and separated itself from the parish corporation, forming a new parish society, building a new house of worship, and calling a new pastor. No new church organization, however, was formed. This is the present Trinitarian Congregational church in Scituate. As a church it traces its continued existence back to the covenant entered into by that martyr band upon the southern bank of the Thames in 1616. As a "Church of Christ in Scituate" its history begins, together with the two Unitarian churches of Scituate and Norwell, on January 28, 1635.

The corner-stone of the present meeting-house was laid on 22nd July, 1826, and it was formally dedicated on 16th November of the same year. Of all the pastorates since the separation, probably none stands out as more successful than that of Rev. Daniel Wight (1842-56). Certainly no other pastor's personality has left so great an influence. The present town high school is a monument to his earnestness and loyalty as a citizen of the community. Under his administration of the affairs of the church the spire was built and the bell was purchased; and the records were, for the first time since the days of Nathaniel Pitcher (1707-23), put in order. In the year 1914 the National Creed of Congregationalism, sometimes called the Kansas City Confession, was adopted by this church as its Confession of Faith. The parish corporation has been very fortunate in receiving legacies.

Its endowment is now \$23,000 (= £4,600).

The above account is abridged from the Manual of the Church, 1015.

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The Church Covenant, 1711,

gathered out of God's word, and agreed upon by ye Church of Christ in ye North End of Scituate by theire vote, at a church

meeting March 12, 1710/1.

We Do give up ourselves to that God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, cleaving to God, the Father, as our chief and only good, and unto our Lord Jesus Christ, as our only Saviour, the Prophet, Priest, and King of our souls; and to the Spirit of God, as our only Sanctifier and Comforter. And we do give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, covenanting to walk together as a Church of Christ, in all the ways of his own institution, agreeable to the prescriptions of his Holy Word, promising that with all tenderness and brotherly love we will faithfully watch over one another's souls; and that we will freely yield ourselves to the discipline and power of Christ in his Church, and attend those seals and censures and whatever ordinances Christ has appointed, so far forth as the Lord by his word and Spirit hath or shall reveal to us to be our duty, to wait upon him for pardon and remission, beseeching him to make our spirit steadfast in his covenant, and to own us as his Church and Covenant people forever. Amen.

Succession of Pastors.

John Lothrop Charles Chauncy Henry Dunster Nicholas Baker Jeremiah Cushing Nathaniel Pitcher Shearjashub Bourn Ebenezer Grosvenor Ebenezer Dawes Nehemiah Thomas Paul Jowett Luke A. Spofford Phinehas Smith	1634-39 1641-54 1654-59 1660-78 1691-1705 1707-23 1724-61 1763-80 1787-91 1792-1825 1826-33 1835-36 1840-41	Daniel Wight Alexander Sessions Thomas S. Robie William B. Green Will. C. Wood David Bremner Park A. Bradford Clarence D. Greely George J. Newton Seelye Bryant Albert Bryant Frederick B. Noyes B. Z. Stambaugh	1842-58 1863-69 1870-72 1873-77 -1883 1885-91 1892-94 1896 1896-97 1897-99 1899-1904 1905-13
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As already intimated, a majority of the exiles who came with Lothrop in 1634 made only a temporary sojourn at Scituate. In 1639 they decided on a permanent habitation, and on 11th October they arrived at a place called Mattacheese, on the west side of Cape Cod. Of their arrival Lothrop writes: "After praise to God in public was ended, we divided into three companies to feast together." A few days after this a fast was ordained: "To implore the grace of God to settle us here in church estate, and to unite us together in holy walking, and to make us faithful in keeping covenant with

God and one another." On 15th April, 1640, at another fast-day, they "asked the Lord to find out a place for meeting, and that we may agree in it." This was the beginning of the town of Barnstable. There is, or rather was, a rock on which according to tradition the first sermon was preached, the first Sacrament was administered, and around which the first town's meeting was held. It was called "Sacrament Rock." In recent times it has been blasted into fragments for road-making; but the principal fragments have been built up into a cairn, on which a suitable

inscription has been placed.

When the first meeting-house was built, or the exact spot on which it stood, or the entire number of members in fellowship cannot now be ascertained; it is only known that the male members who accompanied Mr. Lothrop to Barnstable were about twenty. Resides their wives and children, no doubt others who were not church members took up their abode in the new settlement. We have no details of Mr. Lothrop's ministry, except a statement that he baptized 153 persons after he came to Barnstable; also that in his time there was a religious revival, of the fruits of which many were added to the church. He retained the pastorate until his death, which occurred on 8th November, 1653, in a house which he had built for himself; part of which still exists, being incorporated in the building of the Sturgis Library. After Mr. Lothrop's death ten years elapsed before the election of another pastor. But the church was not by any means destitute of an evangelical ministry. The Congregationalists of those days retained the old Separatist distinction of Pastor and Teacher, the latter being thought of as subordinate to the former. During the long pastoral vacancy Mr. John Mayo, of Eastham, occupied the pulpit with the status of teacher. During this time, according to the Nonconformist's Memorial, the church was "miserably broken by division." Happily a pastor was found in the person of Rev. Thomas Walley, or Whalley, late rector of St. Mary, Whitechapel, who had been ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He entered on the pastorate in 1663; and in the records of the church it is written of him "the Lord was pleased to make him a blessed peacemaker, and improved him in the work of his house here till March 28, 1678/9, being Lord's Day morning, about forenoon meeting-time; and then He called him out of his earthly tabernacle into that house not made with hands." He is described as "a pious, peaceable man, eminent for his humility; a great friend to toleration, and a well-accomplished scholar." In a sermon preached before the general court of the Colony of New Plymouth, on the day of an election in 1660, he expressed apprehensions that New England would ere long lose "her holiness, her peace, and her liberty." During his fifteen years' pastorate Mr. Whalley received seventyfour persons into fellowship. Several cases of discipline are recorded, which show that pastor and people were not neglectful

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of this duty. After the death of Mr. Whalley there was another pastoral interregnum of four years. Then came Rev. Jonathan Russell, senr., who was ordained in 1683. During his ministry of twenty-eight years "good and wholesome discipline was maintained," and 171 members were added to the church. At this time (1685) it was officially reported that there were one thousand praying Indians in the county of Barnstable. Mr. Russell died on and February, 1711, and was succeeded by his son, Rev. Jonathan Russell, junr. He was ordained in 1712, and retained the pastorate to the end of his life—a period of forty-seven years. In the earlier vears of his ministry an important event occurred—the building of a new meeting-house in that part of the township known as Barnstable West. It was opened on Thankgiving Day (probably the the first Thursday in November), 1719. Originally it consisted of only one room without a vestibule; but in 1723 a tower was built at the north end. This served as a vestibule, having doors leading outward on three sides, and on the fourth side leading to the interior. The bell-rope lay coiled up in the middle of the floor. The interior was plainly whitewashed, and above were the naked beams and roof braces. A gallery ran round three sides of the building, having two tiers of seats, the rear being two or three steps above the front. The pulpit, which elevated the preacher to the level of the gallery, is said to have been finely carved: it was provided with a sounding board, and behind it hung a heavy red curtain about 8 ft. wide. The singers occupied a pew in the gallery at the rear of the church; they were supported by a string band violins, 'cellos, double-bass, etc. During the singing these were hidden from view by a curtain, which was withdrawn when they sat down. At one side of the singers' pew was a large pew for the coloured people; and on the other side one for the dependent poor of the parish. Box pews from 3½ to 4 ft. high, with two-panelled doors, enclosed the worshippers. The children sat on stools, or on a low seat hinged to the partition. There was no appliance for heating, except as members of the congregation brought foot-stoves. which were supplied with coal (probably charcoal) from houses near at hand.

In 1725 a friendly separation took place of members who resided in the eastern part of the township. A second church was thus formed, under the pastorate of Rev. Joseph Green, who presided over it until his death in 1771. The articles of faith and covenant were distinctly evangelical, and Mr. Green was followed by two or three evangelical ministers in succession; but early in the nineteenth century Unitarianism became predominant. From 1815 to 1914 there were no fewer than twenty-one pastors, of whom two, after ministering elsewhere, returned for a second term of office. Mr. Russell died on 10th September, 1759, having received 242 persons into fellowship.

His successor was Rev. Oakes Shaw, who came from Bridgwater, and was ordained in August 1760. He too served the church only a few months less than forty-seven years, during which time he received 240 persons into the fellowship of the He is described as "greatly devoted to his calling, and caring little about worldly things." He is perhaps best remembered nowadays as the father of Lemuel Shaw, who was born in 1781, and died in 1861, after having held the honourable post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for thirty In connection with the tercentenary of the church a memorial tablet was affixed to the house in which he was born. the cost being met by the lawyers of the State.

The next pastor was Rev. Enoch Pratt, who was ordained on 28th October, 1807, and "was dismissed at his own request" in 1835. It is said that about four years after his ordination he experienced a notable spiritual awakening or enlargement. left a manuscript history of the church in Barnstable, from which many of the foregoing facts are derived. During his ministry, in 1816, yet another Congregational church was constituted in the southern part of the township—now called Centreville.

gether he received into fellowship 202 persons.

Mr. Pratt was the seventh pastor of the church; and the second (Jacobs being the first) who did not retain the pastorate to the end of his life. Of these seven the average period of service was nearly twenty-nine years. Fifteen have followed in quick succession since Mr. Pratt's removal, of whom only one has exceeded half that term, and only one has died in the pastorate. Tempora mutantur, et nos in illis.

The following are the names and dates of the several pastors

since Mr. Pratt:-

Rev. Alfred Greenwood	•••		1836-40
Rev. Thomas Riggs	•••	• • • •	1840-42
Rev. Alonzo Hayes	•••	***	1843-48
Interregnum			1848-53
Rev. Hiram Carlton			1853-62
Rev. Henry A. Goodhue		•••	1863-83
Rev. Robert Samuel			1883-86
Rev. Jeremiah K. Aldrich	• • •	•••	1886–90
Rev. Hanson E. Thygeson		• • •	189 0- 94
Rev. Samuel W. Clark		•••	1894-97
Rev. Edgar B. French	•••		1897-1903
Rev. Charles S. Bates		•••	1903-6
Rev. Gregory A. Sherajan	•••	• • •	1906
Rev. Saml. B. Andrews			1907-10 (died)
Rev. Willard E. Streeter		•••	1911-13
Rev. George E. Allen	• • •		1915-

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From the origin of the church to 1842 the total number of members admitted was 1,292; the whole number of baptisms in the same period was 2,086. Some unfavourable circumstance or conditions, the nature of which is not explained, must have been in operation between 1842 and the end of 1845, for the number of members declined from 124 to 74, a reduction of 40 per cent.

Mention is made of the ministry of a Mr. Chase, whose name does not appear among the pastors. This must have been about 1840 or 1850, after which the meeting-house was closed for a season having become so dilapidated that it was quite unfit for use. examination it was found that, although the boards were decayed. the principal timbers constituting the frame were perfectly sound, it was therefore resolved so to repair or rather reconstruct the edifice as to retain its identity. The rather grotesque tower was demolished, and a new belfry with a spire was constructed on the roof. Twenty feet of one end were partitioned off, to serve as a vestibule below and a conference room above. The building was new—coated with boards and shingles: large modern windows were substituted for those formerly existing—three on each side instead of fourteen; all plastering was renewed, the building was painted white, within and without; and a handsome chandelier was suspended in the centre. The entire cost of the renovation was three thousand dollars, and the church was reopened with a dedication service on 18th November, 1852.

West Barnstable is no longer simply "a community of the old stock," but counts among its population many recent immigrants, to some of whom the English language is still a foreign tongue. Especially there is a large number of Finns, to whose spiritual interest the church, in connexion with the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, is devoting special attention. The pastor, Rev. Geo. E. Allen, has learned the rather difficult Finnish language that he may minister to them the more efficiently; and the result is that many of them attend the church services and send their children to the Sunday school, and at one communion service last year six persons of that nationality were received into

fellowship.

The tercentenary services were held on the 4th, 5th, and 6th August, 1916. An evening service, chiefly devotional, was held on the Friday; historical meetings, including a series of historical tableaux, occupied the Saturday; and on the Sunday, besides the morning and evening services, which were of a commemorative character, there was a united Communion Service at Sacrament Rock, in which several neighbouring ministers—including the pastor of the Unitarian church—participated. The flagon and some of the cups that were used have been in use by the church from the earliest time of which there is any tradition. During the service the memorial tablet on the cairn was unveiled by a lady who is a lineal descendant of John Lothrop.

It may be worth mentioning that, of the Communion vessels belonging to the church, a large flagon of fine white pewter appears by the character of its pounced decoration (a gentleman presenting a flower to a lady) to be of about the age of Charles I. The three patens are of the same metal, and may probably be of similar age. Two tall beakers are silver-plated; they are of later but uncertain date. Two shorter beakers are of solid silver, one of them was presented to the church in 1729. Two other cups with handles date presumably about 1775. Of a somewhat smaller flagon no particulars are given. The cock, which stands above the belfry, is of English make, and originally adorned the steeple that was built in 1723. The church bell weighs 897 pounds, and has on it in large letters the name REVERE. It was sold to the town of Barnstable by Paul Revere on 10th October, 1807.

Laud's Inquisition, 1634

THE following General Search-Warrant for Nonconformists is not extensively known, and certainly deserves republication:—

Dom. Ser. Chas. i. cclxv. 6. (1634)

Whereas credible information hath been given unto us of his Maties Commission for causes Ecclall that there are at this present time remayning in divers partes within this kingdome of England sundry sortes of seperatists, Novalists, & sectarges, as namely Brownists, Anabaptists, Arrians, Traskites, ffamilists, and some (?) other sortes of schismatiques, Novalists, & Sectarves. who uppon Sundaye & other festival dayes, under pretence of Repetition of sermons, have & doe ordinarily use to meet together in great numbers in private houses & other obscure places, & there keepe & maintayne private Conventicles, & Exercises of Religion by the lawes of this Realme prohibited to yo corrupting & perverting of sundry his Maties good subjects, & ye manifest contempt of his highnes' lawes & ye disturbance of ye Church: for reformation whereof these are to will & require you in his Mattes name by virtue of his highnes' comsson for causes Ecclall under ye great seale of England to us & others directed, that taking with you a constable & such other convenient assistance as you shall think meet, you doe enter into any house where you shall have intelligence, or probably suspect that any such private Conventicles, meetings, or Exercises of Religion are held kept & frequented, & therein and every severall Roome thereof you doe make diligent search for them, as also for all unlawfull & unlicensed books; And all & every such persons or books so found at any such unlawfull meetinge to seaze apprehend & attach or cause to be seazed apprehended & attached, wheresoever they may be found, as well in places exempt as not exempt, & that thereuppon you detain them under safe custody, & bring them forthwith before us or others our Colleagues his Maties Commissioners in that behalf appointed, to be examined dealt withall and disposed of as shall be thought meet and agreeable to Justice. And for the better furtherance of y' execution hereof we will require in his Mattes name by authority aforesaid, all Justices of the Peace, Mayers, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, & all other his Ma¹⁰⁰ officers and loving subjects to be ayding and assisting unto you in and about the execon hereof as they tender his Ma¹⁰⁰ service and will aunswer ye contrary at their pill. Given at Lambeth this sixt of April 1634.

W. Cant.
Giul: London
Henry Marten

Ian Windebank
To all Justices of the Peace, Mayors,

Sheriffs, Bayliffs, high & petty Constables & other his Ma^{ues} officers of the peace, & to all every or any of them as well in places exempt as places not exempt.

The Canterbury Church-Book

F the existing Congregational churches which were constituted before the Great Schism of of their earliest years. Of such records one of the most valuable is the Original Minute Book of the church worshipping in Guildhall Street, Canterbury. Above ten years ago a strong desire was expressed by some members of that church that the Congregational Historical Society would publish their old "Church-Book" in a complete form; but this, for reasons of finance, was impossible. Since then, the late Jas. Watkinson, Esq., of Herne Bay, made a careful transcript of the earlier and more important part of the ancient record, together with a summary of the remainder. On his death his historical MSS., including the aforesaid transcript and summary, were bequeathed to the Congregational Library; and we have pleasure in laying the most

valuable portion of them before our readers. We give the original record, down to 1691, verbatim et literatim, but with some omissions. To this we append a muchcondensed outline of the church's history from that

date to the present time.

A few points may be noted as to the type of Congregationalism that was cultivated at Canterbury in Puritan times. Congregational Independency is strongly asserted (26:12:/46), including the power of Ordination; other pastors, if present, being merely Witnesses (27:3:/46). Yet the attendance of Messengers from other churches is desired at the constitution of a church, election of officers, etc., to Approve what is done Regularly (27:3: & 6:12:/46, 18:9:/47, 7:3:/48, etc.); but we are not told what constituted Regularity. Also the church claimed a real, if somewhat undefined, authority over its members (12:5:/49), which in some cases might be judicial (3:12:/57). It may be added that the "union" referred to on 28:3:/47 seems to have been soon followed by a coalescing of the two congregations in the city; and that in 1688-89 several members of the Canterbury Church resided at Faversham, who afterwards became a separate church. Note also the strict Calvinism of the creed affirmed on 7:10:1656.—ED.

History of the Church of Christ weh was first gathered & settled (in the citye of Canterbury) in the way and order of the Gospell—

Anno Domī Chr: 1645

I Peter 2. 4:5

To whom (i.e. to Christ) coming as unto a living . stone (disallowed indeed of men but chosen of God and precious) ye alsoe, as lively stones are built up a spirituall howse——

Psalm 87. 4:5

And of Zion it shall bee said, this and that man was born in her; and the highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count when hee writeth up his people that this and that man was borne there.

Collos. 2. 5

- Joying and beholding yor order -

Calvinus

In illa ecclesiæ forma quam Apostoli constituerunt unicum habemus veræ Ecclesiæ exemplar;

i. e.

In that form of the church we the Apostles constituted, wee have the only example of a true church.

Isaiah 2.3

Come ye and let us goe up the mountaine of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us of his wayes, &we will walke in his paths: for out of Zion shall goe forth y law &c.

3 Jeremiah 14. 15

I will take yo on of a city, and two of a family, & I will bring you to Zion. And I will give you Pastors according to my owne heart

Anno Domini 1645				
THE TWELF DAYE OF THE TWELF MONTH ANNO 1645				
Thourough Rich mercie our Church vvas Constituted. ~ ~				
Our Brother Jones In the name of the Bret hren made the Generall Confession of our fayth, and after wards all these Brethren Vnder Written made perticuler Declaration of the Worcke of Grace one their hearts.				
Brother William Jones Brother William Buckhurst Brother John Dickenson Brother William Reynoldsis Brother Vingent Burton Brother Zachariah Lee Brother John Bisset Brother Edward Dutch Brother Josias Niccoless				
The Some of the Covenant that we did then Enter into was as followeth.				

x A later hand has written "deceased" against all these names except the second.

4 Kings 23. 2

Anno Domini N 1645

Ezo. 24-7

Wee poore Creturs being by the spirit of God convinsed of our lost and undone condition by nature (As being without Christ, And Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israell, and strangers from the Covenant of Promise, haveng noe Hope, and with out God in the world) And allsoe being perswaded in our hearts (by the same Spirit) that God out of Rich mercie hath prouided A recouerie in Christ by making a Couenant of Free Grace, In which hee Tenders Everlasting Lyfe, and Loue, fullie and freelie, to all those that (By the pow--er of the same Spirit) shall take hold on the same Couenant. Wee acknowledge our selves vnworthie to Enter Into, and In--sufficient to keep couenant win the Great God, yet (By ye help of the Spirit of God) our desire is to Take hould one the Couenant of Free Grace, and wee doe solemnlye Avouch, and Sincearly Profes (In the name of Jesus Christ) that wee doe accept, and Acknowledge God for our God, and will Inde--voure (by the Power of the Spirit of Christ) to live as his People; by receining Iesus Christ, as our alone Prince, and Saujour: and as our alone Preist, Prophet, and King, Giue--ing vp our selves (As a holy Bodie or Church) to walke wth him in a Cordiall Subjection to all his Holye Ordinances; which hee hath, or shall reveal to us out of his Word: and wee doe allsoe Profes, that the sinceare desires of our soules are wih full purpose of heart to cleave to, and walk on wih another In the exercise of the Worship of the Gospell, In a waye of Christian, and Brotherlye loue, Admonishing exhor--ting Reprouing Counselling Comforting; and helping one an--other

Duct 26. 17

Acts 31. 32 Heb.3.1:7.17 Psal 25

Ish 33, 22 1 Cor. 15, 25 Gen. 5, 24

Is. 8. 20 Acts 11. 23

Acts 11. 23 Iohn 13. 34.

Anno Domini 1645

Forward in the waye to heaven; and in the worckes of holines: And this couenant wee make In the Presence of Allmightie God, Resoluing from our hearts, (As God shall Inable us) To keep the same, Faythfullie, Fullie, and Constantlie.

God hath added to the Church since its constitution: Members as followeth Anno 1645

Brother John Hampton
Brother Ralph Roades

Sister Marie Hunt
Sister Ann Popioye
Sister Margret Harrison jun'
Brother Henirie Knight
Brother George Simpson
Brother Henirie Oxenbridge
Sister Elizabeth Kenn
Sister Margret Harrison sen'
Sister Kathern Dickenson
Sister Joan Simpson
Sister Martha Simpson
Sister Marie Williams

x A later hand has written "deceased" against all these names except the third and fourth.

Members Added to the Church Anno Domini 1646

Sister Joan Page Brother John Atwell Sister Elizabeth Kingsffoord Sister Elizabeth Thatcher Brother John Durant Sister Sara Hopper Sister Marie Atwell Sister Elizabeth Aleberie Sister Hanna Isbell Sister Susan Nortlye Sister Marie Maddoxe	Sister Jane Spencer Sister Frances Gould Sister Judeth Chambers Sister Cislye Ashenden Sister Elizabeth Lewes Brother Henirie Goring Brother Ritchard Whyte Sister Ann Biggs Sister Ann Buck Sister Elizabeth Snoade Brother Arthur Norwood
Sister Susan Nortlye Sister Marie Maddoxe Sister Frances Roads Sister Ann Rayth Sister Elizabeth Norwood	Sister Elizabeth Snoade Brother Arthur Norwood Brother Jonah Fletcher Sister Margret Courtopp Sister Margret Aleberie
Sister Sara Raye	Sister Elizabeth Biggs

[From this point the pagination of the MS. is not followed, and some entries are abridged.—ED.]

Ιn		20 others are named	1657, 6 & 1 are named
	1648,		1658, 3
	1649,	8	1650 to)
	1650,	11	1659 to 9 (time of persecution)
	1651,	6	1673, 13
	1652,	3 & I	1674, 4
	1653,	O	1675, i
	1654,	3	1676, 2
	1655,	5.	1677, 3
	1656,	3	1678/9, 11

Then followed persecution, & Mr. Durant our Pastor & some others went to Holland, & some forsook y Church & fell of, etc. till Mr Starr was admitted, etc.

August 12th 1687

Then The Church kept a day To Begg direction in ye great affayer of a pastor. Mr Lardner, Mr Baity, Mr Pomfrey, Mr Goffe and Mr Harrison Assisting in ye worke of ye day: at which Tyme of Church Elected Mr Comfort Starre To be our Pastour.

March 18 (1687/8?)

The Maior part of ye Brethren wth ye Pastor and Deacons: By a Joynt Consent of ye hole Church sate down: wth of Brethren: at ffeversham were of pastor: administered: The ordinance of ye Lord's Supper: But before ye administration Thereof was admitted ye seven Brethren & Sisters viz [names follow.]

Mr. Durant died in 1686 or 7: the exact date is unknown.

April 15 1688

Baptized by oure Pastour at ffeversham Brother Tuttle's child.

June 23d 1689

At a Church meeting at Faversham on a Sacrament day was added to the church, viz [five names follow]

June 26. 1689
The names of the church, viz., | Bro. Comfort Starre: Pastor.

Bro. Adam Baity: Assistant

Bro. Tho: Muggeld Bro. Tho: Kinsford Deacons.

[41 other names follow.]

July 17th 1691 Being ye sixth day of ye weeke, was kept as a day of fasting and prayer; and performed by ye Reverend Mr Mead & Mr James of London: and at ye end thereoff The Church did chuse o' Christian ffriend and Brother Mr Samuel Harris for our pastor.

Severall resolutions agreements & orders made after debate in the church.

1646 The 15 day of the 2d month 1646.

Upon debate conserning the necessitye of a Pastor. It was resolved that wee would set apart a tyme for the choice of one. And thereupon wee appointed the 27th day of the 3d month to be kept as a day of fast for the humbling of o'selves befor the

Lord, and the seeking of his face therein.

The 27th day of the 3d month. This day according to the former order was kept as a day of fasting & prayer: and in the end thereof wee did chuse & ordajne o' Brother John Durant for o' Pastor, there being present the Pastor of the Church at Dover whom some Bretheren of that church and yo church of Sandwich, who did approve of o' Choice and gave vs the right hand of fellowship therein.

The 16th day of the 9th month. Agreed upon (wth full consent of the whole church) that the 28th day of this month shall bee kept as a day of Thanksgiving vnto God for vniting of vs together & giving of vs a Pastor. And that some of the Bretheren of the churches at Dover and Sandwich bee invited to come & joyne wth

vs in that day.

The 22d day of the 11th month. It was ordered that upon the sixth day of the next week the whole church shall keep a day of Fasting & humiliation for the diversion of persecution with out & the prevention of errors and devisions win, and to begin at halfe an houre past seven in the morning: etc.

The 6th day of the 12th month. That a time be set a part when every member shall give their experiences

of the incoming of Jesus Christ.

of their growth in grace

of the temptations and corruptions which they wrestle with and what strength evictory they have over them. Together with any spiritual experience of any kind. It was further agreed

the time should be once a quarter in the yeare.

The 26th day of the 12th month. This day the desire of Mr Player, Mr Knight, Mr. Lee, & Mr Owen (as from the Bretheren in their Societye) were propounded unto the church. That in as much as they intend to settle themselves in the way & order of the Gospell as a church of Christ That therefore the church would be pleased to appoynt some as messengers to come unto them whower from the church (in case they approve of them and their proceedings) to give them approbation and the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon the church did agree unanimously that the Pastor with our Brother Jones & Bro Reynolds should goe (as from the church) in this bisiness with these following instructions: [The second condition expressly provided that "the power of the church in admission, excommunication, choice of officers &c who the administration of all the concerns of the church is in the church of a particular congregation solely and independently"]

They further asked that a convenient day might be appointed for a fast day on which to seek direction of God on the matter.

1647 The 4th day of the 1st month. [This was the fast day

appointed.]

The 12th day of the 1st month. This day ther came Thomas Vsburne & Thomas Honseyde from some christians who live [in] & about Staplehurst to desire of Advice how they may regularly and comfortably come up into the order of the Gospell as a church of Christ, & thereupon it was Agreed by the church that a letter should bee drawen up to advice & incourage them therein, and alsoe that the church should take some tyme in speciall to seeke God in their behalfe. And accordingly ther was a letter drawen up & sent them.

The 19th day of the 1st month. [Afternoon service fixed for 3 o'clock, and once every fortnight some of the Brethren should exercise

their gifts for the edification of the people]

The 11th day of the 2nd month. [A meeting purposely to be held on the 13th] "to seeke God in the behalfe of of Pastor, that God would restore him to his perfect health & strength to goe in and out before vs again."

The 19th day of the 3d month. This day Mr Knight, Mr Lee, & Mr Butcher (bretheren of & messengers from o' sister church in Canterbury) came & propounded to the church their intentions of chusing officers, & desired o' prayers & assistance, & alsoe

that wee would send some messengers to them to vt purpose Thereupon it was ordered that o' Pastor with o' Bretheren Jones Reinolds, Lee should goe to them.

The 23d of the same month.

Report was made by the messengers in the prementioned

bisiness and their action approved.

At the same tyme The church upon the consideration of order (made the 12th of the first month) did order wth relation thervnto that o' Brother Jones should goe as from the church to the christians in and about Staplehurst to visite them & give some help & direction to them about church affairs. And alsoe y' or Brother Mascall of ve church of Dover be be entreated as from this church to accompanye him.

The 28th of the same 3d month. This day one of the Elders & one of the Brethren of or Sister church in Canterbury came to the church to give vs the right hand of fellowship, and after did

join in giveing thanks to God for ther and our union.

The 30th of the 3d month. Report was made by Brother Iones concerning the constitution of the church at Staplehurst, and the church approved & ordered a letter to be sent to that church.

The 20th of the 4th month. The church did order that the Election of Brother Rainolds to the office of deacon stand firme. & that he shall upon the next Full church meeting bee settled and declared to bee a deacon.

The 3rd of the 7th month. Upon a debate conserning the business between ye Bretheren & the Brother Buckhurst it was fully agreed that ther shall bee a message sent to desire the churches of Dover, Sandwich, & heer in the citye of Canterbury to entreat them to send some to advise with them what to doe in the said business.

The 8th day of the 7th month. This day, according to desire, there come to vs some messengers from the sister churches of Dover &c as to his withdrawall. [And in this we find Mr. Player of Canterbury and Mr. Mascall of Dover.]

The 18th day of the 9th month. This day the church received a letter from ye church at Staplehurst, intimating their intentions to chuse a Pastor and desiring of assistance therein; whervoon it was ordered yt or Pastor & Deacon should goe to them; And in case they did regularly proceed & act in their election that then they should in this churches name declare their approbation.

1648. The 7th day of the 3rd month. This day the church ordered that o' Pastor & Deacon should goe to ye church at Sandwich (according to their desire by letter sent to this church) to see and approve of their order (in case it bee regular) in

choosing of a Pastor.

1649 The 12th of the 5th month. This day upon a complaint to the church made by our Brother Prentice (Pastor of the church

of Sandwich) of some offence we he had taken against or Brother Hills for his strong carraige to this church, as alsoe for that contrary to the opinion & practice of this & other churches hee had been ordayned & had taken upon him the charg of a people. & for that hee did promiscuously Baptize all. The church (in order to bring him to account) did order that o' Brother Reinolds & Nicholls should goe to him & tell him that this church is offended win him: and that this church account him as a Brother & under its power. And the church did further order that the Bretheren should aske him whether hee doe not acknowledge himself a brother & vnder this church's power.

The 28th day of the 8th month. This day the church received a letter (from some christians in and about Adisham) informing that they were joyned together in church fellowship, and giving an account of the manner therof. Vpon the reading and consideration of web the church was fully satisfyed in their church estate: and therfore they did order that a letter should be drawen up and sent them by the hands of o' Deacon & Brother Lee, who were chosen to give the right hand of fellowship to them in the name of this church: & alsoe to exhort that church win full purpose of heart to cleave vnto the Lord.

The 10th day of the 0th month. This day upon the desire of o' Sister Maddocks [who had joined the church in 1646] at Sandwich the church agreed vnto her dismission: And ordered that or Pastor should in the name of the church dismisse her vnto the care of the

church of Christ at Sandwich.

1650 The 17th day of the Second month. [There having been some disagreement, and consequent going out from the church at Staplehurst; It was this day ordered that or Pastor and Deacon should goe as from this church to Staplehurst upon the 2nd day of the next week, to hear & help the Christians there in the business that relate to their breach: and their new constitution. [Mr. Brayne and the Bretheren at Staplehurst had brought the matter before the church at Canterbury by a letter.]

The 28th day of the 2nd month. [We find in the Pastor's report on the visit to Staplehurst above referred to the following passage:-Wee also declared that being consulted for advice in the matter of joyning the church at Halden with this of Staplehurst, wee assented to and concurred in this decision. [They also advised the

re-electing of their Pastor.]

The 5th day of the 5th month. This day the church did unanimously agree to breake bread in the Sermon House,1 and ordered that henceforth it should bee there.

The 19th day of the 5th month. The church agreed that they would make use of the plate, (viz. 2 flaggons, 3 cupps,2 2 larg

This was the name then applied to the Chapter-House of the Cathedral. One of these cups is still in the possession of the Cathedral authorities.

dishes, & 2 lesser guilded) we were offered to the vse of the

church by the sequestrators.

The 28th of the 5th month. At this tyme vpon the desire of the church of Adsham the church ordered the Deacon & o Brother Nicolls to goe to them vpon the 2nd day of the weeke, to assist and approve of what they shall regularly doe in order to the choice of an officer.

1651. The 28th day of the 7 month. Brother Lee was elected a Deacon by lot: he & Brother Mascall having been nominated

for the office

1652 The 5th day of the 1st month It was agreed upon by the church that a letter should be drawen up & sent to the church of Sandwich wth reference to some difference & scruples amongst the members of that church, touching their Pastor receiving maintainance from the magistrates of that town.

The 14th day of the 1st month. This day was a letter read in the church from the church of Sandwich, giving thankes for the letter sent them, and desiring some bretheren to bee sent over to them to advise with them &c. Whervpon the church ordered that the Pastor and the Deacons with Brother Mascall & Brother Monnins & Brother Jones or any 3 of them should goe over to that

church at the tyme desired by them.

The 20th day of the 7th month. This day the church considered of of Sister Susan Godferves disorderly carraige: And did conclude that she had much sinned in going vnto witches to enquire about a husband, and in going vp & down to London in a distempered manner about it: besides saying & unsaying many things in relation to the said business. Alsoe that the said Sister had a very vntoward, rash, passionate spirit. And was not able to beare any orderly dealing to admonition, but that shee flyed out in vnseemly & vngodly speech. And farther that shee had spake irreverently of the church officers. Vpon the church considering her sinne, but wth all her natural infirmitye of fitts &c Did order that of Pastor and of Bretheren Jones Mascall Erbery should goe to her to admonish her of her sin, & exhort her to humiliation, & to declare till such tyme as shee should be humbled, & hold forth a good measure of sorrow and reformation, that the church could not, nor would not permit her to any further communion. Yet that the church did not excommunicate her, only admonish her till reformation.

1656 The 21st day of the 7th month. This day was read a letter containing the desyres of the church at Sandwich that the church would bee pleased to send over some to observe & joyne with that church in a day of fast & prayer in order to the setting a part of an officer: & then in case they bee free to give approbation of that worke: Hearupon the church appointed of Pastor, & of Brother Mascall & of Brother Reinolds to goe vnto them for the purpose desired, & in case of regular proceeding to give the

officer web that church shall make the right hand of the church's

fellowship.

The 7th day of the 10th month. This day the church ordered that a letter of dismission shall bee written for o' Brother Vincent Burton, to dismiss him from this church & to commend him to orace of Christ, & the oversight of the church we is at Sandwich.

The 7th day of the 10th month. The church ordered that of Pastor, win Brother Mascall & Brother Lee, should goe over to the church of Christ of Dover to joyne why e messengers of other churches in indeavour to help that church about the clearing vo of the truths of Christ against the errors of Arminius. And the church did joyntly agree that the Pastor should in the name of this church declare their faith in the following points, viz:-

1st That there is a particular & certayne Election of some psons

from all eternitye mearly out of free grace.

and That the Lord Jesus Christ came not into the world to dve for all in general, but only for those elect ones whee calls by the name of his sheep

3 That ther is speciall grace given forth in the work of regeneration & conversion, whis irresistible, & that it is not in the power or liberty of man's will to accept or not accept thereof.

4. That those who are once sayingly wrought upon, and made ptakers of grace, can never finally, & totally fall away, but shall certaynley (notwithstanding sin or Satan) persevere & continue in

that grace vnto the end.

1657. The 3d day of the 12 month. [Some differences having arisen on accounts between Brother Reinolds & Brother Starr, the church, after going into the matter, decided that Brother Starr should pay Brother Reinolds £8:3s., and also stated its belief "that Brother Starr had in him very much of that web was the root of all Evillthe love of money; & that thence proceeded the evill of his carraige in the case." The church then admonished him.]

1658 The 7th day of the ninth month. This day alsoe or Brother Starr declared his sorrow and repentance for the offence of web hee was formerly admonished, & the church was reconciled to him.

[As above stated, Mr. Durant retained the pastorate until he and others were driven by persecution to Holland about 1680. He was born about 1620, and is said by Edwards, of the Gangraena, to have been apprenticed to a maker of washing-balls in London. However, he was a capable scholar, and preached both

Starr was a common name in Kent; there is nothing to show whether this Starr was of the same family with the pastor of 1687.

in Canterbury and Sandwich between 1641 and 1644. In this latter year he was appointed one of the Cathedral preachers, and retained this office till the Restoration. In 1669 he was reported to be preaching to a conventicle of "500 at least." Under the Indulgence of 1672 he was licensed to preach in a hall called The Almirey, Ambrey, or Almonry in Longport. He was the author of several books, and is believed to have died in Holland before 1690.

His successor, Rev. Comfort Starr, M.A., was the son of a surgeon of the same name at Ashford. While a child he went with his father to New England, where in due time he became a fellow of Harvard College. Returning to England in 1655, he became minister of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, whence he was outed at the Restoration. In 1669 he was preaching at Cranbrook; and in April 1672 was licensed to preach in his own house at Sandwich. His pastorate at Canterbury lasted from 1687 to 1691, when he removed to Lewes, and died there in 1711.

Rev. Samuel Harris followed, 1691-96. In his time a meeting-house was built at a cost £555:19:2 on the site of the present church, but in what was then an obscure location called Dancing-House-Yard; the ground was given by John Kingsford.

Rev. George Sendall, 1696-1705. He came from the church presided over by Dr. Chauncey, in Mark

1. Comfort and Counsel for Dejected Souls, 1651.

2. Sips of Sweetness, or Consolations for Weak Believers, 1651.

3. The Salvation of Saints by the Appearances of Christ, Now in Heaven, Hereafter from Heaven, 1653.

4. A Discovery of Glorious Love, 1655.

5. The Spiritual Seaman, or a Manual for Mariners, 1655; reissued as The Christian's Compass, 1658.

6. Altum Silentium, or Silence the Duty of Saints, 1659.

7. A Cluster of Grapes taken out of the Basket of the Woman of Canaan, 1660.

The following are ascribed to him:-

Lane; and after the death of his wife returned thither. In his time the present manse was given to the church.

Two short pastorates followed; Rev. John Phillips, 1705-10, and Rev. Samuel Pike, 1710-13. The latter

left on account of ill-health.

Rev. Samuel Hebden, 1713-24, was a somewhat prolific writer on controversial topics: in his time a union was arranged with the Presbyterian church in the city, the minister of which became Mr. Hebden's co-pastor and successor.

Rev. Henry Dell, 1724-46, was formerly minister of the Presbyterian church. Soon after his resignation he conformed to the Episcopal church, and became

vicar of Bethersden, where he died in 1763.

Rev. Henry Sheldon, 1748-98, was one of "the quiet in the land," and highly esteemed for "his upright character and conciliatory manners." He died in

February 1803, aged 79.

Rev. Stephen Gurteen held the pastorate from 1799 to 1837. In 1806 the meeting-house was somewhat reduced in size, but much improved in situation, by the making of the new street called Guildhall Street. The church, which was much depressed when he first undertook the charge, was left by him in a flourishing condition.

Rev. W. F. Buck was co-pastor from 1828 to 1830; and Rev. Henry Cresswell from 1831 onward. Six years later that gentleman succeeded to the sole pastorate, and retained the charge till his death in 1879. His ministry was marked by almost uninterrupted progress, and his character was such as to win the esteem of all sects and parties. In 1876 the old meeting-house was demolished, and the present church built upon the site. This cost £5,552, and was dedicated on 13th June, 1877. In 1874 Rev. W. Ockleford became assistant minister, but only remained two years. Rev. E. Goodison entered on a similar engagement in 1878, and on the death of Mr. Cresswell was called to

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the pastorate, but removed in 1883. Rev. B. Price ministered from 1883 to 1890; Rev. W. E. Stephenson from 1891 to 1906; and in the following year Rev. Chas. Sales entered on the pastorate whence he retired in 1916.]