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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

EDITORIAL.

THE autumnal meeting of the Society was attended by a small but enthusiastic body of members, who, after re-electing the officers, gave themselves to a most fertile discussion of the Society's work in the future.

It was felt that the time had come to take a step forward, and, by means of advertising and publicity, as well as by personal advocacy, so to increase the membership and the usefulness of the Society that it might be worthy of the denomination. Since the Meeting, attention has been drawn to the existence and the aims of the Society by Dr. Berry in the *Congregational Church Monthly*, and by the Editorial in the *Congregational Quarterly*. The list of members printed in this, the last number of another volume, will show how far we have to go before we really deserve the name "Congregational." Our membership should at least be doubled before next May.

* * * *

Many ideas for the future activity of the Society were brought out. It was suggested that we might have regional representatives, whose business it would be not only to get suitable people into touch with the Society, but also to stimulate interest in local Congregational history by organising visits to historic churches and sites. It was also held that the drama and the pageant might be more widely used to further the Society's ends. We have been glad to note recent tendencies in the direction of using the stage for treating historical subjects connected with religion: plays like Shaw's *St. Joan* and Drinkwater's *Lincoln* and *Cromwell* indicate what an opportunity there is for the scholar who combines the requisite knowledge with a dramatic gift.

The development of the pageant idea is also an encouraging sign of the times. Its danger, of course, is that the spectacular is often made to obscure the historic, so that an altogether false emphasis is given and an altogether false impression created. Nevertheless, if it serve to awaken interest in the story of Nonconformity down the centuries we shall hail its popularity with delight.

Members of the Society will have been especially interested in the announcement of the competition arranged by Mr. J. C. Meggitt. The competition consists in the answering of the question : " Who are the fifty British Congregationalists (excluding living persons) who have rendered the most effective service to the Kingdom of God ? "

With each of the fifty names chosen, the places of birth, death, and burial should be given, a short biography (of not more than 500 words) of any ten of the fifty being written. The prizes offered are £20, £10 and £5. Papers addressed " Eminent Congregationalists " Competition, c/o 22, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4, should be sent in by the end of October.

* * * *

The bicentenary of the birth of John Howard has just been celebrated at Bedford, but nationally Congregationalists have done little to recognise one of the most eminent social reformers their denomination has produced. A short paper on Howard in this issue will serve as a reminder of the great work he did. We are glad, too, that we are still able to draw on the stores the Rev. T. G. Crippen left to the Society, when he retired from the editorship of the *Transactions*, and we trust that from time to time he will be able to send us the fruits of his researches during many decades.

* * * *

In place of an ordinary meeting at Leicester, we suggest that members of the Society join the excursion (Excursion " A ") which is being arranged for Lutterworth on Thursday afternoon, October 14th. Opportunity will be given to visit scenes identified with the work of Wycliffe, and a short address on Wycliffe's life and work will be given in the Parish Church. The journey will be by motor-bus, and members desiring to reserve seats should write at once to Mr. J. H. Wright, 2, Victoria Road, Leicester. (N.B.—Say Excursion " A," as other excursions are being arranged for Union delegates.) The cost will be 3s. 6d., and the arrangement is to arrive back in Leicester for tea at 6.30.

The Story of the Beginning of Congregationalism in Newfoundland.

THE Congregational Church in St. John's enjoys the distinction of being one of the oldest Congregational Churches in the British Overseas Dominions. Pride of place would seem to go to the Church at Kingsford in Nova Scotia, which was founded in 1760, while the cause at St. John's did not come into existence until fifteen years later, in 1775. Even so, it has the long history of one hundred and fifty years behind it, and a noble history it has been. The Church is fortunate in possessing complete records from the beginning. The earliest records of all are contained in a venerable volume which seems to have borne a charmed life, for it has survived many a disastrous fire; and it has been with feelings of reverence that the writer has studied its pages and gleaned the story it contains.

The story is a thrilling romance. It reads like an eighteenth century appendix to the *Acts of the Apostles*. And just as most of that record of the primitive Church centres round the personality and activity of one man, St. Paul, so these early records of Newfoundland Congregationalism centre round the personality and activity of one man, John Jones—truly apostolic in his labours and devotion. The name John Jones is a very undistinguished one, but he who bore this common name was a most uncommon man. He had no advantages of social position or wealth or education. Like the first apostles, he had sprung from the masses, and in him was illustrated once again the working of the Divine Providence: "God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

In yet another way John Jones was in the true apostolic succession. In his work for God and men he faced misunderstanding, hatred, persecution, threats to his life. He appeared before magistrates and governors, who forbade him to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and he replied: "We must obey God rather than men." His courage and courtesy never failed, and in the end the people who hated him most bitterly were compelled to "take knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus."

The Story of the Beginning of

Who was John Jones? He was an Englishman, though evidently of Welsh extraction. In the quaint phraseology of the records: "He was a person of mean parentage and of little education, so that it may be truly said he was no prophet nor the son of a prophet." Reading between the lines one gathers that he was a high-spirited boy, sometimes good and sometimes not—neither little saint nor little sinner, but just a human boy. He was brought up among the Independents and from them imbibed his early religious impressions and received his early education. At the age of twenty Jones enlisted in the Royal Artillery. The atmosphere of Army life in those days was about the very worst possible for a lad of Jones's temperament, and he yielded only too readily to the temptations by which he was surrounded. Again quoting the records (probably his own confession): "He gave loose [rein] to every passion and sought every delight insomuch that the ox never drank water more greedily than he drank iniquity." The probability is, however, that he was not such a wastrel and profligate as he depicts himself.

When twenty-eight years old Jones went with his regiment to Newfoundland and remained in the island colony seven years. It was during this time that he passed through a spiritual experience which altogether changed his manner of life. It was brought about by the sight of a fellow-soldier who died blaspheming, and in that circumstance "the Lord was pleased to say, 'hitherto shalt thou go, but no further,' and then brought him to a sense of his danger and made him cry out what should he do to be saved." John Jones was a changed man; he was a new creation in Christ Jesus. It was not long after this that his regiment returned to England and was stationed at Chatham in Kent, and there John Jones associated himself with the Independent Church. In the happy, bracing atmosphere of that Christian fellowship he was confirmed and strengthened in his loyalty to his Lord. "He drank deeply of the sincere milk of the Word, with which his soul grew abundantly. And of this Church too much cannot be said for discretion, love, humility, and zeal for God's glory." In that Congregational Church at Chatham John Jones really found his soul, and when, in 1775, he returned to Newfoundland, it was not merely as a soldier but as a Christian soldier. Like the Apostle Paul, he had been apprehended of Christ Jesus. He was now Christ's man, and he said in his heart, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

The city of St. John's needed such a man badly, or rather needed the transforming power of the gospel he had to preach. It was a very evil place: lawlessness abounded, drunkenness and vice were rife, violence was a daily commonplace. The only minister of religion at the time in St. John's was a missionary of the S.P.G. whose character was notoriously immoral. No provision was made to promote the education of the people, who were left to their own devices, "with none to guide them in matters of social order and virtue." No wonder that crime and disorder were prevalent, and St. John's the scene of many unholy horrors. To this state of things came John Jones in 1775, fresh from the happy fellowship of the Independent Church at Chatham. There was no spiritual home for him. What could he do? This is what he did. He followed the New Testament plan. He started a Church in a house, in his own room—by this time he was Company Sergeant-Major and entitled to a private room in the barracks. The beginnings were very small; at first there was only Jones himself, with a Sergeant of his Company, and the Sergeant's wife. Three souls, all told!

But they were a Christian Church—three elect souls who worshipped and prayed and studied the Word and kept themselves pure amid the surrounding pollution! And their number increased even in the first few weeks. The town gaoler and three private soldiers were added to the little group. Six men, one woman—and Christ! These seven formally constituted themselves into an Independent Church; they drew up rules for their own guidance and government. Then they determined to move out from the privacy of Jones's little room to a more public place. They sought and obtained permission from the magistrate to use the Court House on Wednesday and Sunday evenings. Their service was a very simple one. They sang hymns, they prayed, they read the Scriptures. At first Jones contented himself with reading a sermon by some famous divine; later on he added a word or two of exhortation, based on the sermon he had read. Finally, at the request of the members, he began to preach himself; and like Apollos he proved himself mighty in the Scriptures. The little congregation grew in numbers, and came to include some of the townspeople. But the growing Church had many hindrances and much opposition to meet. Their worship was often interrupted by the rowdy elements of the town, and the worshippers themselves were sometimes stoned as they

left their meeting-place. But nothing could daunt this handful of devout and faithful souls ; they continued steadfast in prayer, and worshipped God according to their conscience.

In the spring of the following year, 1776, the little cause received a severe blow. The new Governor of the Colony, Admiral Montague, forbade the use of the Court House, and, in addition, all townspeople were forbidden to go to Jones's room in the barracks. This looked like the end of things. If there were no room or building in which they might worship, what could they do ? This is what they did. Every Lord's Day, when the weather permitted, they held service on the "barrens," outside the town ; and there, with a heap of stones for pulpit and the sky for sounding-board, John Jones preached the "glorious gospel of the blessed God." As the old record quaintly puts it, "this summer they were indeed like partridges upon the mountains."

Out there upon the "barrens" they were still a Church, albeit a homeless one. But a great determination came to them ; since no room in the town was available in which to worship, they would build a little house of God of their own. They set a day apart for fasting and humiliation before God ; they prayed that He would direct and bless them ; or, if what they were about to do was contrary to His will, that He would prevent it. Greatly strengthened, and confident that they were in the way of the Divine will, they set about the task. Having but little money to pay for labour, they were forced to do all the work themselves. "With a humble dependence upon the Almighty they proceeded, and in obedience to the Word went up to the mountains to prepare the stuff. And then it was that the Lord took off the restraint and made way for them to take a room in the town, wherein they met once every Wednesday evening, and three times on the Sabbath the whole winter."

In the following spring, 1777, the first Church building in St. John's, other than that of the Church of England, was completed. Adapting the words of Nehemiah, "The people had a mind to work, and so built they the House of God."

In twenty-eight days the building was completed, and the Independent Church entered into possession of its first real home. It was a day of great rejoicing and thanksgiving, when that humble building was dedicated to the glory of God and the service of the Evangel. But the joy of those humble folk in their meeting-house did not last long, for the Governor

came upon the scene in a great rage and with many bitter oaths declared that he would pull it down "stick and stone." Fortunately, Jones and his friends had wisely made sure of their title to the ground on which the Church stood, and Montague was impotent to carry out his threat. The entry in the records describing the incident reads: "The Lord put a hook in his (the Governor's) nose, and turned him back the way he came, so that he did them no harm, but rather good, inasmuch as it made them fast and pray and live humbly before the Lord and dependent upon Him, and the Lord was pleased to bless and increase them."

During all this time, while acting as minister of this persecuted little flock, John Jones was still in the Army, and in 1778, when the society had been in existence three years, he was ordered back to England with his regiment. This was a grievous blow to the young Church, but its members were not disheartened. After a period of waiting upon God they requested Jones to quit the Army and return to them as their regular minister. To this, after much hesitation, he agreed, and set sail, accompanied by the prayers and the love of his friends.

In England, Jones got into touch with several eminent Independent divines of the West Country, and by them was confirmed in his decision to return to St. John's, and in a solemn service was ordained to the Christian ministry. He returned to Newfoundland in July, 1779, to labour for another period of twenty-one years as a devoted pastor and fearless preacher of righteousness. They were years marked by storm and stress and much opposition. But the honesty, the fearlessness, and the Christian chivalry of the Independent minister triumphed in the end. And when he died, in 1800, it was as St. John's most honoured and respected citizen, even by those who in earlier days had most bitterly opposed him. His work was well and truly done, for before he "fell on sleep" the Church was firmly established, it had grown in numbers and influence, and in its membership were many of the foremost citizens. In the autumn of last year it celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and did honour to the memory of John Jones, preacher of the Gospel.

D. L. NICHOL.

THE
COVENANT
AND
CONFESSION OF FAITH
OF
THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
MEETING IN
BLANKET-ROW, KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.LXX.

[From the original Church in Dagger Lane, of which the Presbyterian Church claims to be the present-day representative, a secession took place in 1769, owing to doubts as to the orthodoxy of Rev. John Burnett. The seceders built a small chapel in Blanket Row, which, as their numbers increased, gave place in 1782 to a much larger building in Fish Street; and this again in 1898 to the "Memorial Church," in Princes Avenue. It would be an interesting inquiry, how many of the present members at Princes Avenue could subscribe unreservedly to the original Blanket Row Confession of 1770.—T. G. CRIPPEN.]

THE COVENANT.

We, who by Nature were Sinners, ready to perish, having by the good Spirit and abundant Grace of God, been led to see our dreadful State by Nature, as fallen in Adam, and far from God, and having, we trust, tasted of the Grace of God in converting, promised, and communicated Mercy; we do sincerely, unfeignedly, and without Reserve, desire to give up ourselves unto the Lord and each other, to walk together in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord blameless—to watch over one another in Love—to exhort with Diligence, and rebuke with Meekness and without Partiality—to pray for and seek the Edification of each other in all Things pertaining to Life and Godliness. And this we do in the most solemn and serious Manner, having sought the Divine Presence amongst us, and called for the Blessings of our Covenant God to distill upon us. And as a further Testimony we do subscribe the same with our Hands, agreeable to the Prediction of Gospel Times: *One shall say, I am the Lord's; and another shall call himself by the Name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his Hand*

unto the Lord, and surname himself by the Name of Israel.—Isaiah *xliv.*, 5.

INTRODUCTION.

The frequent Exhortations which we meet with in the Scripture to Unity of Faith and Sentiment, together with the express Command we have to contend earnestly for it, as once delivered to the Saints, leads us to conclude the Necessity there is, that in every Church of Christ, formed on a Gospel-Plan, there should be a regular, methodical, and scriptural Confession of the Faith of that Society; because it is impossible there should be a united Contention for the Faith, if there is not a united Profession of it. Besides, it seems to have been the Apostolick Method, to recommend this to the several Churches which they visited, *Rom. vi.*, 17. *Ye have obeyed from the Heart that Form of Doctrine which was delivered you*; and to Timothy (said by some to have been the first Bishop or Pastor of the Church at Ephesus) he says *2 Tim. i.* 13: *Hold fast the Form of sound words, which thou hast heard of Me, in Faith and Love, which is in Christ Jesus.* We do, therefore, receive the whole word of God as the Rule of our Faith, and the Test of our Experience; but that we may be more particular, we may reduce it to the following Heads.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I.—OF THE BEING OF A GOD.

We believe, that there is a God, the Creator of all Things and the Supporter of the same; a Spirit without human Members, Parts, or Passions; infinite, eternal, and unchangeable—Giving Being to all Things, but receiving it from none—Evident in all Places, yet seen by no Eye—Moving all Things, yet never moved—Present in all Places, yet nowhere confined; and that there is such a Being, Nature teaches, Reason approves, and the Scripture affirms.—*Heb. xi.*, 6; *Prov. ix.*, 10.

II.—OF THE PERSONS IN THE GODHEAD.

In the Godhead we believe there are Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; none is before or after the other, being equal, possessing the same Nature and Attributes, conjoining in the same Works, equal in Glory, Power, and Love. These divine Persons, before all Time, entered into a sacred Covenant, to save and restore a Remnant of the Children of Men from Misery, to eternal Happiness, and from Death to Life.

We call them Persons, because the Scripture ascribes Understanding and Will to each of them.—*Matt. xxviii.*, 19; *1 John v.*, 7.

250 The Covenant and Confession of Faith

III.—OF THE WORD OF GOD.

We believe, that God reveals himself in the Law of Nature, and the Works of Creation, sufficiently for the rendering every sinful Creature inexcusable; but, of his abundant Mercy he has given us a more clear Discovery of himself and of ourselves in the Book of Scripture, which was spoke at different Times and in divers Manners by the Prophets and other Messengers. This we receive as his Word; by this we try all Doctrines; this we embrace as the Rule of our Faith; and from this we hope to receive our Comfort when Heart and Flesh fail us.

We further believe that the Canon of Scripture is now complete, that no Additions need, or ought to be made to it, nor any Thing to be taken from it.—*2 Tim. iii.*, 16; *Heb. i.*, 1.

IV.—OF ELECTION, &c.

We believe, that God, from all Eternity, by the most wise and holy Council of his Will, did freely and unchangeably fore-ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so that God is neither the Author of Sin, nor is any Violence put on the Will of the Creature. By his Decree, God fixed upon a Remnant of Mankind, of his own pure, free, and sovereign Mercy, whom he hath fore-ordained to receive Grace in Time—be made a happy People—preserved to the End—and obtain everlasting Life through Jesus Christ, in whom they are chosen. And when God conferred this high Favour on this Remnant, according to the Election of Grace, he left others in that State in which they were considered as fallen: so that, in consequence of their going on in Sin, they will become Monuments for the Glory of his Justice.—*Eph. i.*, 4; *Rom. viii.*, 30.

V.—OF PROVIDENCE.

We believe that God, who has created all Things by his Power and Wisdom, doth also, by his superintending Hand, uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all Creatures and all their Actions, by his holy and wise Providence; and that he, by his immutable Council, directs the most minute Things to the Praise and Glory of his Wisdom, Power, Justice, Goodness and Mercy.—*Eph. i.*, 11; *Psal. ciii.*, 19.

VI.—OF THE FALL.

We believe that God, having created Man, did enter into a Covenant with him, called *the Covenant of Works, or the Covenant of Nature*, in which Life was promised on his Obedience, but Deaths, of all kinds, denounced on his *Disobedience*; he being seduced by the Subtilty of Satan, did wilfully transgress the Law of Creation, and break the Covenant by eating of the forbidden Fruit.

Nor was this a private Evil; all Mankind descending from him

by the ordinary Course, have, in Consequence of this, lost Fellowship with God—are dead in Sin—and wholly defiled in the Faculties and Powers both of Soul and Body. From this Fountain, or Original Sin, all Iniquity, Calamities, Disorders, Pain, and Death do naturally flow; so that no Man, since the Fall, can restore himself to Fellowship and Communion with God by the Covenant of Works.—*Rom. v.*, 17, 18, 19; *Job xiv.*, 4.

VII.—OF CHRIST THE MEDIATOR.

We believe, that it pleased God, in his eternal Purpose, to choose, ordain, and appoint the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Person in the blessed Trinity, to be the only Mediator between him and his People. Into his Hands the Elect were delivered to be redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified. In the Fullness of Time he took on him our Nature, being God and Man in one Person; and this he did willingly and of free Choice. In this Nature he died as a Ransom, Sacrifice, and Atonement for his People, thereby he fulfilled the Law and satisfied Justice. And in that Nature he rose from the Dead—is gone into Heaven as the Head, Representative and Intercessor of his People, to see that all the Effects of his Undertaking be applied to them, in the Time stipulated in the everlasting Covenant.—*1 Tim. iii.*, 16; *John i.*, 1, 2, 3, 14.

VIII.—OF EFFECTUAL CALLING.

We believe, that God, of his free Grace, doth in an effectual Manner call this Number chosen in Christ, powerfully enlightening their Minds in divine Things—taking away the stony Heart—renewing their Wills, and effectually drawing them to Christ; yet so that they come freely; by Grace being made willing to cast themselves upon him. *Psalms cx.*, 3; *Jude i.*

IX.—OF JUSTIFICATION.

We believe, that those whom God calls by his Spirit, he justifies by his Grace, not by infusing Righteousness into them, but by imputing unto and enabling them to receive, embrace and rest upon the Righteousness of Jesus Christ, who is therefore called *The Lord our Righteousness*; so that they trust to his active Obedience to the Law, and passive Obedience in his Death, as performed in their Room and Stead. Thus they by Faith (which is also given by God himself) receive Remission of all their Sins, and believe that there is no Condemnation, because Christ, by the one Oblation of himself once offered, has obtained a free and full Pardon for them.—*Rom. v.*, 1; *Rom. viii.*, 1.

X.—OF ADOPTION.

We believe, that to those whom he justifies he grants the high

252 The Covenant and Confession of Faith

Liberty, Dignity, and Privileges of his Children, adopting them into his Family, giving them Access to his Throne, enabling them to claim their Relation to him as a Father, believing that he will pity, protect, and provide for them, and will never cast them off, but seal them to the Day of Redemption.—*John i.*, 12 ; *Gal. iv.*, 4-7.

XI.—OF SANCTIFICATION.

We believe, that whom he justifies he also sanctifies, and this in granting them a new Heart. It is a real and personal Change ; Lust is subdued—the old Man mortified—every Grace quickened—Holiness prevails, it spreads throughout the Man, and yet is perfect in no Man on this Side the Grave ; so that in sanctified Souls there is a perpetual War between the Flesh and Spirit.—*2 Thes. ii.*, 13 ; *1 Pet. i.*, 2.

XII.—OF GOOD WORKS.

We believe, that Good Works are the necessary and inseparable Fruits of true Faith, evidencing our Sonship and Love to God ; we believe we are ordained to the Performance of Good Works, yet not saved for or by them, as our best Duties are insufficient for our Acceptance, yea, they are as filthy Rags, and therefore cannot justify. And we further believe, that the Doctrines of Election, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Perseverance, &c., are so far from tending to give Liberty in the Ways of Sin, that all those who really believe them, will find that they are the grand Spring to universal Obedience, and the more we look to, and depend upon those precious Truths, the more honourable our Lives and Conversation will be, to the Glory of our heavenly Father.

Those Doctrines may be abused by those who have them in Notion, but not at Heart ; but this does not overturn the Truth and Importance of them, but confirms it. The Bee and the Spider may apply at the same Flower, the one to extract the balmy Honey, the other to draw the deadly Poison ; but none will root up the blooming Rose from their Garden because it is abused. So these Doctrines are to be preached and believed, and those that abuse them do it to their own Destruction, while those who believe them, will find they tend to establish and confirm them in the good Ways of God.—*Eph. ii.*, 10 ; *Tit. ii.*, 11, 12.

XIII.—OF PERSEVERANCE.

We believe, that the Elect, being chosen and justified in Christ, called and sanctified by the Spirit, can never fall totally and finally from Grace, but be preserved by constant Supplies—be led by God to their Journey's End—and be eternally saved through the Merits of Jesus Christ ; because this depends not on our Mutability, but the Immutability of God, the Oath of the Father, the Intercession of the Son, the Supplies of the Spirit, and the Promises of the Gospel.—*Rom. viii.*, 35 ; *1 Pet. i.*, 5.

XIV.—OF THE LAW OF GOD.

We believe, that this can be performed by no sinful Creature, so as to obtain Life and Righteousness by it; yet it is a Rule of Life to all Believers (as it is viewed in the Hand of Christ), although we are not under it as a Covenant of Works.—*Psal. cxix.*, 96; *Gal. iii.*, 21.

XV.—OF THE SACRAMENTS.

We believe, these are holy Signs and significant Seals of the Covenant of Grace; although they do not confer Grace, yet they strengthen it. There are only two instituted by Christ in the Church, *viz.*, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The former is an Act of Dedication, wherein and whereby Believers give up their Infant-Seed to the Lord, supplicating Grace for them, that they may be sprinkled with the Blood of Jesus, as they are in this Ordinance emblematically with Water. They do hereby acknowledge that their Children are born in Sin, and profess their Faith in a Triune God. This Ordinance is to be administered but once. The Lord's Supper is a perpetual Remembrance of the Suffering and Death of Christ for his People, emblematically signifying their Communion with him, their Necessity of receiving from him all Supplies of Grace, Faith, &c., It is a fresh Act of Dedication, wherein the Participants give up themselves to Christ as their King and Head. Each of the Elements are [*sic*] to be received, and that frequently, to strengthen our Faith, confirm our Hope, and testify our Love to the Brethren. *Acts ii.*, 38: *Then Peter said unto them, Repent ye, and let every one amongst you be baptized; 1 Cor. ii.*, 26.

XVI.—OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

We believe, that the Power of the Keys is lodged in the Hands of the Church, *i.e.*, that Admissions, Reproofs, and Excommunications, are to be directed by it; and yet it is needful to have Officers in the Church for the Well-being thereof; but yet the Church doth not give away its Authority into the Hands of the said Officers, but they (the Officers) as their Constituents and Representatives, are to be the Mouth of the Church in executing their Determinations. The choosing, calling, and ordaining of these Officers, is the sole Right and Privilege of the Men Communicants of the Church, of whose Number they must be Members before they are constituted Officers.—*Matt. xviii.*, 18; *Acts vi.*, 3.

XVII.—OF CHURCH OFFICERS.

We believe, that every Church of Christ should have a Pastor, Bishop, or Elder, to go before them in the Service of the Sanctuary; and also Deacons to serve Tables, take Care of the Poor, and

attend to the temporal Concerns of the Church. The Number of those agreeable to the Size or Duty of the Church to which they minister; yet these Officers, *viz.*, Pastors and Deacons, in Church Acts, have no Right to set aside any Determination made by the Majority of the Church, having a Voice in those Acts only as Brethren.—*Phil. i.*, 1; 1 *Tim. iii.*, *totum.*

XVIII.—OF THE STATE OF MAN AT DEATH.

We believe, that in consequence of Sin, it is appointed for all Men once to die, their Bodies return to the Dust and are changed, but the Soul, having a spiritual and immortal Subsistence, neither dies, sleeps, nor is impaired, but returns immediately to God, as the Judge by whom it is ordered to its fixed State, till the Morning of the Resurrection.—*Eccles. xii.*, 7; *Heb. ix.*, 27.

XIX.—OF THE JUDGMENT.

We believe, a Day is appointed in which all the Dead being raised, every Particle of Dust being built up, and the Soul united unto it, Jesus, the Judge, will then pronounce a most equitable Sentence on each Individual, whereby he will manifest the Glory of his Mercy and Justice; after which he will take his People Home, and send his Enemies to reap the Reward of their Sins in the Prison of Hell.—*Acts xvii.*, 31; *Rev. xx.*, 12.

XX.—OF THE AFTER-STATE.

We believe, that the Righteous will be dignified with everlasting Life and Happiness in the Vision of God—the beholding of Christ—the Company of Angels, and the Converse of Saints—Sin will be removed—Sorrow banished, and they, free from the Fear of losing their happy Station, being forever locked in from the Danger of a Fall—*Matt. xxv.*, 34.

On the other Hand, the Wicked will dwell in the Lake of Fire, and the Company of Devils, through an ever-rolling Eternity; for as their Sin is against the Eternal Majesty, his Justice must smoke against them forever, because there is no Way (at least revealed to us) to turn away his Wrath from them.—*Matt. xxv.*, 41.

John Howard.

“**T**HE story of John Howard (writes the Rev. A. R. L. Gardner¹) is the indelible record of the colossal achievements of a solitary human spirit in the space of seventeen years.”

It is the purpose of this paper to do nothing more than attempt an estimate of his work as one of the forerunners of Prison Reform.

There seems to be some doubt as to the precise date of his birth, for Howard himself has left no record ; most authorities however agree on September 2nd, 1726, and this is the date inscribed on his monument in St. Paul's Cathedral by his friend and relative, Mr. Whitbred.

The place of the birth, too, seems equally uncertain ; the monument in St. Paul's states that he “ was born at Hackney, in the County of Middlesex ”—a country house in Clapton, in the parish of Hackney, on the site of which now stands the Laura Place County Secondary School for Girls, has, indeed, been suggested ; Dr. Aiken, one of Howard's earliest friends and in many respects his most accurate biographer, believes “ Enfield to have been his birthplace ” ; while Smithfield has also claimed him, one of his father's chief residences being in that parish.

On the whole, the weight of the evidence seems to favour Hackney : at any rate, the larger part of the first few months of his life were spent there.

His father, after whom the boy was named, was a keen, virile Independent, who had amassed considerable wealth in business as an upholsterer, wealth which on his death passed to his son and enabled young John to carry out his prison visitation without financial anxiety.

A delicate child, on his mother's early death the boy was placed under the care of Mrs. Brown, who lived on his father's estate at Cardington, in Bedfordshire. After nearly seven years of country life, the boy was sent to a school at Hertford, which he left some time later—“ not fairly taught one thing ”—to enter Mr. John Eame's academy at Newington Green.

After a good education—though John was at best a poor

¹ *The Place of John Howard in Penal Reform*, p. i.

scholar—he was bound apprentice to Messrs. Newnham & Shipley, Wholesale Grocers, in Watling Street, with whom he remained till his father's death in 1742. Possessed now of a large fortune—his father had left him £7,000 in money, all his landed property, pictures, plate, and furniture, and part of his library—Howard purchased his freedom from his employers, gave up all thoughts of a business career, and spent a year or two in travel through France and Italy in order to restore his health, which had suffered much from the hardships of his 'prentice life. On his return to England, polished in manner and improved in looks, though still very delicate, he took lodgings in Church Street, Stoke Newington, where he lived the life of a student, studying languages, working out experiments in science, and withal keenly religious.

In 1752 he married his landlady, Mrs. Lardeau, who had nursed him through a serious illness, and though there was a difference of many years in their ages, Howard loved her deeply, and sincerely mourned her death three years later.

In the year following her death Howard left England on the Portuguese packet, *Hanover*, to render what assistance he could to the thousands who had been rendered homeless and helpless by the great earthquake at Lisbon. But he was destined never to achieve his purpose, for the *Hanover* was captured by French privateers, all her crew and passengers being imprisoned at Brest. Out of the horrible experiences of prison life which there came to his notice, and which he himself endured, was born that zeal for reform of prison conditions which became the dominating passion of his life.

“In the Castle at Brest I lay six nights upon straw, and observed how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, where I was carried next. During the two months I was at Carhaix, upon *parole*, I corresponded with English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix and Dinan. . . . I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity that many hundreds had perished ; and that thirty six were buried in a hole at Dinan in one day.”²

“Perhaps,” he wrote in his first book, *The State of Prisons*, “what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book.”

When after three months, he secured his own freedom on his return to London, he laid the knowledge he had gained

² *State of Prisons*, 3rd edition (1792), p. 51.

before the Commissioners of sick and wounded seamen, and received not only the thanks of that body but also—what was far more difficult to obtain—the release of all the English prisoners who were dying in the filthy prisons of Brittany.

“In 1758 he made a very suitable alliance with Miss Henrietta Leeds, eldest daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq., Croxton, Cambridgeshire, King’s Sergeant.” So wrote his earliest chronicler, and for seven years—some spent in Cardington and others at Watcombe in Hampshire, whither they moved for the benefit of Mrs. Howard’s health—John enjoyed perfect happiness, loving his wife with deep affection, and with her aid completely reforming both the villages in which he lived, so that they exhibited “all the pleasing appearances of competency and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue.”

Whenever he was in Cardington, Howard attended the Parish Church on Sunday mornings with his wife, riding to Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, in the afternoons.

It was while he was in regular attendance at Bunyan, which was a “Union” Church, that the minister of that congregation, the Rev. Joshua Symmonds, began to lay such particular emphasis on strictly orthodox Baptist views that Howard, and many with him, felt constrained to secede and form a Christian community which could preserve in its doctrines and sacraments the rite of infant baptism. Thus began the Congregational Church in Bedford which, because of his generosity to its funds in its early days, has ever since borne the name of Howard.

On March 31st, 1765, his second wife died, almost immediately after she had given birth to a child. The blow overwhelmed him and again he sought solace in travel. For several years he toured the Continent, only returning home for short intervals; it seemed as though he was to end his days in idleness and obscurity. But in 1773 he was elected High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, and then began the great work which he carried on unremittingly for the next seventeen years.

As a Nonconformist he ran serious risks in accepting this office, for anyone who had a mind to do so might subject him to a penalty of £500 and inflict upon him many disabilities. Despite the risks Howard accepted the position, and no one ever brought action against him.

He found in attending the Court one day that many prisoners

who had been found not guilty by the judges, or against whom no crimes were preferred, instead of being released were "dragged back and again locked up in prisons in default of the payment of sundry fees."* Asking the cause of this, he found that gaolers had no fixed pay from the authorities, but themselves were allowed to exact heavy dues from the prisoners. In nearly every case the prisoners were quite incapable of paying anything, and thus the rest of their days were spent in "those pestiferous dens."

Such gross injustice roused within Howard a great compassion towards its victims, and a burning anger against those who not only tolerated but condoned it.

He had none of that "tumultuous, frothy ocean-tide of benevolent sentimentality" of which Carlyle accuses him—much of the Copec Report on the Treatment of Crime would have been unintelligible to him—but he had a wholesome hatred of anything that savoured of injustice.

That he might find out the precise state of affairs he visited the prison himself, enquiring into the method of administration, talking with the prisoners, and inspecting the conditions of life in the cells. Believing that a large part of the remedy lay in the paying of regular wages to the gaolers, he suggested that this might be done.

Unfortunately, the Bedford Justices knew of no precedent for such a procedure; and it was in search of a precedent that Howard set forth on his first visitation. His search took him into the counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and Buckinghamshire, and with the exceptions of Derby and Stafford, the state of the prisons was revolting. They "were for the most part pestiferous dens; overcrowded, dark, foully dirty, not only ill-ventilated, but deprived altogether of fresh air. The wretched inmates were dependent for food upon the caprice of their gaolers or the charity of the benevolent; water was denied them except in the scantiest proportion; their only bedding was putrid straw. Everyone in durance, whether tried or untried, was heavily ironed. All alike were subject to the rapacity of their gaolers and the extortions of their fellows. Gaol fees were levied ruthlessly—'garnish' also, the tax or contribution paid by each individual to a common fund to be spent by the whole body, generally in

* *Ibid.*, p. i.

drink. Idleness, drunkenness, vicious intercourse, sickness, starvation, squalor, cruelty, chains, awful oppressions and everywhere culpable neglect."⁴

"Air which has been breathed is made poisonous to a more intense degree by the effluvia from the sick and what else in prison is offensive. My reader will judge of its malignity when I assure him that my clothes were, in my first journey, so offensive that in a post-chaise I could not bear the windows drawn up, and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horseback. The leaves of my memorandum book were often so tainted that I could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire; and even my antidote, a vial of vinegar, has after using it in a few prisons become intolerably disagreeable. I did not wonder in those journeys that many gaolers made excuses, and did not go with me into the felons' wards."⁵

Most of the inhabitants of gaols were not even criminals but debtors, who were thrown into prison, according to the customs of the time, at the whim of their creditors until all that they owed was paid. Thus the poor wretches were rendered incapable of paying, and very often, perforce, were joined in their confinement by their wives and children till every available space in the prison was disgracefully overcrowded. To remedy the state of affairs in prison life was the business of no authority, for most of the prisons were private institutions, farmed out to brutal and avaricious keepers.

When Howard's first report became known (1774), Government action was demanded to remedy abuses. A Commission was appointed, before which Howard gave evidence, and in the same session two Acts were passed—the one abolishing gaolers' fees, the other authorising improvements in the sanitary conditions of prisons. Howard himself was summoned to the Bar of the House and thanked for his services by the Speaker.

Nevertheless, despite the success which attended these first efforts, Howard did not rest. The Acts were very laxly administered; only in fifteen prisons did he find that they had been accepted. There were no government inspectors to enforce them, and to remedy this deficiency he made himself a voluntary inspector. In all, he undertook five visitations,

⁴ *Encycl. Brit.* (11th edition) XXII, p. 362.

⁵ *State of Prisons*, p. 7.

and there was hardly a prison or bridewell in the United Kingdom into which he did not go. Nor was his zeal bounded by the limits of his own country; between 1775 and 1785 he made six tours of investigation into prison life on the Continent. For the most part he found that prison treatment in European countries was considerably in advance of that in Great Britain, and from them he learnt much for the benefit of his own country. Holland particularly delighted him. He writes: "I leave this country with regret, as it leaves a large field for information on the important study I have in view. . . . I know not which to admire most, the neatness and cleanliness appearing in the prisons, the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners or the humanity and attentions of the magistrates and regents."⁶

In 1777 Howard's great book was published. It bore the title: *State Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and An Account of some Foreign Prisons*. In 1780 an *Appendix* was issued, and nine years later *An account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* appeared.

The two books are an amazing monument to the tireless energy of a man whose health was never very good. It has been estimated that on his tours of investigation he travelled forty thousand miles, and spent of his own money £30,000. His labours did not receive their immediate reward, though even in his lifetime there was an improvement in prison conditions; it was left for a later generation to carry out the work of prison reform and the more satisfactory treatment of the prisoner.

John Howard laid the foundations upon which Jeremy Bentham, Samuel Romilly, Elizabeth Fry and Silas Todd built, and many more are still building. Since Howard's day, and largely through his efforts, our treatment of crime and our attitude to prisoners have changed beyond recognition; he worked for better and more sanitary conditions of living in the prisons; he believed that Government and not private corporations should accept the responsibility of looking after the prisoner; he urged that debtors and felons should be separated; and he was the forerunner of that humanitarian outlook, in the general treatment of crime, which is common to-day.

On January 20th, 1790, he died, as he lived, caring for the fever stricken among the Russian army at Cherson.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Burke's great tribute to him just before he set out on his last journey is well-known: "He has visited all Europe; not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals or to collate manuscripts; but to drive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infections of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of men in all countries. His plan is original; it is as full of genius as of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery; a circumnavigation of charity."⁷

R. G. MARTIN.

An Eighteenth Century Church Covenant.

(Copied from an original in the possession of the Editor.)

Done at Dedham, Sepr. 30th, 1741.

We, whose Names are under written, having Solemnly given up our Selves to the Lord, and having by Prayer, with fasting, implored the gracious Presence of God with us and his Blessing upon us Now also, in the Presence of God and of the Pastors of Several other Churches of Jesus Christ do give up our Selves one to another, by the Will of God as a Church of Jesus Christ; Promising by the help of God, to Submit unto all the Ordinances of Christ, as administred in this Church.

FRANSISS HAWKINS
 WILLIAM RICHARDSON
 SAM^l. JARROLD
 WILL^m. RUDKIN
 ELLEN KING
 ELIZABETH KIRK PARRICK

Witnesses

W^m. NOTCUTT
 BEZALEEL BLOMFIELD
 BENJ^m. VOWELL

⁷ To his constituents at Bristol, 1789.

A Censored Letter.

WILLIAM HOOKE IN ENGLAND TO JOHN DAVENPORT
IN NEW ENGLAND, 1663.

IN March, 1663, Samuel Wilson, a London factor, was arrested and in due time brought before Secretary Bennet for examination. He was about to set sail for New England with a cargo worth £1,500 "of other men's," but suspicion had been raised about some of the goods he had on board, the vessel was searched, and there was found "a bundle of Newes Bookes," and with them a letter not calculated to give pleasure in official quarters. Wilson affirmed that the presence of the incriminating missive was quite unknown to him, a statement excusably untruthful, for there is evidence that this was not the first time he had acted as a letter carrier between the parties concerned¹. However, on giving bond for a year's good behaviour and a promise that he would deliver William Hooke, its writer, to a Justice, whenever that offender's whereabouts were known to him, he was allowed his liberty.² But the objectionable letter was not granted its freedom, and its eight closely written folio sheets, dated 2nd March, 1662-3, are still to be found among the State Papers Domestic of the reign of Charles II.³

In the summer of 1663 William Goffe, regicide, then in hiding near New Haven, received a letter* from England, dated 24th June of that year. "I suppose," wrote his correspondent, "you will understand before this comes to your hands how it is with your old friend that was wont to be your Intelligencer, yearly. You will hear how his letters were miscarried & into whose hands they fell, upon occasion whereof he is obscured & cannot write to you as formerly . . . Several censures there have been of this letter, but many understanding men have thought it might be a testimony, etc., & God might answer the prayers of the pen-man in that way. The Secretary spoke his apprehensions of the style in

¹ *Massachusetts Hist. Soc.* (henceforth abbreviated to *M. H. S.*) 4th series VIII., 177.

² *Calendar State Papers Domestic*, 1663-4, 87, 98, 117.

³ *S.P.D., Car. II.*, 69, 5.

* *M. H. S.*, 122 f.

which it was written, & in that respect commended it, but said it was as pernicious a letter against the Government as had been written since his Majesty came in. It is said that P. Rupert should say it was not treasonable, but an history of things, *etc.* It seems it hath been thoroughly scanned . . . They say there are several copies of it. I do not yet hear of any warrants out against him, but the bearer of this letter is bound to appear again after his return . . . The letter was thought to be a minister's, but what his name was, or where he lived they could not tell, & though many ministers were sent for, as 'tis said, & inquired of, whose hand they thought it was, they could not tell."

This, and a good deal more, appeared over the signature D.G., which Goffe knew to be that adopted by the husband of his wife's aunt, his wife being the daughter of Major-General Edward Whalley, another regicide, also in hiding at New Haven. So that we have here Hooke's version of the seizure of the unfortunate letter.

Hooke was by birth a Hampshire man, the second son of William Hooke, of that ilk.⁴ After graduating from Trinity College, Oxford, he took orders, and was beneficed in 1627 at Upper Clatford, Hants., and five years later at Axmouth, Devon. But, about 1633, probably owing to the increasing enmity shown by the authorities towards Puritan clergy, he betook himself to New England. Before doing so he contracted a marriage which subsequent events, then quite unforeseeable, were to make a very advantageous one. Jane Whalley was the youngest daughter of Richard Whalley, of Kirton and Screveton, Notts., by his second wife, Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, and cousin of a Huntingdonshire squire, who about the same time was himself revolving the possibility of emigration, but whom destiny had marked for another *rôle* than that of a New England settler. The young lady had already refused at least one other offer for her hand, made about 1629, by a young chaplain in the house of Sir William Masham, of Otes, Essex, son-in-law of Lady Barrington, the aunt with whom Jane spent much of her youth; and Roger Williams, for he was the rejected suitor, had to seek consolation in another quarter.⁵ Mrs. Hooke lived to survive her husband, and like him, after their return to England, kept up a correspondence with friends in

⁴ Baigent, *Basingstoke*, 539.

⁵ Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings*, 341, 495,

Massachusetts, sending to Increase Mather not only letters, but also old clothes for the use of necessitous ministers in his neighbourhood.⁶ The Hookes' first settlement was at Taunton, Mass., but in 1644, they removed to New Haven, where they remained till they recrossed the Atlantic in 1656. As "teacher" of the church there, he became the close friend of John Davenport, its pastor, and it was to Davenport that he addressed the letter here reproduced. Davenport, who was also a Puritan *émigré*, one for whom even Abp. Laud had a good word, landed at Boston in 1637, and the following year had, with a company of friends, founded the colony of New Haven.⁷ On his arrival in London, Hooke's connexion with Cromwell stood him in good stead. He was made one of the Protector's chaplains, and, after the death of John Bond,⁸ was appointed Master of the Savoy Hospital, London. In 1659, he was one of the ministers "of the congregated churches round London" who addressed representations to General Monk. The restoration of Presbyterianism had already made his position difficult; "I still possess the Savoy though not long since heaved at by Sir Arthur Heselrige," he wrote⁹ to Richard Cromwell, 16th November, 1659. The restoration of Episcopacy proved more fatal, and the Master was numbered among the ejected.

Hooke kept a vicarious hold upon the emoluments of the Savoy in the person of his son. John Hooke was ejected from the rectory of Kingsworthy, Hants, but on 21st August, 1662, he subscribed the Act of Uniformity as one of the four chaplains of the Savoy¹⁰. There were no duties attached to the office, but there was a salary and a rental making up £38 yearly, and this Hooke drew for forty years. It adds to the piquancy of the situation to find him described¹¹ amongst the Nonconformist ministers of Hampshire, in the report of 1690, as having "very little if anything of his own Estate and but Small recompence of his labours from ye people at Basingstoke."

⁶ *M.H.S.*, 260 f. Her last letter is dated 25th May, 1683.

⁷ *D.N.B.*, and for three more letters of Hooke to Davenport, 1661-63, *M.H.S.*, 177, etc.

⁸ Will proved P.C.C., 24th March, 1657-8, not to be confused, as in *D.N.B.* art. Bond, with the master of Trinity Hall of the same name.

⁹ Quoted Baigent, 541.

¹⁰ Bodleian Lib., Rawlinson MSS. B. 375. He subscribed the declaration of non-resistance and the renunciation of the Covenant, which he had probably never taken, as holding a sinecure he was not called upon to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the Prayer Book and all its contents.

¹¹ Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, 101.

But in 1702, the Savoy and its abuses were ended, the foundation was dissolved, John Hooke "who has or does teach or preach to a separate congregation from the Church of England,"¹² ceased to be chaplain, and died at Basingstoke eight years later in the odour of untainted Nonconformity.¹³ Of the later movements of Hooke, the elder, we are not well informed. He was living in October, 1661, at Clapham, with Mr. Gold, a Justice of the Peace¹⁴; and under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, was licenced as a Congregational teacher in Spittle Yard, Bishopsgate. His last letter to Mather, written 7th August, 1677, tells of the changes that death was working in the ranks of the ejected ministers, and names forty already dead. Those left were not what they had been. Hooke describes Dr. Owen as "valetudinarian and crazy, often down." To the roll of the departed the writer was himself added on 21st March, 1677-8.

The spelling of the letter to Davenport, here printed for the first time, has been modernised.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

I have received two letters from you, your last written in Boston, I take it, September the last, newly before you returned home. I bless God, & have often done it, that mine came safe to your hands, & that yours came safely to me. I have many things to write unto you, to certify you of the state & condition of matters with us. I cannot, in the little time now allowed me, write so orderly, & fully, as I would, but you will accept them, as they are, brokenly & somewhat immethodically transmitted to you, yet such, I know, as will procure many prayers from you & others, as giving you some light into the affairs of things amongst us. As touching the Act of Uniformity, which (I suppose) you have seen, we have found the severe & sad effects of it, for many of God's people have met with very hard measure by means hereof. Multitudes of ministers have been ejected out of their habitations & employments since the execution of the said Act, I hear, about 1,500, or 1,600 hundred in the Nation, besides near as many before, upon the point of Title, & very unworthy & unable woeful men succeeding in their rooms; so that if the ability of the ejected, & the ignorance and scandalous lives of their successors, were expressed (for the far greater part of

¹² So described at the inquiry. Malcolm, *Lond. Redivivum*, III., 406 ff.

¹³ He was never Master of the Savoy, as stated in *D.N.B.* Apparently on the death of Henry Killigrew, Master 1663-1700, no successor was appointed, and at the dissolution Hooke was senior chaplain (see Malcolm).

¹⁴ *M.H.S.*, 174.

A Censored Letter

them) I think the like hath scarce been ever heard. There is not an ejected Minister, or any other, not conforming, that durst exercise in public, since Aug: 24th excepting (perhaps) some one, or two, & thereabout, for which they have suffered.

Great & strict inquisition, search & watching there hath been in the City upon the Lord's days, to find out private meetings, by soldiers, constables & officers, that it hath been very difficult for a very few to meet together in families here & there, sometimes Masters of families kept at home, sometimes they have adventured to take in two, or three, or four, but seldom above the number of five, the permission of authority reaching no higher without the charge of conventicling. Multitudes have been surprised, & forthwith carried to prisons, the Gaols filled, as the Gate-house, Newgate, Tower, White-lyon, & some in the Fleet & in the King's Bench. Many have died in imprisonment, & been even stifled through thronging together, & want of air, & necessary helps, *etc.* Reliefs have been sent to the prisons by such as have escaped & enjoyed some Liberty. The prosecution of this Act was very fierce about Oct. & November last, & cruel handling was met with by the most. The Anabaptists held out long, as to more public appearances, & the Quakers held their ground to the last, & have smarted more than any. I cannot easily describe this matter to you, but must pass over it. Few of the Presbyterians, that I hear of, have looked after their Churches, many of the Members of them complying with the public worships now on foot, yet some of their Ministers have suffered, as refusers of the abjuration of the Covenant, and as nonAssenters & Consenters to the present Liturgy. Had not the Covenant pinched them, very many of them would not have stuck at submitting to the Common-prayers, as it is generally believed. But the hand of God hath gone out against several who have submitted to this devised worship as might be related to you, but I want time & opportunity to gather up Instances. Only one Swinock¹⁵ (sometimes a New England scholar, I take it, & known to Mr. Corbet¹⁶) living lately in Thames street, or thereabout, yielding to put on the surplice, but with reluctancy, read the service with a disturbed spirit, & was so smitten in it, that he took his bed, & died (I take it) within two or three days following. Another going to conform, & riding over Tadcaster bridge, fell thereon from his horse & his heart fell upon a stone, or the edge of a plank or some such thing, & he dyed about half an hour after it; a dear friend of mine, sometimes living in N.E. whose name you

¹⁵ Joseph Swinock, studied at Harvard, Chaplain New Coll., Oxford, 1649. M.A., Oxon., 1653. At St. Martin Orgar, London, 1659 (Shaw ii., 590). Episcopally inst. there 15th July, 1661. His successor inst. 31st October, 1662. (Hennessy, 131.)

¹⁶ Probably John Corbet (1620-1680), ejected from rectory of Bramshot, Hants. (D.N.B.)

know very well, came presently after over the same bridge & hearing what happened to the minister, went & saw his dead body. He told me hereof, so that it is very certain. And lately, one Orchard,¹⁷ a Minister in Somersetshire, having preached upon Habb. 2 : 4, *The just shall live by his faith*, discoursed of several faiths, Episcopal, Presbyterian, etc. ; & it is reported that he should say, That when the Pharisees came out of Hell, the Presbyterians should go to heaven ; not long after (I know not, whether it was not the next night) he dreamed, that he should die at so many days end, some say, 8, some more ; And that he should so die, that he should have none to help him ; Upon this he was very sad, but living with a knight, whom I could name to you, there were such as laboured to cheer him up, & gave him sack & such things as might comfort him, & used words to turn aside his fears, & allay his sad expectations ; but though he continued in good health till the last night drew on, yet he remained still expecting death at the appointed time, & took his leave of his friends, & went to bed well that last night, & in the morning was found dead, lying on the one side, with his hand under his head, in the posture that he was left when he went to bed. But I cannot in this haste, collect the Instances which else I might.

There was, not long since, Talk of a New Plot, at which time, there was strict & severe dealing in the countries, to secure & examine such as seemed, to some, to be suspicious, Among others one Coll : Culpepper¹⁸ in Kent, in his search endeavouring to take one Mr. Palmer,¹⁹ an honest Minister, notice was given of it to Mr. Paemef, yet he was surprised by the Coll : & his company, & threatened to be hanged by them presently, but they sent him to the Gal, & there secured him for a time. In the meantime, the Coll : was sorely troubled, his bed under him being sometimes lifted up to the ceiling, & let down again, & sometimes out of his window he seemed to see men walking in the churchyard in their winding-sheets, & among them, one whom he knew, not long buried before, & he charged his pistols to shoot at them ; & one night he felt, he said, a death's-

¹⁷ Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, does not give any clergyman of this name at the required date. But for possibilities see Foster *Alumni*.

¹⁸ Thomas Colepeper, (1637-1708), of St. Stephens, otherwise Hackington, Kent. See further *D.N.B.*, where he is described as "flighty and eccentric even to madness," one of "undoubted abilities and knowledge." Admitted a member of the Royal Society, 1668. In a letter of 12th November, 1662, he informed Secy. Bennet of his arrest of Palmer (*C.S.P.D.*, 1662-3, 555.). Later in the same month he was in pursuit of Ludlow (*ibid.*, 568.)

¹⁹ The arrest took place at Egerton. Calamy (*Account*, 382) refers to the incident, but supposes Palmer to have been incumbent of Egerton, which was a chapelry in the parish of Charing. But probably the prisoner was Thomas Palmer, ejected 1660 from Aston-on-Trent, Derbs., one of the boldest of Nonconformist political agitators of the time (*D.N.B.*). According to Colepeper, Palmer said he had been ordained, before the Act of Uniformity, by the Bp. of Galway. (*S.P.D.*, C. ii., 62, 110.)

head in his bed, & put his fingers into the hollow of the eyes, & nose, *etc.* And he was so scared by these, & such like things, that he sent for Mr. Palmer to come to him out of prison, who came to him, to whom the Coll : related these things, asking him what he thought of them, who told the Coll : that it was for sin & gave him counsel about searching it out, making no mention of the hard measure which he found from him ; the Coll : told him that he was no Adulterer, drunkard, *etc.* ; to which, I think, Mr. Palmer made some answer ; but, in fine, the Coll : asked him why he did not come out of prison, he told the Coll : he could not ; the Coll : advised him to petition, & he would deliver him ; I think, Mr. Palmer was loth to do anything that way ; but, however, the Coll : set him at Liberty, having 1st (I should have told you) invited him, at his coming to him, to stay & dine with him, & when afterwards he would have been gone, inviting him also to stay & sup with him, & while he was in his house, the Coll : saw the Spectre in the churchyard out of his window, & hastily called up Mr. Palmer to behold it, but it vanished before he came up. He showed him also the Pistols which he had charged to shoot at it ; the vanity whereof Mr. Palmer showed him. This story I was lately told by an able minister to whom Mr. Palmer himself had newly before related it. But what effect hath followed upon the Coll : his releasing of the Minister, I do not yet hear.

Two Bishops have lately been imprisoned in Ireland : I am acquainted with the one of them who went (till this turn) for a Presbyterian ; the occasion, I take it, was some disorderly action against the Papists there, who had, (or intended) openly to set up their popish service upon such a day. There are sad expectations there every day. All the Adventurers & purchasers of Irish lands are (from aught I hear or can understand) like to lose all the lands in that Country ; And an hard matter it is, to prove a Papist there guilty of the dreadful massacre there committed about 20 years ago, the like whereunto hath not been heard of hardly in any story. The Papists (if any of them should witness aught) are threatened to be excommunicated, & those that have any Interest in lands there, will not be heard in their own cause ; & of many that have been accused, I think, towards 20, but two or three have been found guilty, *etc.*

Scotland is in a worse condition than England, as you will see by a piece of the Declaration²⁰ of the Council there, which I have sent to you. Mr. Leviston²¹, a famous & very powerful Minister,

²⁰ Probably the *Declaration*, renouncing the Covenants, to be taken by all holders of civil office, by order of the Scottish Parliament, 5th September, 1662. (*Acts of Parlt. of Scotland*, VII., 405.)

²¹ John Livingstone, a celebrated Scottish preacher. "About five hundred persons dated their saving change" from his communion sermon at Kirk of Shotts, Lanarkshire, 1630. He was banished by the Scottish Council, 11th December, 1662. (Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ed. 1829, i., 309.)

I hear, is banished ; A man (as it is reported) that wrought upon the hearts of thousands at one sermon, at a very great Assembly, met upon occasion of the receiving of the Supper of the Lord, at which times, there useth to be a very great confluence from several presbyteries, round about far & near. Things are in a very sad state in Ireland, in respect of the Papists, & in Scotland, through the severity exercised there. Dr. Layton,²² a bishop in Scotland, son to Dr. Layton, who wrought & suffered for his book, called *Sion's Plea*, is (as 'tis said) turned Papist, to the admiration of those that knew him, who looked upon him as a very holy man, eminent for his preaching & holy life, as I have heard from Mr. Richard Saltonstall*, & my son-in-law who knew him very well. Sanderson,²³ late Bishop of Lincoln is dead. The Bishops are very low in the account of all, excepting a few adhering to their Interest which is grown very narrow. You will hear by brother R.N. How Mr. Carryll²⁴ & his Fellowship were taken upon a Lord's day, where they met together at the house of Mr. Vinet, one well known to Mr. Gilbert† your magistrate, & how they were forthwith carried before the Magistrate, & how they appeared the next week at the Sessions at Kingston, & afterwards at another at Croydon, where, upon the pleading of their Counsel, the Indictment (ill laid) was quashed, & they delivered. Presently after, God gave the like Deliverance to many of his people at Abingdon, where the Jury (though composed of men for the purpose, Alehouse-keepers, & the like) did not find the Bill ; but came in, after consultation, twice (being sent back the 1st time,) & said, they could not find the parties to have met together seditiously & maliciously ; & being sent out the 3d time, brought in, Not Guilty. Great persecution in the Countries far & near, & very many indicted at Assizes & Sessions, & many excommunicated by the Bishops. There are very few Communicants, at that which they call the Lord's Supper, in many great parishes, in which there are, perhaps, 20,000 or more Communicants, after the old way of reckoning, from 16 years old upward ; And now, it may be, about 10, 20, or 40, present themselves

²² Robert Leighton (1611-1684), Bp. of Dunblane, 1661 : Abp. of Glasgow, 1669. As he owed his bishopric to the influence of his brother, Sir Elisha, who had turned R.C., the rumour mentioned was likely to arise. Their father was Alexander (1568-1649), author of *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*, published in Holland, 1628, for which he was very barbarously punished. (D.N.B.)

* Richard Saltonstall, admitted a freeman of Mass., 1631. Befriended the regicides and protested against importation of negro slaves. Returned to England, and died Hulme, Lancs., 1694. (D.N.B.)

²³ Robert Sanderson (1587-1663), Bp. of Lincoln, 28th October, 1660, till his death, 29th January, 1662-3. (D.N.B.)

²⁴ Joseph Caryl (1602-1673), Independent minister, ejected from St. Magnus, London.

† Matthew Gilbert, of New Haven, deputy governor of Connecticut. (Savage, *Gen. Dict.* ii., 251.)

at that service. They were unsatisfied with the former way of Administration, when few were accepted, & yet they are so unsatisfied with the present Parsons & Vicars & their ways, that they will not partake, when they might; They are not contented with their liberty, without a better ministry. The Light, of late years, was so diffused, that the devil will never be able to extinguish it. At a parish near London which I know, the Table was furnished at the late Holy time, as they call it, & not a man or woman came to it. And most pitiful appearances there are in many places upon festival days. Some that have stepped in to see, have seen, perhaps, the Parson, & 3 or 4 at their devotions with him. A friend of mine looked in lately to see how it was, & a boy there present told him, *He must not take up the parishioners' pews*; when all the seats (almost) were vacant. About the same time some profane fellows kicked a football through one of the places of Assembly. They preach very poorly, & sometimes utter such stuff as renders them ridiculous & very contemptible. One of them (as I lately heard) discoursing of Haman, what a great favourite he was, how great with Ahasuerus, & yet how suddenly hanged upon his own Gallows, wondering at it, & inquiring how it could be, said, Let us see whether it be so, or not, & thereupon turned to the place, & viewing it, said, Faith It is so. A Dr., lately, was miserably confounded in the pulpit at Hackney, that he could neither go Forward nor backward, but iterated these words about 15 times, sealed eyes are bad, but sealed ears are worse; & yet, I take it, it is said, he had his notes before him. He begged their prayers, & deprecated their Censures, acknowledging God's hand against him, saying, he had been a preacher about 36 years, & was never thus left. You would hardly imagine what strange & evil passages fall from them, many times, in the pulpit. Their covetousness is never satisfied, some of them holding, I know not how many Livings. One of their creatures, about Chelmsford, in Essex, (as I take it) lying with a Butcher's wife, was taken by the Husband *epautophoro*²⁵ who cut off the offending members, whereupon the delinquent bled to death in two or three days. Dr. Bolton, son to that famous Bolton²⁶ in Northamptonshire, follows the Tavern close, as I hear. You never saw such blades in your life. All this paper is too little to discourse of them, their worship, preachings, doings. Let them alone. There are some of them, whom others of them call Latitudinarians, *i.e.*, such as can conform, & yet are more conscientious than others, & they pretend unto some more goodness than others, yet have a Latitude to conform;

²⁵ Greek script in original—"in the act," occurs *John* viii., 4.

²⁶ Robert Bolton (1572-1631), rector of Broughton, Northants. His son was Dr. Samuel Bolton, prebendary of Westminster, a chaplain in ordinary to Charles II., "a man of extraordinary ability and great integrity," who died 11th February, 1668-9. (*D.N.B.*)

& these are much abhorred & despised by the rest of them ; whereof I could give you an Instance. They do not comply heartily, & yet keep out of the prelates' reach. As for the Churches in London, they meet privately, & by parcels, divided into several companies, & during the winter-quarter, the dark evenings were advantageous to them to steal together into their corners. And they break bread (I think) most of them, in parts & parcels, which brother R : N : & myself, & a few other that I know or hear of, do not approve of. Two of your old acquaintance, learned men, are of the other mind, And likewise, both those two, & most else, if not near all, are for hearing the word from the Circingle²⁷ generation, though they approve not of their worships, nor will join them, but the foresaid R : N : & myself & son, will have nothing to do with them in anything ; the case being, in many respects altered from what it was about 30 years backward, I could declare unto you. I argued lately with a pastor of a judgment herein contrary to me, & could not but lay the blame upon him, of not looking after his flock, & I remembered him of, Say to Archippus,²⁸ Take heed to thy Ministry, *etc.* ; & that churches & Ministers ought to make such provision among themselves as none might be exposed to such a Temptation, as to appear in Assemblies so defiled, & to hear such as might seduce in one thing, or other, at one time or another, such as were weaker in the faith. It is a grievous thing to go & mendicate our bread at our enemies' doors, especially when we might have better provision at home, *etc.* Many things else I spake, not convenient now to be expressed. But it is the fear of man that is, herein, a snare ; for if liberty were indulged, to hear, or not to hear these men, none of these would be seen in their Congregations ; but the fear of losing 20 *li* a month, & a worse issue also to follow, is a great Temptation. You would little think, how many Church-members have carried it, complied, declined, some fallen off, *etc.*, in this searching, shaking time : Popery and Popish worship is openly set up at Somerset House ;²⁹ neither have the papists been inquired into nor searched out in their meetings ; only, of late, notice was given, by a well-willer to the best religion, as I conceive of him, to Secretary Morris, of an open meeting of a company of Papists (I think in Holborn) who acquainted the King with it, who bade him do his office, which he did, & took the Priest, & a Jesuit, who had been active in that service, & they were committed to the Gate-house, but soon after released³⁰. And the

²⁷ Circingle, a horse girth ; then of the girdle with which the clergy fastened their caasocks. Used twice later in the letter.

²⁸ Colossians iv. , 17.

²⁹ The residence of Henrietta Maria, the Queen Dowager.

³⁰ Pepys, under date 16th February, 1662-3, refers to the arrest of the priest in Holborn. The same authority gives abundant evidence of the popularity of the theatre. He describes a visit he paid to the Jewish synagogue, 14th October, 1663. Of the unpopularity of the bishops he has much the same to say as Hooke.

Jews meet openly in their Synagogues ; & stage-players set up with the greatest confidence, & encouragement, & great are the confluences to the plays, & drunkards, & whore-mongers & such like fear no colours. The other Lord's day, I saw a man woefully drunk in the open streets, & no officer seizing him, when I was fain to sneak into an house, close by him, to meet with a few godly persons, to worship God. Mr. Richard Saltonstall, sometimes of N.E., is lately come out of the Common Gaol at Shrosbury, to which he was sent by the Lord Newport,³¹ for refusing to take the oath of Allegiance till he was informed about it touching something that he scrupled, which was denied him. Here hath been grievous urging of oaths ; & upon apprehensions, or any suspicions pretended, presently, *Give him the oath.*

There was a fire about November last kindled in Trin : Coll : Chapel it is not certain (that ever I could hear) how & which way. But it hapened about six of the clock at night, as the scholars were at supper, a little after their prayers were ended. The Table & its furniture & Mosaic work near it, & I know not how many, surplices, & the Tapers, were burned & much plate melted, & much of it also consumed, as I hear. About the beginning of the same month, The Militia of the Town intended to have visited the Fanatics, & to have strictly searched what they could discover, as touching a pretended plot, at that time said to be in the Nation ; The Chief Commander (I take it a Major), having been at a Tavern where he left some company behind, went forth to attend the present occasion, after which one that he had been at the Tavern with, well known to him, came after him into the Market-place, or street, whom the Major bid to stand, but the Soldier not giving the word agreed upon, but saying only It is I, or the like, supposing that the Major knew him well by his voice, having been so newly together, the Major discharged upon him, & presently killed him. This I was told by an honest good man dwelling in Cambridge, who expected to have been troubled & searched by the soldiers & officers, & had warning of it, but this Providence so damped them that all their sport was spoiled. Upon the 26 of December, called by some St. Stephen's day, there was a fire³² very near Mrs. Perry her house, not far from the Exchange, near Lothbury, which burned down a new-built house inhabited by a merchant named De-lawny, whose

³¹ Francis, Baron Newport, of High Ercall, Salop (1619-1708). Lord-Lieut. of Salop, 1660. (*D.N.B.*, and *G.E.C.*)

³² Pepys, 29th December, 1662, gives a similar description of the fire. Sir Thomas Alleyne was Lord Mayor of London in 1660. The book referred to is *An Exact and most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial and Judgment (according to Law) of nine and twenty Regicides, the Murderers of His Late Sacred Majesty of most Glorious Memory : Began at Hicks-Hall on Tuesday, the 9th of October, 1660. And Continued at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayley untill Friday, the nineteenth of the same Moneth.* London, 1660. 4to. 287 pp.

wife was daughter to Sir Thomas Allen, mentioned the foreman of the Jury, in the book printed touching the Trial of Harrison, Carey, & others executed at Charing Cross: She was great with child, in expectation every day of deliverance, the mid-wife with her, & a man, & his wife too (if I mistake not she had been her nurse). The house & every person in it, to the number of about 7, or 8, were consumed by that fire, not one escaping to signify anything that happened; nor was there scarce any outcry heard. It seemeth They had been sitting up late, after feasting, & went to bed about 12, or one, at midnight, & were all burnt by about three of the clocks, or thereabouts, towards the morning.

There is a Toleration talked of, & expected by many, since the King's Declaration, which came forth, about a month or six weeks since. If I can procure it, I will send it to you. The Papists improve the best of their Interest to promote it, but as for their being tolerated, there are many of the Grandees against it, who are ready enough to promote a motion for toleration of the Protestant suffering party; I could name men; but I forbear. The Bishops greatly abhor such a thing, as not being able to subsist but by rigour & persecution; for had we Liberty, as to the exercise of Religion, they would be contemned by (almost) all men, & whereas few frequent their meeting places now, they would scarce have any then. They have therefore striven to strengthen themselves by moving & writing to Parliament men, before they come up to the City, to sit again on Febr: 18th. And, as I hear, some of their Letters were intercepted, & made known to the King, who was offended at some passages, & their practices. Much to do there hath been about this business, & what will become of it, & the issue be, we are all waiting. The Bishops began to look upon their kirk under a Cloud, & so cry (almost) *actum est*, etc. Some would fain set prelate & Presbyterian at one, by alleviating & moderating the Act of Uniformity; & some Presbyterians are ready enough to meet the Bishop half-way, & to swallow down Liturgy, if the choke-pear of abjuration of the Covenant, or some such thing, be not added to it. Here hath been treating with one party & another by Grandees of different state-principles. For it is well seen now, that the Act of Uniformity hath gotten no ground upon that which they call the fanatic party, but that it hath gained & prevailed by suffering, & their opposites lost very much, that the Land hath been, & is, greatly disquieted, the minds of multitudes, godly, & sober, yea Protestant more at large, very much troubled, some parliament men even ashamed to be seen in their countries, etc. Trade also declining, exceedingly, both in City & Country; the causes whereof are 1. want of Liberty of Conscience for the people of God, through the late persecution; which keeps in money, in the hands of multitudes discouraged, many removing to foreign parts: the Dutch

giving great encouragement to comers over to them, & promising a competent salary for such Ministers as shall come over to their land, viz. 100 *li* per annum. 2. Vast sums of money lying in the hands of the Bishops. 3. Innumerable protections that have been granted to debtors by King & Parliament. 4. Much of our manufactory, in times of former troubles & fears, made known to other countries, by such as fled to them. 5. The ill manufactory of commodities at home, which vend not, as formerly they did, insomuch that shop-keepers here, sometimes buy such commodities from foreign parts, which they were wont to buy here at home, which I myself was lately a witness of in a woollen-draper's shop where I lately was; the Commodities being better made abroad, than here, I could add something else very considerable which I will suppress. Only, one thing I may add to all, viz., the Curse of God upon our Trading, & upon a Land upon which his Indignation & wrath lieth. And, had not God, out of great pity, given this Land very great plenty of corn & fruits of all kinds, the last year, but continued the former dearth, England had been very miserable ere this day. And, as for the decay of Trade fore-mentioned, the present customs, among other arguments, do much demonstrate it. I have heard also, perhaps (or else you will) of the sale of Dunkirk, for which the hearts of most men are greatly sadded, considering, how Trade may further suffer thereby, & our ships be taken, & our coasts annoyed by Pirates & men of war as in former times they have been upon any difference between us, & our neighbours on the other side the sea, that washeth on their shores & ours. The French King was, (as I hear) somewhat high & resolute upon his offer to buy it, & we (having enough to do at home) were loth to provoke so potent a neighbour; though want of money was a motive also to the sale. Great is the poverty of City & Country, & the land is exceeding populous, & Trade so decayed, that it is hardly recuperable. The City triumphed in hopes of great Trading about this time three years, but God hath greatly disappointed them. The Presbyterians are very much hated & reproached by the Episcopal party, far more than the Congregational, because these are contented to enjoy their Church-way among themselves, & not *allotrioepiskopein**; whereas the other, espousing a National Church interest, will call the highest to an account, admonishing, & (if need be) excommunicate, etc. Many of those conterminous with Episcopacy, have broke down the Pale, & laid themselves common with the prelacy, hooped in their bellies cir-cingle-wise, taken up their mode, in vesture, gesture & worship. Some of such of them as non-conform, yet retain too much of the old tang, & (I doubt) sundry of them, if not many, are content to

* Greek script in letter. Hooke has coined a verb from the noun which occurs I. *Peter* iv., 5, "busybody in other men's matters." (A.V.)

be moderate Episcops & semi-prelatical. But there are in that form, others, of a more sweet, tender, & godly frame, & who abhor to move an inch forward to meet the prelate.

The parliament is now sitting again ; The members were courted presently upon their coming up to the City, by men of one Interest & another ; & now they are in consultation. I have sent you the King's speech. They have called Mr. Calamy's release out of Newgate, into Question, *Quo Jure*, & sent for the Bp. of London his Certificate to the Ld. Mayor, & for the Ld. Mayor's *Mittimus*, appointing a Committee to examine the matter. Howbeit, He came forth of prison by the King's power, ³³Sir Orlando Bridgman certifying the illegality of the Imprisonment, & Mr. Calamy was afterward with his Majesty, & met with kindness & favour from him. He was released the same day, that Mr. Caryll & his Church came off victors. His Imprisonment was for preaching once in his own meeting-place, no Minister having been chosen in his room, nor any appointed to preach there at that time. No Minister in England so gracious as he was within these three years, one of his Majesty's Chaplains & who hath preached before him, and was offered the Bishopric of Coventry & Lichfield ; for he was one that adhered to his Majesty in his worst times, & was helpful to him. There hath been also a debate about Lent, whether to be observed or not ; The Negative had 75 votes, but the Affirmative overbare them, as amounting to 120. There are great expectations of the issues of this great Assembly. We fear that there is nothing abated of their former severity, except the Lord (in whose hands their hearts are) incline them unto more favour & moderation.

The Earl of Derby³⁴ hath, of late, put a man to death in the Isle of Man, for some offence, I take it, about surrendering the Island in the late times : many others also were condemned. It is said, that it was ill resented at the first, by the Highest ; but the Earl stands upon his power, *etc.*

Some forces are lately sent to Scotland, to keep the discontented quiet, if they will not be ruled. The Lord Warriston (named,

³³ Warrant for release issued 13 Jan., 1662-3 (*C.S.P.D.* 1663-4, 10) ; for the proceedings in the House of Commons see *Journal* viii., 437-438, under dates 19 & 20 Feb., 1662-3.

³⁴ The Isle of Man was granted to the Stanleys in 1406. On the imprisonment of James, 7th Earl of Derby, after the battle of Worcester (1651), William Christian (see *D.N.B.*) famous in Manx history as Illiam Dhone, or Brown-haired William, headed an insurrection, and afterwards joining with a Parliamentary force compelled the Countess to surrender. At the Restoration Charles, 8th Earl, had Christian arrested, & after trial, he was hanged on 2nd January 1662-3. The Earl defended his action on the ground that the Act of Indemnity was not applicable to the Isle of Man. But the King deeply resented his assumption of sovereign rights, and Christian's judges were imprisoned and fined.

Archibald Johnson⁸⁵) a very pious man, was lately taken in France, & sent over hither by the King thereof, who intends to send over any other whom he can apprehend that are fled thither, of the obnoxious ones, out of his respect to his Relations here, & zeal for the lives & Interest of Kings, against such subjects as shall rise up against them. This Laird is now brought over, & laid in the Tower. He was chairman in the Committee of Safety; But that, I suppose, which doth most of all, *alta mente manere repostum*, is a Letter which was written to him many years since by some eminent ones here about the beginning of the troubles of this Land; in which it was desired of him, to stir up the Scots to enter England, which letter came to the knowledge of the late King, who sent for him, and willed him to shew him the said letter; He, leaving the King in hopes of so doing, returned home, & burnt the Letter, & withdrew himself, *etc.* He had, lately in France, a very great sickness, which hath much impaired his faculties, & memory. He is very, very poor, all being taken away from him; He hath a Lady & about 12 children, which live upon the Charities of some friends. I hear, that there are some also of those that are fled beyond seas, upon the like offences, or worse, who are very poor, & lowzy, & who live upon a very little *per diem*. There was lately four executed and quartered at Tyburn, who were trapped into treasonable speeches by such as pretended to be all one with them. There is a book extant in print, which I have sent to you, relating the story, at large; you shall scarce read the like, I mean as to an Epistle Narrative of the Principal Trapanner dedicated to the King, wherein there is the strangest language that ever I read in my life.⁸⁶ John Baker⁸⁷ sometime a planter in New England had his part in this business, a vile person, & who hath been before the King about this matter, & he lieth now in Newgate; He is one that hateth me, & it is a great mercy that he hath not falsely accused

⁸⁵ Archibald Johnston (1611-63), a prominent figure in Scottish politics. Before the Scots army entered England in 1640, he wrote a letter "asking Lord Savile, then in London, to sound some leading English noblemen as to their willingness to aid the Scots in an invasion of England." The reply signed by Essex, Brooke, Warwick & four other noblemen, was in the negative. But Savile drew up, a month or so later, an open declaration of support and attached to it the forged signatures of the six noblemen as well as his own. Later he owned the forgery. The Scots representatives refused to give up the document, but they cut out the signatures and burnt them in presence of one of the signatories (Gardiner, ix., 179, 211). Johnston was one of the Scottish representatives on the Committee of Both Kingdoms. He was arrested at Rouen, & hanged at Edinburgh, 23rd July, 1663. (*D.N.B.*)

⁸⁶ George Phillips, Nathaniel Gibbs, Thomas Tonge and Francis Stubbs were executed at Tyburn 22 Dec. 1662. The trapanner was William Hill, an ejected minister, afterwards beneficed in Gloucestershire for his services. His book is entitled *A brief Narrative of that stupendous Tragedy lately intended to be acted by the Satanical Saints of these reforming Times: Humbly presented to the King's Majesty. &c.* (*Cobbett State Trials*, VI., 226; *Kennet Register*, 839, 845.)

⁸⁷ C.S.P.D. 1663-4 (see Index).

me, as some (in that book) have done Mr. Phil. Nye, Mr. Lockyer,³⁸ & some others, most falsely, who are not called into question. Many of the prisons are opened, & many prisoners for their Consciences, are released, &, between an 100 or 200 Quakers also³⁹ at Liberty, perhaps, some of their ring-leaders yet in restraint; one of these died lately in prison & his corpse was (if I mistake not) accompanied to the grave, by 1500 or 2,000 of his Judgment. Near about twenty of these men have died in or by their imprisonment. The ⁴⁰Lord St. John is gone beyond the seas, into France, Geneva, or Italy, accompanied with a servant, as not willing to stay here any longer, *etc.* The Marquess of Ormond (they say) is made Prince of Triperary (*sic*) in Ireland.

You will hear, perhaps, of the Trigon (an extraordinary Constellation, or meeting together of planets, so as hath rarely happened in the world) upon the 2nd of December last.⁴¹ If I forget not, it is said, The 1st Trigon was in Enoch's time; the 2nd, at Noah's flood; the 3rd, at Abraham's coming out of Ur of the Chaldees; the 4th, at the Egyptian bondage, or the coming out of it; the 5th, *in diebus Regnum Israelis*, but particularly in what King's reign, I cannot hear; the 6th, if not at the coming out of Babylon, yet I am sure I have heard, in the days of Jesus Christ; perhaps, both; my memory may fail me; the 7th, in the time of Charles the Great, I think; about the time of the first rising of the Turk & Pope. Since which time (as the longest interval) this Conjunction happened not, till the last Dec: 2nd, 1662. Strange things are expected in the world. Some say, that these planets were in the like Conjunction, when the world began. There is a great talk by some of '63, & also '66.

As for foreign Intelligence you will meet with some in the Corantos sent you⁴²; though we give no great heed to them as touching domestic affairs. You will want the Information of your old acquaintance, The Pacificator, of whom I have not heard these many months; nor do I know where he is. The Printed Papers will relate to you among other things, the warlike preparations between French & Pope, occasioned at 1st, as I take it, for some great indignity offered to the French Ambassador in Rome, in assaulting his house to seize some person or persons; fled thither for refuge; I think also that blood was shed, in this assault.⁴³ The Cardinal Imperial⁴⁴ was

³⁸ Nicholas Lockyer (1611-85), ejected Eton College, 1660.

³⁹ Warrant 13th January, 1663-4 for release of Quakers & others in Newgate for attending unlawful meetings (*C.S.P.D.* 1663-4. 10.

⁴⁰ Oliver St. John (1598-1673) Chief Justice in Interregnum. Died abroad.

⁴¹ A set of three signs of the zodiac.

⁴² *Courants*, gazeteers.

⁴³ The Duc de Créquy, French Ambassador at Rome, behaved with calculated arrogance. His unpopularity led to a brawl between the Vatican guards & members of his suite, some of whom were killed. Pope Alexander VII not showing readiness to make reparation, Louis XIV. seized Avignon, prepared to invade Italy and compelled the Pope to make a humiliating submission. (*Lavisse*, vii., 2, 268 ff.)

⁴⁴ Lorenzo Imperiali, of Genoa, governor of Rome, since 1654.

delinquent about this matter. Much endeavour hath been used for accomodation without fruit. I know not, what it will come to. Some (& I think, the most) suppose they are in good earnest ; but, as yet, I am willing to suspend my belief, having heard of the actings of the French King against the Protestants under his dominions as in the University at Montauban destroying also (as I have read) 20 Protestant Churches, & intending to do the like with more than double the numbers in Languedoc, as also (as some have said) summoning Geneva, & discharging some Protestant Guards about his person who have claimed their places by a kind of Inheritance. Whether when forces are raised, he & the Pope may not join together, or he himself turn his own forces against the Protestants, & against some over against him, I know not, for Dunkirk is now in his hand, *etc.* A little time will discover his purposes, who grows rich, great & proud, & hath been out of Action, since his wars with Spain, of whom he had the better, after many years conflicting.

The Duke of Newburg hath also intended the banishing of the Protestants out of his Territories, if it be not done already ; only the Marquis of Brandenburg, & the Dutch (If I mistake it not, I think the Intelligence in print speaks something of it) have endeavoured to oppose him in it. One Placentinus, (Professor of Astronomy & Theology in Brandenburg) is said to have been, not long since, in a Trance 14 days, wherein he did neither eat nor drink, out of which when he came, he said, That the Pope should receive a great wound in '63, & be quite overthrown in '69; that Bohemia should enjoy its former privileges, & the Marquess of Brandenburg be king of it (I think) in '66 : And also, That Comenius⁴⁵ should die at four years end. It is the same Comenius that hath written over hither this very Relation to some friends (I have forgotten his name) in England. This is that famous Comenius. I had almost forgotten to tell you what I met with the last summer in a meeting of several ministers (I suppose between 12 & 20 of them) who are pleased to admit me to be among them. Among these there came in one, whose name, till then, I knew not, nor did I even see him before ; he came out of the country not far from the place where you were born,⁴⁶ in habit unlike to a minister, of a very sober & serious countenance, who, at the close of the meeting, made a relation of many visions which he had seen for the space of 5 or 6 years past, *viz.* ; concerning the Protector & his fall, & the fall also of his son, and the coming in of the King, & the execution of those that were hanged, drawn & quartered ; & I remember, he said, that when this last was showed him, he looked upon them to observe whether he could discern himself among them : He was also showed Lambert's fall in the north, by the defection

⁴⁵ " A famous writer on education and the last bishop of the old church of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren," died 1671. (*Enc. Brit.*)

⁴⁶ Davenport baptized. Holy Trinity, Coventry, 9th April, 1597. (Waters, 205.)

of his Followers, & something also touching the City of London, & many other things which I mention not. Of these and the like things he discoursed about the space of an hour ; after which I was necessitated to depart, having far to go to my Lodging. The man is a very godly minister, & able, & several of them who heard this Relation had further discourse with him afterwards some part of a night, examining him with questions, among whom was the Pastor of Mr. R. N. I do not understand that they were dissatisfied, He is much respected of them, to say no more. These things have been discovered to the view of his mind (I think, it is his own expression) after prayer, & meditation, & sometimes in the morning on his bed. Some other things I could say of him, as to his fore-seeings, upon discoveries mentioned in prayer, which have accordingly fallen out.

I listen also much after the motions of the Turk⁴⁷ whereof the Intelligence, every week, writes something. For his slaying the 3rd part of men (*viz* : Anti-Christians) *Rev.* ix., 18, 19, 20, 21, and, the slaying of the witnesses by the Beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit. *Rev.* xi., 7 (I say). These two are the two great things mentioned to be done under the 6th Trumpet, which some are of opinion is drawing on to its last blast.

The Ejected Ministers in this Land, are (many of them) in a very low & poor condition, & many contributions are made for them. Dr. Cornelius Burgess⁴⁸, who, about 4 years backward, was worth near a £1,000 *per annum* is fain now to beg his bread ; I saw a letter of his to Dr. W.⁴⁹ (whom you mention in your letters to me) wherein he expresseth his miserable state, as, without house & home, & friends, indebted also several hundreds of pounds ; a further Collection must be made for him. Some other Ministers in their great poverty, are in the City, whither they came up for help & an hard shift they make, some teaching school, or scholars, here & there, some get into some good families, some are put to Cutting of Tobacco, and to take up very mean employments ; *etc.* In the meantime, the circlingers walk on every side, with their shining faces, many of them like very good fellows. But now, The Bishops begin to fear a little. He, of London⁵⁰, complained on the last Friday, in the upper house, of some abuses done to them, by slanders & taxes, *etc.* ; It is thought, he had respect therein, especially, to himself, as suffering in his name through one Lady Bennet, with whom, some say, He was well acquainted, *etc.* ; & he desired to know, whether the Bishops were

⁴⁷ The Ottoman empire had been restored by Mohammed Kiuprili, grand vizier, 1656-61. His son Achmet led an invasion of Austria in 1663.

⁴⁸ Burgess was ejected from Wells. He had purchased the manor of Wells, for which he was offered £12,000 in 1659, but lost it without compensation in 1660. (*D.N.B.*)

⁴⁹ Probably Henry Wilkinson, ejected from canonry of Christ Church, Oxford, & afterwards resident at Clapham, Surrey, where Hooke was in 1661.

⁵⁰ Sheldon, Bp. of London, October, 1660—June, 1663.

A Censored Letter

Pures, Compeers in that house, hoping, perhaps, that (if so) he should be relieved against such slanders, as a Peer, & to prosecute an unjust tax or charge of that nature, as *scandalum Magnatum*. Upon this, it was taken into consideration, whether they were peers, or not, though they sat where they did among such as were so indeed; & it was ordered, that the matter should be debated in the house, & that the house should have counsel on their side, & the Bishops on theirs. These desired to be present at the debating; 'twas answered, No, but if they pleased, they might stand at the Bar, but they might not sit as judges in their own Case. After this, they were so bemused, and smitten, That (I take it) upon the next day, they desired to waive this matter & to let it fall⁵¹, but a very great person spake his mind concerning them, & among other things, said, that it were desirable if men of their function did not Marry, or, to the like effect, which was seconded by some other; because the Bishops' wives began to take upon them, & to contend for place with the wives of such as were better than themselves, &, that their children, in time might do the like, *etc.* There are certain noblemen, whom I shall not name, who had Clerks imposed, by the fore-said Bishop, when their livings were vacant, who took it very ill; one of them, I hear, came to him to speak with him, and was made to wait a great while, at last the Bishop came to him, & the nobleman saluted him with much respect, the Bishop moving his hat, or a little uncovering his head, & asking him, what his business was, who answered, as 'twas told me, that he had waited long, & had weighty business, *but I will not be beholding to such a proud prelate as thou art.* I expect to see them fall ere long as lightning from heaven.

His Majesty sent for Mr. Calamy, Dr. Bates, & Dr. Manton (& some say, Mr. Baxter⁵² also) on the last of the last week, & took them into his Closet, & promised to restore them to their employments & places again, as pitying that such men should be vacant, protesting also against the Popish religion, as 'tis said. Before they went in with the King, some said *what do these Presbyters here?* but when they came out, they said, *your servant, Mr. Calamy, & your servant, Dr. Manton, etc.* It was told them, that a Bill for Liberty should be given in to the house, but however it went, they should have their Liberty, *i.e.* upon subscribing (I take it) 13 articles, touching doctrine & worship, in which there is nothing (as they say) offensive to a tender conscience. There is a distinction between an Act of Comprehension, & an Act of Indulgence; some are for the 1st, others not. The 1st is Comprehensive as to all forms in religion (excepting, I suppose, Papists, but I cannot well tell). The other

⁵¹ The order for hearing the counsel of the bishops at the bar of the House of Lords was withdrawn 21st February, 1662-3. (Journal xi., 481.)

⁵² Baxter refused to go.

leaves it to his Majesty, to indulge whom he seeth good. On the last day of the last week, A motion was made in the lower house for Liberty according to the King's Declaration, which I have sent you : It was disresented by some that spake after him that made the motion, & a disaffected spirit to Liberty was much discovered by very many ; & the business was referred to be debated upon the Wednesday following, which is the present day,⁵³ what will come of it I cannot yet tell. I want time to write much more, & have written more already than I have done these 4 or 5 months, as writing very little now, except now and then a short letter. What I do, as to speaking, I do it, of late, by Meditation, methodizing the matter as God is pleased to help me. I can study but little, nor sit long, & am very much diverted by persons & occasions ; yet, God vouchsafes to help me, though I exercise⁵⁴ double, if not treble to what I did before. My life spends apace now, & I am now newly entered in *magnum Clymacticum*. I am not, at present, where I was, when you wrote last to me, yet in the same Family, but in a place of some Privilege, not in parochial precincts. The bearer hereof may, perhaps, tell you, if need be. The gentleman with whom I am married the daughter of one to whom Mr. Aldersey was Uncle, with whom, they say, you were very well acquainted. This Gentleman also liveth together with us, a courtier sometimes, & a scholar, & like some time to have been University Orator. He is Episcopal, but very quiet, his wife as much, & more, Anti-Episcopal, one of very great parts, & undaunted spirit & resolution, to whom I am very much beholding, as I am to the whole Family. My wife (through the goodness of God) is in good health, and intends, I think, to write unto you. My children also are in good health, some of them I have comfort in, with some others of them I have been somewhat exercised. I do most humbly beg your prayers for myself & mine ; I beseech you press earnestly for me & them. I am now thinking every day of my last day, & have walked up & down a great while in the dark, grieving that I have done no more for God during so many years as I have lived, & particularly with you I have wandered up and down in the world, & done little, or gained little as to my better part, spent precious seasons after the rate of Common Time, made little or no progress ; I have too much favoured myself, indulged my ease, & been sparing of myself for the best Master in the World. I much question from what principle I have acted. I can see little to bear me up, which way soever I look. During my abode with you, I did little, or rather nothing. I am greatly ashamed of it. The conversation of that sweet Dr.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Commons Journal*, 25th February, 1662-3, viii., 440.

⁵⁴ Preach, &c.

⁵⁵ Dr. Wilkinson, as above ; for a testimony to his activity in preaching, see a letter of October, 1661. *M.H.S.*, 173.

forementioned, hath very much convinced me, the greatest enemy to sloth, & one as liberal of himself for God, & his work, as ever I knew. I might say much more, but in writing this, I am interrupted, & could easily lay aside my pen, & sit down, & weep over myself. Sir, I know your tender heart, & your interest in heaven; improve it for one who much honoureth you, & whom, I know, you love. Pray fervently for a right principle, & some, be it but a little, sense of the love of Christ, *etc.* I have not said this much to anyone, except, perhaps, to my dear wife, who holds her integrity, & grows apace.

I must now conclude; acquainting only with the severity of the Parliament against Toleration, in their debate yesterday, Feb. 25, concerning his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty. It is said, they sent, to give his Majesty Thanks for his adherence to the Act of Indemnity, & Act of Uniformity, & protestation against Popery, humbly petitioning against Toleration.

I heard, that one should say, There were 2000 fanatic Ministers in the Land, who must needs therefore have very many adherents, which would prove very dangerous to the peace both of Church & State— That if nettles be gently handled they will sting; *etc.*

What you think meet, you may communicate to our dear friends & brethren with you; That, newly before expressed, touching my own state, especially inward, you may conceal it, excepting you think it may advantage me, as to the prayers of such as you shall judge wise, *etc.*

I hear that your beloved son, Mr. John Davenport, hath changed his condition. I have often begged the blessing of God upon it. Part of this fore-noon I spent with Mr. Winthrop⁵⁶, Major Thomson⁵⁷ (who hath bought Mr. Whitfield's house & land at Guildford) also Captain Scott⁵⁸ of Long Island, & Mr. Nath: Whitefield; in debating the business of your Colony. They all came, unlooked for, or undesired of me, to the place of my present abode, about this matter; I desired to be spared, but upon entreaty, was willing to hear what could be said on the one side, or other, and what might conduce to a comfortable accommodation, that you might enjoy your former Liberties in Church & Commonwealth; which (as things are now like to go with you) are in danger to be utterly lost. Mr. Winthrop apologizeth for himself, That it was not his Intention,

⁵⁶ John Winthrop, the younger, (1606-1676), came to England in 1662 to obtain a charter for Connecticut, sealed 10th May, 1662. The crux of the matter was the inclusion of New Haven, referred to above.

⁵⁷ Major Robert Thompson purchased from Henry Whitefield, minister, Guildford, Conn., who returned to England in 1651, his property in Guildford, including the famous "stone-house" built in 1639—one of the oldest buildings in New England now standing (Waters, *Gleanings*, 66). Thompson gave letters for New England to Wilson at the same time as Hooke, but hearing there was to be a search he withdrew them again (*C.S.P.D. Car.* ii., 72, 16). For Thompson's will (*P.C.C.* 14th April, 1691) see Waters, 65.

⁵⁸ John Scott, a disreputable adventurer, see *D.N.B.*

you should have been thus dealt with by his neighbours at Connecticut, nor that your Liberties should have been the least infringed, & that it is his desire, that yet you may enjoy them as much to the full as you ever did. It was desired of him by us all, That he would at this time, by the 1st. write to Connecticut, & make known as much to them, and that whereas they betrusted him as their Agent, to act for them, it was meet they should be advised by him & not cross his former promises & resolutions on your behalf. Though he saith that Mr. Leete⁵⁹ came up to him to Connecticut, before he came away, desiring him to take in your Colony with theirs on the River. I hope you will not rest, till he hath done his best to set you by yourselves, & so procure your settlement upon your 1st foundation. Rev^d Sir! you will bear with my prolixity. I most humbly salute you, as also very much honoured M^{rs}. Davenport, with Mr. John Davenport & his Consort, the daughter (as I hear) of my very good friends. The God of Abraham give you to see his blessing upon the State your only & beloved son is entered into. I have many more among you to be saluted also by me, particularly Mr. Jones, & M^{rs}. Jones, Mr. Gilbert⁶⁰, my dear brother, your colleague, to whom I shall not write at present. His, from Boston, I received. I cannot mention every one, I heartily love them all both collectively and distributively. The God of peace be with you all, & steer your course for you in this dark hour, through winds & waves of opposition, & give me (the meanest of all, if anything) to meet you at the Haven of eternal rest in an infinitely better world. Amen.

March. 2^d. 1663. Yours very greatly obliged, much honouring, & intimately loving you, *etc.*

I pray, salute my Relations you mentioned in one of your last, & acquaint them with as much of this as you think fit. Tell them our friends here are well.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

⁵⁹ William Leete, governor New Haven, 1661-5 (Savage, *Gen. Dict.*).

⁶⁰ Perhaps Thomas Gilbert, ejected Ealing 1660, buried Charlestown 28th October, 1673. (*D.N.B.*)

An Eighteenth Century Ordination Certificate.

In the minister's vestry of Clapton Park Congregational Church, London, there has hung for many years the translation of an ordination certificate of a minister of the Old Gravel Pit Chapel, from which Clapton Park sprang. The translation was made by Mr. C. E. B. Reed, son of Sir Charles Reed, a member of the Church, and chairman of the London School Board. The certificate looked interesting enough to copy, and when it was taken down one was delighted to find the original on the other side. It is here transcribed, and the translation given. Latinists may amuse themselves by noticing where they can improve on Mr. Reed's rendering.

ALBERT PEEL.

THE ORIGINAL CERTIFICATE

of the Ordination of the Revd. George Smyth as Pastor at the
O.G. Pit Chapel.

Presented by Mr. Charles Reed.

Nos infra-scripti Ecclesiarum Pastores et S. S. Evangelii Ministri, omnes hasce literas lecturos certiores facimus ; D. Georgium Smyth, in Academia Glascoensi liberalium Artium Magistrum, post studiorum Academicorum curriculum, primo Londini, deinde Glascoie, postremo Lugduni Batavorum feliciter emensum, et solennem ad munus pastorale (in vico vulgo vocato Hackney) vocationem ; multis etiam Eruditionis ; pietatis, vitæque ad Evangelii regulam formatæ, ut et ad docendum aptitudinis et concionandi per gratæ *praxeôs* iudiciis nixam ; a Nobis cum precibus Jejunis ac manuum Impositione ad præfatum munus pastorale hodie separatum et presbyterum rite ordinatum fuisse : cujus id circo sacras literas in publicis Christianorum coetibus docendi, Evangelii Sacramenta administrandi et Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam exercendi, (juxta Ecclesiæ primævæ et ad illius normam Reformatæ ordinem) potestatem unanimiter comprobavimus, Fraternitatis denique dexteram dedimus. Quapropter ipsum omnibus Ecclesiarum pastoribus et fidelibus cunctis, præsertim fratribus nostris in dicto vico, ut legitimum verbi Divini Ministrum ex animo commendamus ; illique ejusque piis in Domini Jesu

Eighteenth Century Ordination Certificate 285

Christi vinea laboribus uberem Jehovahæ benedictionem ardentibus adprecamur votis.

GULIELMUS LORIMER
EDM. CALAMY, S.T.P.
JOSH. OLDFIELD, S.T.P.
B. ROBINSON
JOH. EVANS

JEREAH. SMITH
S.[?] BROWNE
W. TONG
THO. REYNOLDS
W. HARRIS
DANIEL MAYO.

Datum Londini XIV Kal. Januarii,
Anno Æræ Christianæ MDCCXVI.

Certificate of the Ordination of the Revd. George Smyth,
Pastor at the Old Gravel Pit Chapel—translated from
the original document by Mr. Charles E. B. Reed.

We the undersigned Pastors of Churches and Ministers of the Most Holy Gospel do certify all who shall read this letter:—that Mr. George Smyth, Master of Arts in the University of Glasgow, after completing the curriculum of academical studies, first at London, next at Glasgow, lastly at Leyden in Holland, and after the usual call to the pastoral office (in the hamlet commonly called Hackney)—a call supported moreover by many proofs of scholarship, piety and a life conformed to the rule of the Gospel, no less than of aptness for teaching, and a highly acceptable style of preaching;—has been this day with prayers, fasting and laying on of hands, set apart by us to the aforesaid pastoral office, and duly ordained presbyter; whose authority therefore for teaching the Holy Scriptures in the public assemblies of Christians, of administering the Sacraments of the Gospel and of exercising ecclesiastical discipline (in accordance with the order of the early Church and the model of the Church Reformed) we have unanimously approved and further have given him the right hand of brotherhood. Wherefore we heartily recommend the above to all pastors of Churches and the whole of the faithful, especially to our brethren in the said hamlet, as a legitimate minister of the Divine Word, and upon him and his pious labours in the vineyard of the Lord Jesus Christ, we invoke with fervent prayers, the fruitful blessing of Jehovah.

(Signed)

GULIELMUS LORIMER
EDM: CALAMY, S.T.P.
JOSH: OLDFIELD, S.T.P.
B. ROBINSON
JOH. EVANS

JEREAH. SMITH
S. BROWNE
W. TONG
THO: REYNOLDS
W. HARRIS
DANIEL MAYO

*London 14th January
in the year of the Christian Era*

1716

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHES. By C. Silvester Horne, M.A. With additional chapter (1903-1926) by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D., Cong. Union of England and Wales. 5s.

THE continued demand for this "vigorous and vivid" narrative, which has been out of print for some years, has been most happily met by this (the eleventh) issue, and we should not be surprised if its early triumphs (when six editions were put out in one year) were repeated. The book was one of the finest of many fine services rendered by Mr. Horne, and the needful additional chapter could not have been in more competent hands than those of Dr. Peel. In spite of the difficulty of lack of distance from the period he has given us a very just estimate of the last five and twenty years. After dealing with the decline of the political power of Nonconformity and the mitigation of dissenting asperity, he touches on such matters as Church union, religious and secular education, Welsh Disestablishment, theological and social activities, denominational problems, church extension and the effects of the war. He diagnoses our present discontents, but is not pessimistic, and indicates where our powers really lie.

I remember a sentence of Mr. Bernard Manning's in a *Congregational Quarterly* article which well sums up this matter: "Our Free Churches cannot go on living as a protest against injustices that have been removed and errors that are dying. Nonconformity must send out a positive note to-day in religion as it did yesterday in politics, and if it does this it will gather not less enthusiastic and even purer support than it gathered in the nineteenth century."

One or two brief notes may be added. On page 437 in the paragraph on projects for (Church) union in the British Commonwealth—the words "many" and "some" might well read "some" and "one." And the Presbyterian minority in Canada is not so small. Cheshunt College is not strictly Congregational; the Unitarian College at Manchester (p. 438) is still there—what is in Oxford is Manchester New College, previously in London. The name of Hope Moulton at least should be added (p. 442) to the list of Biblical scholars, and something should be said in particular of his Wesleyan Central Missions and of the Student Christian Movement. In the present edition the old plates have been used to enable the reprint to be issued cheaply, but I hope that in future a page will be given to the noting and correcting of the "minor slips" made by Mr. Horne: as a sound historian Dr. Peel must not go on propagating them.

In the Index "Increase Mathew" should be "Increase Mather." "Sedburgh" should be "Sedbergh," and the rather cryptic reference to "Harrison, Richard"—which looks like a good illustration of a marginal gloss creeping into his text—should be made clearer.

A. J. GRIEVE.

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