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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

A GOODLY number of members and friends gathered to hear Prof. F. M. Powicke at the Annual Meeting of the Society. The new Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford gave us a most interesting and useful talk on "The Use and Abuse of Historical Detail." Unfortunately he used no manuscript, and so those members of the Society who did not attend the meeting are made to suffer the penalty of not being able to read and profit by Prof. Powicke's counsel. Our thanks to our visitor were expressed by Mr. B. L. Manning and the Rev. A. G. Matthews, and also by Dr. Alexander Gordon, the veteran scholar and exemplary biographer whom we are always glad to welcome.

A greeting was sent to our beloved ex-Secretary, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, and the balance-sheet, printed within, was adopted. In place of Mr. Pierce, Dr. A. J. Grieve, the Principal of Lancashire Independent College, was elected President. Dr. Grieve has been a loyal and zealous member of the Society from its foundation, and well deserves the honour accorded him. The other officers, Mr. R. H. Muddiman, Treasurer, the Rev. R. G. Martin, M.A., Secretary, and Dr. Peel, Editor, were thanked for their services and re-elected.

* * * *

There is to be no ordinary meeting of the society at Norwich in October, but instead every member is asked to do his utmost to make the Historical Exhibition of Puritan Manuscripts and Relics a huge success. We have the advantage of efficient co-operation and oversight at Norwich, as Mr. Basil Cozens-Hardy, who is Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, is in charge of the exhibition. He is having the assistance of the Rev. R. E. F. Peill, M.A., of the Old Meeting, and Mr. B. H. Barber, J.P. All information about relics (manuscripts or otherwise) should be sent to Mr. Cozens-Hardy, 16, Albemarle Road, Norwich. There will probably be no difficulty in securing an ample supply of documentary material, but other objects may not be so easily obtainable. They should date from before 1800, though specially interesting exhibits of a later date will be welcomed, being of peculiar interest to Congregationalists. *Will every member of the Society loan what he can and prevail upon his friends to do likewise?*

All loans will be carefully guarded and returned as the lender may direct.

The exhibition will be in Suckling Hall, in the very centre of the meetings area, and will be open from 10.0 to 6.0 each day, and on Tuesday, October 8th, at 12.15, Mr. Cozens-Hardy hopes to give a short talk on the exhibits.

* * * * *

The list of members of the Society printed in this issue shows the great need there is for publicity in regard to the Society. How many ex-Chairmen of the Congregational Union of England and Wales appear in the list? How many moderators? How many ministers? It should be possible, if all members would lend a hand, to lift the membership of the Society to 1,000 within twelve months. The Centenary of the Union is to be celebrated in 1931. Can we not celebrate it by securing for our Society for the first time an adequate place in the thought and life of the denomination?

SUMMARISED ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS, 1928.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£.	s.	d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£.	s.	d.
Jan. 1.							
To Balance forward				Printing <i>Transactions</i>	46	15	9
Dec. 31st, 1927 ..	53	5	6	Postages, &c. ..	1	15	0
Subscriptions, 1928 ..	34	8	0	Hire of Hall for			
Arrears	10	12	6	Annual Meeting, &c.	1	9	3
Subscriptions in Advance	2	4	5	Donation to Friends'			
Sale of <i>Transactions</i> ..	1	11	0	Historical Society		5	0
				Editorial and Secre-			
				tarial Expenses ..		15	8
				Printing Subscription			
				Leaflets		12	0
				Record Cards for			
				Index		14	4
				Balance in hand,			
				31/12/28	49	14	5
	£102 1 5				£102 1 5		

Audited and found correct,

CYRIL LEE DAVIS,

20th March, 1929.

Hon. Auditor.

Dale of Birmingham

I SUPPOSE there is nothing to which Dr. Dale would have objected more vehemently than to be described as an "eminent Victorian"; and yet he was one of a large band of outstanding men who definitely impressed a whole generation with their gifts of mind or character or leadership. It may seem to those of us who can look back to the 70's and 80's of the last century that there are few figures now before the public who will in fifty years' time be as well remembered as are such names as those of Gladstone, Bright, Disraeli, Tennyson, Browning, Carlyle, Ruskin, Huxley, Tyndall, Darwin, Irving, Newman, Spurgeon, and Spencer.

To Congregationalists one name towers above his contemporaries, and if I dare sum up in a sentence those qualities which the name of Robert William Dale suggest, I would say that I recall him as a leader of extraordinary vigour, learning, and courage, whose strenuous life of public service was rooted in his profound religious convictions.

This year is the centenary of his birth, which took place on December 1st, 1829, in London. The number of those who were privileged to know him as a friend and minister and fellow-citizen is now sadly diminished, and, as one of them, I have been asked to draw upon my personal recollections. It is probable that there are others who could claim a longer and closer association with him, but none honours his memory more deeply. My observation of Dale began in my own home. My father, Frederick Keep, was one of a group who left Carrs Lane about 1856 to form the nucleus of the Congregational Church at Francis Road, Edgbaston, which had been built to celebrate the jubilee of John Angell James. Thus I was not brought up at Carrs Lane, and the very few visits I paid as a child to that historic sanctuary are only reminiscent of straight-backed, narrow-seated pews from whose cavernous depths I listened to apparently unending sermons. I rather think my father's profound admiration for Dale was tempered with some secret awe of a learning which hardly suited his own simple evangelical faith. Every year in connection with the local anniversary meetings of the London Missionary Society it was his custom to invite the deputation of missionaries to meet the Congregational ministers of Birmingham at a mid-day dinner framed on those substantial lines which found more favour sixty years

ago than they would to-day ! As a small boy of tender years I was allowed to come into the dining-room at the dessert stage, and I retain a vivid recollection of Dale as the centre of the party. In those days wine was not taboo to Nonconformist ministers or deacons, and Dale had a generous appreciation of the good things of the table. Over the port conversation flowed freely and I remember quite well the deference that was paid to the talk of the rather loud-voiced man with a black bushy beard and swarthy complexion who dominated the conversation. Dominating but not domineering is rather an apt description of his influence through all his life. He was a natural leader of men, conscious of his power, but not abusing it. I think that, like Viscount Haldane, who has let us see the springs of success in his own crowded life, Dale set himself to master the first principles of whatever subject he was interested in, and on that solid foundation he could then speak with authority, illuminating his reflections with the light gained from his wide knowledge of men and affairs.

To see Dale in the streets of Birmingham was itself a revelation of much of his character. He favoured a square-shaped "bowler" hat, which suited his sturdy, thick-set figure, as, grasping umbrella or stick, he strode somewhat aggressively about his business. But brusque as he could be at times, and never suffering fools gladly, he was tender and affectionate in the homes of his people. Those who can speak from experience all testify to the grace and comfort he brought into the chambers of illness or affliction.

Another characteristic often commented upon was his business acumen. Men have told me that he was as acute in getting to the heart of a business problem as he was in diagnosing a religious difficulty. Perhaps "sanity" is the word that hits off this side of his ministration most appropriately.

Somewhere about 1890 a young fellow who felt the world falling about his ears and was terribly oppressed by the sense of some lapse of conduct sought Dale's advice. He was received with the utmost kindness in that tobacco-perfumed and book-crowded study which was known to so many visitors. After hearing very patiently his confidant's confession of his trouble Dale's comment was, "Ah, I see you have been badly hipped"; then, after a few words of common-sense advice, he abruptly turned the conversation into healthy and less morbid channels with the words, "Now, tell me, what books have you been reading lately!". This was followed by an invitation to stay to supper, and, in the light of that wise man's knowledge

of the world and the human heart, an interview that was anticipated with fear and trembling as an occasion when doom for sins, real or imaginary, would be pronounced, was turned into a renaissance of self-respect and healthy pride.

Dale retained amidst all the crowded years of his life a keen memory for persons and old associations. My last interview with him was a call on him at his cottage at Llanbedr in 1894. He was in failing health but he received me affectionately and took real pleasure in questioning me about family affairs and memories of bygone years.

But whilst his own people knew and loved him as a devoted pastor and inspiring teacher, thousands of citizens only came into touch with him as a politician. Birmingham in those days was, to use Bright's graphic phrase, "as liberal as the sea is salt." The "Tories" were in a perfectly hopeless minority, but up to the sixties they controlled public affairs to an extent out of all proportion to their numbers or deserts. Dale was at the centre of a group of progressives who reversed all the back-stair and reactionary policy of the past. In civic administration and in education they sought to place the responsibility on the citizens themselves, and they set an example by devoting themselves ungrudgingly to public affairs, not even shirking the tedious drudgery of ward meetings.

Chamberlain, Vince, and Dawson are the names usually linked with Dale's in this crusade, but the infection of their zeal spread into all ranks, and credit for the great advances that Birmingham made should be shared by hosts of citizens whose ambition it was to serve their town faithfully and to make it a worthy and beautiful place in which to live. And so I remember that no great public meeting in the Town Hall was complete unless Dale was on the platform. His reception by the audience was as fervid as that accorded to the three local Members of Parliament. Of these Muntz was no speaker, but Bright, though his greatest days were then over, moved us strangely with his silvery eloquence and deep feeling: Chamberlain's perfect lucidity and his incisive attacks on reactionary Toryism roused us to frenzied enthusiasm: but when Dale rose, his stately diction and lofty moral appeal seemed to lift the meeting to the level of a religious ceremony. Where Birmingham Liberalism might have led the nation if that apple of discord, Gladstonian Home Rule, had not been thrown in, will always remain as food for sad speculation.

At a meeting at Carrs Lane in 1894 Dale himself quoted Bright's remark to P. H. Muntz—"I never see Dale rising

without thinking of the Church Militant." As citizen, politician, educational reformer, Dale laboured with might and main, bringing into all his work a glow of deep religious fervour, for he knew that this was no mean part of his ministry.

But naturally the most impressive memories of him are associated with his work at Carrs Lane.

For several years before I joined the Church there, I delighted to listen to him every Sunday evening, and so, in a material way, my earliest recollections of him in the pulpit are linked with the impressiveness that so often gathers round an evening service. In those days there was a gas lamp by the side of his reading desk and as the flame constantly flickered above its cylindrical glass shade Dale's hand moved out to adjust the tap, and this trivial image remains when I would that weightier matters found lodgment! But I can still hear the ringing tones of his voice and with very little imagination can come again under the spell of his oratory. He was not always inspired, and at times there was a metallic hardness about his voice that seemed to suit his subject. On the Sunday evening following a week in which I suffered a grievous loss by death I remember he chilled me to the marrow with a sermon from the text, "Let the dead bury their own dead"! But nearly always attention was riveted from the opening sentence till the great theme he was developing ended as the preacher left the desk and his notes upon it, and, grasping with both hands the rail of the platform, poured out his soul in an impassioned climax. After that came the long walk home with a friend, eagerly discussing the sermon whose echo still rang in our ears. Many of those sermons were topical in the best sense: there was no pandering to ephemeral popular tastes or fancies, and of course sensationalism was utterly unknown. But how often, for instance, have I heard him refer to "Mr. Matthew Arnold" and his panaceas of culture and morality! Or the names of Huxley, Spencer, Carlyle, and other contemporaries would emerge as he expounded some tremendous Christian doctrine whose implications found expression in the life and thought of the day. And then there were single phrases which haunt the memory and on each of which rested a whole structure of philosophy. "In Christ": that was in some ways at the root of all of his later teachings. His use of those two words revealed his sense of the awful mystery that lay at the heart of Christian redemption. "The eternal law of Righteousness" was to him an overpowering reality, though I suppose no part of his teaching has been subjected to severer criticism. "August" is a word that opens

a window into a soul that blazed with a sense of the majesty and holiness of God. "Flagrant sins" were far removed from those moral lapses frowned on by social convention. And, above all, who that heard can ever forget those prayers that began, I think, always with the invocation, "Almighty and everlasting God"? Dale had no place in his prayers for sentimental ascriptions to "Our elder Brother," and though he often prayed to God as "Our Heavenly Father," I do not think those words had quite the same content to Dale as they now suggest to a generation that has been nourished on "The Christ of History." How many times he began a sentence with the words, "I suppose . . ." and before he had finished it the hearer found that Dale's suppositions were really convictions based on profound learning and irradiated with far-reaching knowledge. I include in my mental picture of him a great strain of courage, and I think specially here of that modernistic outlook which fifty years ago was bound to antagonize a majority of evangelical Christians of any denomination. Dale did not gratuitously obtrude his conclusions in this respect, but he never shrank from declaring them when necessary and he never obscured his own convictions by affecting a false sympathy with so-called orthodoxy. I have in mind at the moment a bold, uncompromising sermon on Jonah which I heard about 1891. I recently came across an account of it that I had cut out of some paper, and it seemed to me to follow the same line of exposition that I have heard in the last twelve months. And in an exactly opposite direction Dale's courage was shown when he supported D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey on the platform at Bingley Hall. Moody, who was my father's guest at his first visit to Birmingham in 1875, was miles away from Dale in method and manner, but that great sober preacher was large-hearted enough to recognise that the American Evangelists were perfectly sincere in their efforts to rouse their generation to a sense of sin and the need of salvation. As an illustration of Dale's patience and sense of responsibility for each member of his Church I want to quote from a letter I had from him in 1891. Circumstances made it desirable to live a few miles outside the town, and Sunday communication with Carrs Lane involved a troublesome railway journey. I told Dr. Dale that I should have to absent myself a good deal from attendance at services. He read my note as tantamount to a resignation and wrote me as follows :

" . . . It is my impression that the depth, energy and

endurance of your religious life depend very much upon the amount of divine truth that you really appropriate and make your own, and that unless from year to year there is a constant enlargement in your knowledge of God, you will find that your sense of eternal things will become fainter and the personal authority of the Lord Jesus Christ less and less effective, your joy in the Christian redemption will gradually disappear and your faith itself may be in danger of being exhausted. No activity in good works will compensate for growth in the *knowledge* of God. A man that has an intellect must—if he is to live a Christian life—use it in religious thought and enrich it with the contents of the Christian revelation. Let me therefore earnestly entreat you to get time for serious religious reading and to use that time strenuously and devoutly.”

In conclusion, I think I can say that the aspects of Dale's life and teaching that impressed me most and have persisted as an influence through the years that have passed are as follows :—

First—his own broad human interests. Dale combined in an almost unique degree the characteristics of a great scholar, a great politician and social reformer, and a great saint. There was nothing at all incongruous in the association. All his gifts of mind and spirit were consecrated to the service of God, and there was no part of his strenuous life divorced from his religion.

Secondly—there was a massiveness about his preaching that gave his hearers an abiding sense of the intellectual appeal of Christianity. Certainly he was often hard to understand, but his great sermons were often printed and still stand the test of time. He simply compelled his hearers to think seriously about great subjects, and especially those identified with historic doctrines. But he always insisted that doctrine was a human attempt to state or explain some great fact of religious experience which would still remain a precious possession when the theories man had woven round it had ceased to command intellectual assent.

And thirdly—he gave to many of us a new sense of what the Incarnation really means. In words of incomparable solemnity he preached the glory of Christ the Saviour, Redeemer, and ever-living Advocate. But he insisted that it was this Jesus Christ who had sanctified by His participation every humdrum duty of our daily occupations. *The Laws of Christ for Common*

Life broke new ground for many a young fellow and prepared the way for later teaching that claims to find in Christ's reactions to the problems of His own day an indication of the Divine purpose for each one of us.

I have lived long enough to see how special emphasis is laid by a succession of great preachers on certain aspects of the Christian revelation. These phases of thought have all been invaluable contributions towards a full conception of the great varieties of our faith, but each in turn has led to some wider, or it may be to a more intense, view of the subject that has been stressed. And so, though at the time it may almost have seemed that the last word had been spoken, experience has confirmed that there is always more light and more truth to break forth from the divine word. Thus it has been with Robert William Dale, a teacher whose powerful personality won for him immense influence extending beyond his own day. The truths he contended for became part and parcel of the lives of his hearers and will persist to the end, though his arguments might no longer carry the same conviction to men and women separated from him by a whole generation.

“Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself :
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd ! to come,
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.”

H. F. KEEP.

The Rev. Richard Baxter's Relation to Oliver Cromwell

(Continued from page 227)

§ 46. "I shall for brevity overpass the particular mention of the Parliaments summoned by *Cromwell*; of their displeasing him by ravelling his Instrument, and other means; and of his rough and resolute dissolving them. One of the chief works which he did was the purging of the Ministry—of which I shall say somewhat more. And here I suppose the Reader to understand that the Synod of *Westminster* was dissolved with the Parliament; and, therefore, a Society of Ministers with some others, were chosen by *Cromwell* to sit at *Whitehall*, under the Name of *Triers*, who were mostly Independants, but some sober Presbyterians with them; and had power to try all that came for Institution or Induction and without their Approbation none were admitted. This Assembly of *Triers* examined themselves all that were able to come up to *London*; but if any were unable, or were of doubtful Qualifications between Worthy and Unworthy, they used to refer them to some Ministers in the County where they lived, and to approve them, if *they* approved them. And because this Assembly of *Triers* is most heavily accused and reproached by some Men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest Adversaries, as to their Opinions, and because I was known to disown their Power, insomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except a very few, whose Importunity and necessity moved *me* (they being such as for their Episcopal Judgment, or some such Cause, the *Triers* were like to have rejected). The truth is that though their Authority was null, and though some few over-busie and over-rigid Independants among them, were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in enquiring after Evidences of Sanctification in those whom they Examined, and somewhat too lax in their Admission of Unlearned and Erroneous Men, that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism; yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church. They saved many a Congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers—that sort of men that intended no more in the Ministry than to say a Sermon, as Readers say their Common Prayers, and so patch up a few good words together to take the People asleep with on *Sunday*, and all the rest of the Week go with them to the Ale-house, and harden them in their Sin; and that sort of Ministers that either preacht against a holy Life, or preacht as Men that never were acquainted with it; all those that used

the Ministry but as a Common Trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a Soul; all these they usually rejected, and in their stead admitted of any that were able serious Preachers, and lived a godly Life, of what tollerable Opinion soever they were. So that though they were many of them somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth Monarchy-men and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt, which they brought to the Church, that many thousands of Souls blest God for the faithful Ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward cast them out again."

§ 118. "To return from this Digression to the Proceedings of *Cromwell*, when he was made *Lord Protector*, he had the Policy not to detect and exasperate the Ministers and others that consented not to his Government (having seen what a stir the Engagement had before made); but he let Men live quietly, without putting any Oaths of Fidelity upon them: except his Parliaments, for those must not enter the House until they had sworn Fidelity to him. The Sectarian Party in his Army and elsewhere, he chiefly trusted to and pleased, till by the People's submission and quietness he thought himself well settled; and then he began to undermine them, and by degrees to work them out. And though he had so often spoken for the Anabaptists, now he findeth them so heady, and so much against any settled Government, and so set upon the promoting of their Way and Party, that he doth not only begin to blame their unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the People's Favour by suppressing them. In *Ireland* they were grown so high that the Soldiers were—many of them—re-baptized as the way to Preferment; and those that opposed them they crushed with much uncharitable Fierceness. To suppress these, he sent thither his Son, *Henry Cromwell*,⁸⁸ who so discountenanced the Anabaptists, as yet to deal civilly by them, repressing their Insolencies but not abusing them or dealing hardly with them; promoting the Work of the Gospel, and setting up good and sober Ministers; and dealing civilly with the Royalists, and obliging all: so that he was generally beloved, and well spoken of. And Major-General *Ludlow* who headed the Anabaptists in *Ireland*, was fain to draw in his head. In England *Cromwell* connived at his old Friend *Harrison*, while he made himself the Head of the Anabaptists and Fanaticks here, till he saw it would be an applauded acceptable thing to the Nation to suppress him, and then he doth it easily in a trice, and maketh him contemptible

⁸⁸ Henry Cromwell, 1628-1674. (See *D. N. B.*) He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from Sept., 1655, to June, 1660. His policy aimed "to substitute a settled civil government and to put an end to the influence of the Anabaptists who had hitherto monopolised the direction of the Government." (Firth, *Last Days of the Protectorate*, II. pp. 150-158.)

who but yesterday thought himself not much below him. The same he doth also as easily by *Lambert*,⁸⁹ and layeth him by."

Relevant here is Pt. II., § 50. "When *Cromwell's* Faction were making him Protector, they drew up a Thing which they called *The Government of England &c.* Therein they determined that all should have Liberty or free Exercise of their Religion, *who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ.* After this he called a Parliament, [Sept., 1654] which examined this Instrument of Government; and when they came to those words, the Orthodox Party affirmed, *That if they spake de re and not de nomine, Faith in God by Jesus Christ, could contain no less than the Fundamentals of Religion.* Whereupon it was purposed that all should have a due measure of Liberty who professed the *Fundamentals.* Hereupon the Committee appointed to that Business were required to nominate certain Divines to draw up *in terminis* the *Fundamentals of Religion*—to be as a Test in this Toleration. The Committee being about Fourteen, named every one his Man. The Lord *Broghill*⁹⁰ (after Earl of *Oreery* and Lord President of *Munster*, and one of His Majesty's Privy Council) named the Primate of *Ireland*, Archbishop *Usher.* When he (because of his Age and Unwillingness to wrangle with such men as were to join with him) had refused the Service, the Lord *Broghill* nominated me in his Stead. Whereupon I was sent for up to *London.* But before I came the rest had begun their Work, and drawn up some few of those Propositions which they called *Fundamentals.* The Men that I found there were, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Reyner*, Dr. *Cheynell*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Manton* and Mr. *Jacomb.*"

Baxter found himself at cross purposes with the Majority of the Conference, especially their chief spokesman, Dr. Owen, who proposed, *e.g.*, to make it a fundamental *That no Man could know God to Salvation by any other means than the Holy Scriptures.* For his part, Baxter urged "the Brethren" to offer the Parliament *the (Apostles')* "Creed, *Lord's Prayer* and *Decalogue* alone as our Essentials or Fundamentals," and then leave it with the Magistrate to judge or punish aberrations from these as they might arise. But he was overruled and (§ 56) "at last Twenty of their Propositions

⁸⁹ John Lambert (1610-1683). See article in *D.N.B.* and *Last Days of the Protectorate*, both by Firth.

⁹⁰ See *D.N.B.* After the execution of the King he came to London with the intention of crossing to the Continent to ask Charles for a commission in Ireland. How Cromwell surprised him by a personal visit and won him over is told by Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, Vol. I., p. 106. From that time he became one of Cromwell's most trusted supporters. Baxter's feeling about him is expressed in the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Apology for the Christian Religion* (1655), made up of sermons for the most part preached before Broghill during the visit to London mentioned in the text. For his singularly conciliatory policy and influence as Cromwell's representative in Scotland see Firth, *Last Days of the Protectorate*, II., 91 ff.

were printed for the Parliament. But the Parliament was dissolved (Jan. 22, 1655) and all came to nothing and that Labour was lost."

§ 57. "At this time the Lord *Broghill* and the Earl of *Warwick*⁹¹ brought me to Preach before *Cromwell* the Protector (which was the only time that ever I preached to him, save once long before, when he was an inferior Man among other Auditors). I knew not which way to provoke him better to his Duty than by preaching on I *Cor.* i, 10, against the Divisions and Distractions of the Church, and shewing how mischievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such Divisions for their own Ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the Church by its Divisions in a state of Weakness, lest it should be able to offend them; and to shew the necessity and Means of Union. But the plainness and nearness I heard was displeasing to him, and his Courtiers; but they put it up."

§ 58. "A while after *Cromwell* sent to speak with me! and when I came, in the presence only of three of his chief Men, he began a long and tedious Speech to me of God's Providence in the Change of the Government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad, in the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland &c.* When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him, it was too great Condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these Matters which were above me, but I told him that we took our Ancient Monarchy to be a Blessing, and not an Evil, to the Land; and humbly craved his Patience that I might ask him How *England* had ever forfeited that Blessing, and unto whom the Forfeiture was made? (I was fain to speak of the *Species* of Government only, for they had lately made it Treason by a Law to speak for the Person of the King.) Upon that Question he was awakened into some Passion, and told me it was no Forfeiture, but God had changed it as pleased him; and then he let fly at the Parliament (which thwarted him), and especially by name at four or five of those Members which were my chief Acquaintance; and I presumed to defend them against his Passion; and thus four or five hours were spent."

§ 59. "A few days after he sent for me again to hear my Judgment about Liberty of Conscience (which he pretended to be most zealous of) before almost all his Privy Council: where, after another slow tedious Speech of his, I told him a little of my Judgment. And when two of his Company had spun out a great deal more of the

⁹¹ Robert Rich, 1587-1658 (see *D.N.B.*) a candid friend but warm admirer of Cromwell. He bore the Sword of State at the Protector's second inauguration (June 26, 1657) and his grandson and heir married Cromwell's daughter Frances in Dec. of the same year. He has been claimed as a Presbyterian, but was quite as much an Independent. His constant association with the Pilgrim Fathers of New England at their first settlement cannot have been without its influence on him.

time, in such like tedious (but meer ignorant) Speeches, some four or five hours being spent, I told him that if he would be at the labour to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in writing in two Sheets, than in that way of Speaking in many days, and that I had a Paper on that Subject by me, written for a Friend, which if he would peruse, and allow for the change of the Person, he would know my Sense. He received the Paper after, but I scarce believe that he ever read it : for I saw that what he learned must be from himself, being more disposed to speak many hours than to hear one ; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself."

Part II. § 49. "And about the same time [Feb. 1655-6], while *Cromwell* professed to do all that he could for the equal promoting of Godliness and Peace, and the Magistrates Assistance greatly facilitating the Work of the Ministers, and many Ministers neglected their Duty because the Magistrate compelled not the People to submit to them, and some never administered the Lord's Supper because they thought nothing but Constraint by the Magistrate would enable them to do it aright ; and, on the other Extream, *Cromwell* himself, and such others, commonly gave out that they could not understand what the Magistrate had to do in Matters of Religion, and they thought that all Men should be left to their own Consciences, and that the Magistrate could not interpose but he should be ensnared in the Guilt of Persecution—I say, while these Extreams prevailed, upon the Discourses of some Independants I offered them a few Proposals suited to those Times, containing those few Duties by which a willing Magistrate might easily settle the Church in a safe and holy Peace, without incurring the guilt of Persecution or Profaneness or Licentiousness. But having no Correspondency with *Cromwell*, or any of his Council, they were never showed, or made use of any further, than for the perusal of him to whom I gave them (who being one of their Faction, I thought it possible he might have further improved them)."

Pt. I. § 144. "I come now to the End of *Cromwell's* Reign, who died (of a Fever) before he was aware. He escaped the Attempts of many that sought to have dispatched him sooner ; but he could not escape the strokes of God, when his appointed Time was come. (Though an Independant⁹² (as it is currently reported without any Contradiction that ever I heard of), praying for him, said, "*Lord, we ask not for his Life, for that we are sure of, but that he may serve thee better than ever he had done,*" to the dishonour of that Presumption which some men call a *particular Faith* ; i. e., a believing that they

⁹² The Independent alluded to is said to have been Dr. Thomas Goodwin. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, II. 43 :

"Dr. (Thomas) Goodwin, his creature and trencher-chaplain, used this expression in his prayer, during the time of his sickness, 'Lord we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery.'

shall receive whatever they ask, if they can but stedfastly believe that they shall receive it, though it be such as they have no other promise for, but that of *Hearing believing Prayers*, which they misunderstand.

Never man was higher extolled, and never man was baselier reported of, and vilified than this man. No (meer) man was *better* and *worse* spoken of than he according as Mens Interests led their Judgments. The Soldiers and Sectaries most highly magnified him, till he began to seek the Crown⁸³ and the Establishment of his Family; and then there were so many that would be Half-Kings themselves, that a King did seem intollerable to them. The Royalists abhorred him as a most perfidious Hypocrite; and the Presbyterians thought him little better, in his management of public matters.

If after so many others I may speak my Opinion of him, I think, that, having been a Prodigal in his Youth, and afterward changed to a zealous Religiousness, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his Life, till Prosperity and Success corrupted him. That, at his first entrance into the Wars, being but a Captain of Horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his Troop. These men were of greater understanding than common Soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the Importance and Consequence of the War; and, making not Money but that which they took for the Public Felicity to be their End, they were the more engaged to be valiant: for he that maketh Money his End, doth Esteem his Life above his Pay, and therefore is like enough to save it by flight when danger comes, if possibly he can; but he that maketh the Felicity of Church and State his End, esteemeth it above his Life and therefore will the sooner lay down his Life for it. And men of Parts and understanding know how to manage their business, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; their being many usually that fall in flight, for one that falls in valiant fight. These things it's probable *Cromwell* understood; and that none would be such engaged valiant men as the Religious. But yet I conjecture that at his first choosing such men into his Troop, it was the very Esteem and Love of Religious Men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those Disorders, Mutinies, Plunderings, and Grievances of the Country, which deboist men in Armies are commonly guilty of. By this means he indeed sped better than he expected.

Aires, Desborough, Berry, Evanson, and the rest of that Troop did prove so valiant, that, as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an Enemy. Hereupon, he got a Commission to

⁸³ Cromwell never sought the crown and felt no inclination to accept it when offered, except as a possible duty and benefit to the Commonwealth. See the whole of c. V. in Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*, II.

take some care of the Associated Counties, where he brought this Troop into a double Regiment of fourteen full Troops ; and all these as full of religious men as he could get. These having more than ordinary Wit and Resolution, had more than ordinary Success, first in *Lincolnshire*, and afterward in the Earl of *Manchester's* Army at *York Fight*. With their Successes the Hearts both of Captain and Soldiers secretly rise both in Pride and Expectation. And the familiarity of many honest erroneous Men (Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c.) withal began quickly to corrupt their Judgments. Hereupon *Cromwell's* general Religious Zeal giveth way to the power of that Ambition which still increaseth as his Successes do increase. Both Piety and Ambition concurred in his countenancing of all that he thought Godly of what Sect soever. Piety pleadeth for them as *Godly* and *Charity* as Men ; and Ambition secretly telleth him what use he might make of them. He meaneth well in all this at the beginning, and thinketh he doth all for the Safety of the Godly, and the Publick Good, but not without an Eye to himself.

When Successes had broken down all considerable Opposition, he was then in the face of his strongest Temptations, which conquered him when he had conquered others. He thought that he had hitherto done well both as to the *End* and *Means*, and God by the wonderful Blessing of his Providence had owned his endeavours, and it was none but God that had made him great. He thought that if the War was lawful the Victory was lawful ; and if it were lawful to fight against the King and conquer him, it was lawful to use him as a conquered Enemy, and a foolish thing to trust him when they had so provoked him (whereas indeed the Parliament professed neither to fight against him nor to conquer him). He thought that the Heart of the King was deep, and that he resolved upon Revenge, and that if he were King he would easily at one time or other accomplish it ; and that it was a dishonest thing of the Parliament to set men to fight for them against the King, and then to lay their Necks upon the block and be at his Mercy ; and that if that must be their Case, it was better to flatter or please him than to fight against him. He saw that the *Scots* and the Presbyterians in the Parliament, did by the Covenant and the Oath of Allegiance, find themselves bound to the Person and Family of the King, and that there was no hope of changing their minds in this. Hereupon, he joyned with that Party in the Parliament who were for the Cutting off the King, and trusting him no more. And consequently he joyned with them in raising the Independants to make a Faction in the Synod at *Westminster* and in the City ; and in strengthening the Sectaries in Army, City and Country, and in rendering the *Scots* and Ministers as odious as he could, to disable them from hindering the Change of Government. In the doing of all this (which *Distrust* and *Ambition* had persuaded him was well done) he thought it

lawful to use his Wits, to choose each Instrument, and suit each means unto its end ; and accordingly he daily employed himself, and modelled the Army, and disbanded all other Garrisons and Forces and Committees, which were like to have hindered his design. And, as he went on, though he yet resolved not what form the New Commonwealth should be molded into, yet he thought it but reasonable, that he should be the chief Person who had been chief in their Deliverance (for the Lord *Fairfax* he knew had but the Name). At last, as he thought it lawful to cut off the King, because he thought he was lawfully conquered, so he thought it lawful to fight against the *Scots* that would set him up ; and to pull down the Presbyterian Majority in the Parliament which would else, by restoring him, undo all which had cost them so much Blood and Treasure. And accordingly he conquered Scotland, and pulleth down the Parliament ; being the easlier perswaded that all this was lawful, because he had a secret Byas and Eye towards his own Exaltation. For he (and his Officers) thought, that when the King was gone a Government there must be ; and that no Man was so fit for it as he himself ; as best *deserving* it, and as having by his *Wit* and great *Interest* in the Army, the best sufficiency to manage it. Yea they thought that *God had called* them by *Successes* to Govern and take care of the Commonwealth, and of the Interest of all his People in the Land ; and that if they stood by and suffered the Parliament to do that which they thought was dangerous, it would be required at their hands, whom they thought God had made the Guardians of the Land. Having thus forced his Conscience to justifie all his Cause (the Cutting off the King, the setting up himself and his Adherents, the pulling down the Parliament and the *Scots*), he thinketh that the End being good and necessary, the necessary means cannot be bad. And accordingly he giveth his Interest and Cause leave to tell him, how far Sects shall be tollerated and commended, and how far not ; and how far the ministry shall be owned and supported, and how far not ; yea, and how far Professions, Promises and Vows shall be kept or broken. And, therefore, the Covenant he could not away with ; nor the Ministers, further than they yielded to his Ends, or did not openly resist them. He seemed exceeding open-hearted, by a familiar Rustick affected Carriage (especially to his Soldiers in sporting with them). But he thought Secrecy a Vertue, and Dissimulation no Vice, and Simulation, that is, in plain English a Lie, or Perfidiousness to be a tollerable Fault in a Case of Necessity : being of the same opinion with the Lord *Bacon* (who was not so Precise as Learned) That *the best Composition and Temperance is, to have openness in Fame and Opinion, Secresy in habit, Dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy* (*Essay* 6). Therefore he kept fair with all, saving his open or unreconcilable Enemies. He carried it with such Dissimulation that Anabaptists, Independants and Antinomians did all

think that he was one of them. But he never endeavoured to persuade the Presbyterians that he was one of them; but only that he would do them Justice, and Preserve them, and that he honoured their Worth and Piety: for he knew they were not so easily deceived. In a word, he did as our Prelates have done, begin low and rise higher in his Resolutions as his Condition rose; and the Promises which he made in his lower Condition he used, as the interest of his higher following Condition did require; and kept up as much Honesty and Godliness in the main as his Cause and Interest would allow (but there they left him). And his Name standeth as a monitory Monument, or Pillar, to Posterity to tell them the *instability* of Man in *strong Temptations*, if God leave him to himself; what *great Success and Victories* can do to lift up a Mind that once seemed humble; what *Pride* can do to make Man *selfish*, and corrupt the Heart with *ill designs*; what *selfishness and ill-designs* can do to bribe the Conscience and *corrupt the Judgment* and make men *justify* the greatest Errors and Sins, and set against the clearest Truth and Duty; what *Bloodshed* and great *Enormities of Life*, an Erring deluded Judgment may draw Men to, and patronize; and that, when God hath dreadful Judgments to execute, an Erroneous Sectary, or a proud Self-seeker is oftener his Instrument than an humble, Lamb-like, innocent Saint.⁹⁴

§ 145. "*Cromwell* being dead, his Son *Richard* by his *Will* and Testament, and the *Army* was quietly settled in his place.⁹⁵ While all men look'd that they should presently have fallen into confusion and Discord among themselves the Counties, Cities, and Corporations

⁹⁴ Could Baxter's distrust of Cromwell have outlived the evidence of his sincerity supplied by almost his last prayer? Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, II., p. 304.

"One who watched in his bedchamber heard him praying, and remarked that 'a public spirit to God's cause did breathe in him to the last.' For he prayed, not for himself or his family, but for Puritanism and all Puritans—for God's cause and God's people."

'Thou hast made me,' he said, 'though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and Thee service. And many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. But, Lord, however Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them. . . . Teach those who look too much upon Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure.'

It is very unlikely that the simple truth about Cromwell's last days ever came to Baxter's knowledge.

⁹⁵ Cp. *S.P.D.* (1658-9), p. 135. Sept. 9/19.— Admiralty Commissioners to Captain Stoakes, Commander of the Mediterranean Fleet.

" . . . It is an unspeakable mercy that in such a juncture, notwithstanding the several parties and interests among us, there should be a general acquiescence of spirit in this settlement, without opposition, and all remaining quiet."⁹⁶

of *England* send up their Congratulations to own him as Protector. (But none of us in *Worcestershire*, save the Independants meddled in it.) He interred his Father with great Pomp and Solemnity. He called a Parliament, and that without any such Restraints as his Father had used. The Members took the Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance to him at the Door of the House before they entered; and all Men wondered to see all so quiet in so dangerous a Time. Many sober Men that called his Father no better than a Trayterous Hypocrite, did begin to think that *they owed him Subjection*. They knew that the King was by Birth their Rightful Sovereign; and resolved to do their best while there was hopes to introduce him and defend him; but they were astonished at the marvellous Providences of God, which had been against that Family all along, and they thought that there was no rational probability of his Restoration, having seen so many Armies and Risings and Designs overthrown, which were raised or undertaken for it. They thought that it is not left to our liberty, whether we have a Government or not; but that *Government* is of Divine Appointment; and the Family Person or Species is but of a subservient, less necessary, Determination; and that if we cannot have him that we would have, it followeth not that we may be without: that twelve years time (from the Death of the last King) was longer than the Land could be without a Governour, without the Destruction of the Common Good, which is the End of Government! Therefore, that the Subjects, seeing they are unable to restore the King, must consent to another; that the House of Commons, having sworn Allegiance to him, have actually subjected the Nation to him; and, though his Father Trayterously made the change, yet the Successor of a Traytor may, by the People's consent, become a Governour, whom each Individual must acknowledge by Subjection; that the Bishops and Churches both of *East and West*, as all History sheweth, have professed their Subjection to Usurpers, in a far shorter time, and upon lighter Reasons; that this Man having never had any hand in the War (but supposed to be for the King) nor ever seeking for the Government, and now seeming to own the Sober Party, was like to be used in the healing of the Land &c.

Such Reasonings as these began to take with the minds of many, to subject themselves quietly to this Man (though they never did to his Father) as now despairing of the Restitution of the King; and I confess such Thoughts were somewhat prevalent with myself. But God quickly showed us the root of our Errour, which was our limiting the Almighty, as if that were hard to Him that was impossible to us; so that the Restoration of the King, which we thought next impossible, was accomplished in a trice. And we saw that twelve or eighteen years is not long enough to wait on God. The Army set up *Richard Cromwell*, it seemeth upon Tryal; resolving to use him as he behaved himself. And though they swore Fidelity

to him, they meant to keep it no longer than he pleased them ; and when they saw that he began to favour the sober People of the Land, to honour Parliaments, and to respect the Ministers whom they called Presbyterians, they presently resolved to make him know his Masters, and that it was *they* and not *he* that were called by God to be the chief Protectors of the Interest of the Nation. He was not so formidable to them as his Father was, and therefore everyone boldly spurned at him. The Fifth Monarchy Men followed Sir *Henry Vane*, and raised a great and violent clamorous Party against him among the Sectaries in the City. *Rogers* and *Feake* and such like Firebrands preach them into Fury and blow the Coales ; but Dr. *Owen* and his Assistants did the main work. He gathereth a Church at Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood's* Quarters, at *Wallinford* House, consisting of the active Officers of the Army (this Church-gathering hath been the Church-scattering Project). In this Assembly it was determined that *Richard's* Parliament must be dissolved ; and then he quickly fell himself. (Though he never abated their Liberties or their Greatness, yet he did not sufficiently befriend them.) *Dictum Factum* ; almost as quickly done as determined. Though Col. *Richard Ingolsby*, and some others, would have stuck to the Protector, and have ventured to surprise the Leaders of the Faction, and the Parliament would have been true to him, yet *Berry's* Regiment of Horse, and some others, were presently ready to have begun the Fray against him ; and as he sought not the Government, he was resolved it should cost no Blood to keep him in it, but if they would venture, on their Parts, on new Confusions, he would venture his Part by retiring to his Privacy. And so he did—to satisfie these proud distracted Tyrants who thought they did but pull down Tyranny—resign the Government by a Writing under his Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern as they pleased.

His good Brother-in-law, *Fleetwood*, and his Uncle *Desborough* were so intoxicated as to be the Leaders of the Conspiracy, and when they had pull'd him down, they set up a few of themselves under the Name of a Council of State ; and so mad were they with Pride as to think the Nation would stand by and reverence them, and obediently wait upon them in their drunken Giddiness ; and that their Faction in the Army was made by God an invincible Terror to all that did but hear their Names. The Care of the Business also was, that *Oliver* had once made *Fleetwood* believe that he should be his Successor,⁹⁸ and drawn an Instrument to that purpose ; but his last Will disappointed him. And then the Sectaries flattered

⁹⁸ There is nothing to show, nor any reason to believe, that *Oliver* ever thought of *Fleetwood* as his successor. " *Fleetwood's* political incapacity had been shown in Ireland, and the weakness of his character must have been well known to the Protector." *Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate*, II., p. 308. See this and pp. 302-5 for the facts about *Cromwell's* written and nuncupative will.

him, saying, that a truly Godly Man that had commanded them in the Wars was to be preferred before such an one as they censured to have no true Godliness."

§ 146. "I make no doubt but God permitted all this for Good ; and that as it was their Treason to set up *Oliver* and destroy the King, so it was their Duty to have set up the present King instead of *Richard* ; and God made them the means—to their own Destruction, contrary to their Intentions—to restore the Monarchy and Family which they had ruined. But all this is no Thanks to them ; but that which, with a good Intention, had been a Duty (to take down or not set up *Richard Cromwell*) yet, as done by them, was as barbarous Perfidiousness as most ever History did declare. That they should suddenly, so scornfully and proudly, pull down him whom they had so lately set up themselves and sworn to—and that for *nothing* ; they could scarce tell why themselves, not ever were able to give the World a fairer Reason for their Villainy (by any Fault they could charge upon him) than the *Munster* Fanaticks had to give for their *Bethlehem* outrages and Rebellion. That they should do this while a Parliament was sitting which had so many wise, religious Members ; not only without the Parliament's advice, but in despite of them, and force him to dissolve them first—as if Perjury and Rebellion were newly put into the Commandments ; or that God had made these proud Usurpers to be the Governors of Protector and of Parliaments, and exempted them wholly from the Precept, *Honour thy Father, Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*. That they should so proudly despise not only the Parliament, but all the Ministers of *London* and of the Land as to do this not only without advising with and against their Judgments, but in a factious Envy against them, lest they should be too much countenanced : yea, they did it against the Judgments of most of their own Party (the Independants), as they now profess themselves ; yea, Mr. *Nye*, that was then thought to be engaged in the same Design, doth utterly disclaim it, and profess that his Consent or Hand was never to it : but *Pride usually goeth before Destruction*."

§ 151. "When⁹⁷ the Army had brought themselves and the Nation

⁹⁷ The course of events recited by Baxter, rather confusedly, was as follows:—

¹ On April 22, 1659, the Protector, under pressure from the officers, dissolved Parliament ; and on May 25, under the same pressure, he resigned.

² On May 7, the Long Parliament (dismissed by Oliver on April 21, 1653) was reinstated by the officers ; and dissolved by them on Oct. 13.

³ Ten days later a Committee of Safety, nominated by the Council of Officers, superseded the Parliamentary Council of State.

⁴ Sir George Booth's rising had taken place before this, in August. Lambert marched against him with about 3,000 foot and 1,200 horse, and routed him on Aug. 23, at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich. There were gatherings of Cavaliers in Kent, Surrey, Gloucestershire, and Nottinghamshire ; but most of the King's party never stirred.

⁵ Lambert it was who acted for the Council of Officers in turning out the Rump ; but, as soon as General Monck in Scotland heard of the *coup d'état* he

into utter confusion, and had set up and pull'd down *Richard Cromwell*, and then had set up the *Rump* again, and pull'd them down again, and set up a *Council of State* of themselves and their Faction, and made *Lambert* their Head, next under *Fleetwood* (whom they could use almost as they would) at last the Nation would endure them no longer, nor sit still while the world stood laughing them to scorn, as acting over the *Munster Tragedy*. *Sir George Booth* and *Sir Thomas Middleton* raised Forces in *Cheshire* and *North-Wales* [but the Cavaliers that should have joynd with them failed them almost all over the Land; a few rose in some places, but were quickly ruined and came to nothing]. *Lambert* quickly routed those in *Cheshire*. *Sir Arthur Haselrigge* with *Col. Morley* get into *Portsmouth*, which is possessed as for the *Rump*. *Monk* declareth against them in *Scotland*, purgeth his Army of the Anabaptists, and marcheth into *England*. The *Rump* Party with *Haselrigge* divided the Army at home, and so disabled them to oppose *Monk*, who marcheth on, and all are afraid of him; and while he declareth himself against Monarchy for a Commonwealth, he tieth the hands of his Enemies by a lie, and uniteth with the City of *London*, and bringeth on again the old ejected Members of the Parliament, and so bringeth in the King. *Sir William Morrice* (his Kinsman) and *Mr. Clarges* were his great Advisers; the Earl of *Manchester*, Mr.

wrote to Mr. Speaker Lenthall announcing his resolve "to stand by and assist the liberty and authority of Parliament."

⁶ On Dec. 3 Walton, Morlay and Heselrige persuaded Nathaniel Whetham, the Governor of Portsmouth, to admit them into that stronghold; declared for the Restoration of the Parliament; and began to gather troops to effect it.

⁷ On Dec. 8, Monk established his headquarters at Coldstream, where he brought together about 6,000 foot and 1,800 horse. Lambert's army melted away, as the men had no heart in their cause.

⁸ On Dec. 26 the Rump reassembled, only 36 members being present.

⁹ On Feb. 3, 1660, Monk entered London with 5,600 men; and at first protested his devotion to the Republic. "We must live and die for and with a Commonwealth," were his words (Feb. 6).

¹⁰ On Feb. 11, Monk sent a letter to Parliament in the name of himself and his officers to insist "that you issue writs for filling up the vacant seats within the next six days; and that you punctually dissolve by May 6, as you promised to do."

¹¹ On Feb. 18, a Bill for filling up the House was passed, and the writs ordered to be issued.

¹² On Feb. 21, some 73 members (secluded from the House of Commons by "Pride's purge" on Dec. 6, 1648) returned; and others followed, so that the total number sitting there rose finally to 150.

¹³ On March 16, "after many sad pangs and groans," the Long Parliament at last dissolved itself.

¹⁴ On April 25, the new House of Commons (known as the Convention) met and, countenanced by Monk, set aside the scheme of the Council of State—which he had seemed to approve—for imposing upon Charles "stringent conditions," before inviting him to return.

¹⁵ On May 1, both Houses received the King's declaration from Breda "with enthusiasm," and on May 8 he was publicly proclaimed.

¹⁶ On May 29 Charles entered London.

Calamy, and other Presbyterians encouraged and perswaded him to bring in the King. At first he joyned with the Rump against the Citizens, and pull'd down the City Gates to master them ; but at last Sir *Thomas Allen* then Lord Mayor (by the perswasion of Dr. *Jacomb*, and some other Presbyterian ministers and Citizens, as he hath oft told me himself) invited *Monk* into the City, and drew him to agree and joyn with them against the Rump (as they then called the Relicts of the Parliament). And this in truth was the Act that turned the Scales and brought in the King. Whether the same men expected to be used as they have since been themselves, I know not: if they did, their Self denial was very great, who were content to be silenced and laid in Gaols, so they might but bring in the King. After this the old Excluded Members of the Parliament meet with *Monk*. He calleth them to sit ; and—that the King might come in both by him and by them—He agreeth with them to sit but a few days, and then dissolve themselves and call another Parliament. They consented, and prepared for the King's Restoration, and appointed a Council of State, and Dissolved themselves. Another Parliament is chosen which calleth in the King, the Council of State having made further preparations for it. (For when the Question was, whether they should call in the King upon Treaty and Covenant—which some thought best for him and the Nation—the Council resolved absolutely to trust him, Mr. *A.* especially perswading them so to do.) And when the King came in, Col. *Birch* and Mr. *Prin* were appointed to Disband the Army, the several Regiments receiving their Pay in several places, and none of them daring to disobey : no, not *Monk's* own Regiments who brought in the King. Thus did God do a more wonderful Work in the Dissolving of this Army than any of their greatest Victories was, which set them up. That an Army that had conquered three such Kingdoms, and brought so many Armies to destruction, cut off the King, pull'd down the Parliament, and set up and pull'd down others at their pleasure ; that had conquered so many Cities and Castles ; that were so united by Principles and Interest and Guilt, and so deeply engaged—as much as their Estates and Honour and Lives came to—to have stood it out to the very utmost ; that had professed so much of their Wisdom and Religiousness, and had declared such high Resolutions against Monarchy : I say that such an Army should have one Commander among them, whom they accounted not Religious, that should march against them without Resistance, and that they should all stand still, and let him come on, and restore the Parliament, and bring in the King, and disband themselves, and all this without one bloody Nose ! Let any Man that hath the use of his Understanding, judge whether this were not enough to prove that there is a God that governeth the World, and disposeth of the Powers of the World according to his Will ! And let all Men behold this Pillar of Salt and standing,

Monument of Divine Revenge, and take heed of over valuing Human Strength, and of ever being puffed up by Victories and Success, or of being infatuated by Spiritual Pride and Faction! And let all Men take warning how they trample upon Government, rebel against it, or vilifie the Ministers and Ordinances of Christ, and proudly despise the Warnings of their Brethren."

As complementary to the foregoing, which Baxter wrote in 1664, may be quoted what he wrote further in 1665 :—

R. B., Pt. II, p. 206-7.

§ 65. "When *Oliver Cromwell* was dead and his son almost as soon pull'd down as set up . . . the Anabaptists grew insolent, in *England* and *Ireland*; and joining with their Brethren in the Army, were everywhere put in Power; and those of them that before lived in some seeming Friendliness near me at *Bewdley*, began now to shew that they remembered all their former Provocations (by my publick disputation with Mr. *Tombes*,⁹⁸ and writing against them, and hindering their increase in those parts). And though they were not much above twenty (Men and Women) near us, they talk'd as if they had been Lords of the World. And when Sir *Henry Vane* was in Power⁹⁹ and forming his Draught of a (not Free but) Fanatick Commonwealth, and Sir *George Booth's* Rising was near, and the look't for Opposition, they laid wait upon the Road for my Letters, and intercepting one written to Major *Beake* of *Coventry*, they sent it up to Sir *Henry Vane* to *London*, who found it so warily written, though himself was mentioned in it, that he could have nothing against it; yet sent he for Major *Beake* to *London*, and put him to answer it at the Committee, where, by examination they sought to have made something of it. But after many Threatenings they dismissed him. This was the Anabaptists Fidelity."

§ 66. "The People then were so apprehensive of approaching Misery and Confusion while the Fanaticks were Lords, and *Vane* ruled in the State and *Lambert* in the Army, and Fifth-Monarchy Men (as they called the Millenaries) and Seekers and Anabaptists were their chief Strength, that the King's old Party (called then the Cavaliers) and the Parliaments Party (called the Presbyterians) did secretly combine in many parts of the Land to rise all at once and suppress these insolent Usurpers and bring in the King. Sir *Ralph Clair*¹⁰⁰ of *Kiderminster*, acquainted me with the intended Rising—

⁹⁸ John Tombes, B.D., 1603 ?-1676 (*D.N.B.*), with whom Baxter had a famous debate in the church at Bewdley on Jan. 1, 1651.

⁹⁹ From the restoration of the Rump (May 7, 1659) to Jan. 9, 1660 (allowing for the interval of its suspension, Oct. 23-Dec. 26), when "he was expelled from the House and ordered to repair to Raby," his Norfolk seat.

¹⁰⁰ Sir Ralph Clare, resident at Caldwell Hall, close by the town. A staunch Royalist and High Churchman, but Baxter's professed friend.

the Issue of which was that—the Cavaliers failing, except a few at *Salisbury*, who were suddenly disperst or taken—Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Tho. Middleton*, two old Commanders for the Parliament, drew together an Army of about 5,000 Men and took *Chester*; and, there being no other to divert him *Lambert* came against them, and, some Independants and Anabaptists of the Country joining with him, his old Souldiers quickly routed them, and Sir *George Booth* was afterwards taken and imprisoned. . . .”

§ 67. “Shortly after this, when Sir *George Booth*’s Rising failed, Major General *Monk* in *Scotland*, with his Army, grew so sensible of the Insolencies of *Vane* and *Lambert* and the Fanaticks in England and Ireland who set up and pull’d down Governments as boldly as if they were making a Lord of a May game, and were grasping all the Power into their own Hands; so that he presently secured the Anabaptists of his Army, and agreed with the rest, to resist the Usurpers, who would have *England* the Scorn of all the World. At first when he drew near to England, he declared for a Free Commonwealth. When he came in, *Lambert* marched against him, but his Soldiers forsaking him, and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* getting *Portsmouth*, and Col. *Morley* strengthening him, and Major General *Berry*’s Regiment, which went to block it up, revolting to them, the Clouds rose everywhere at once, and *Lambert* could make no resistance; but instead of fighting they were fain to treat. And while *Monk* held them Treating, his Reputation increased, and theirs abated, and their Hearts failed them, and their Soldiers fell off, and General *Monk* consulted with his Friends, what to do! Many Countries (counties) sent Letters of Thanks and Encouragement to him. Mr. *Tho. Bampffield* was sent by the Gentlemen of the West; and other Countreys did the like; so that *Monk* came on, but still declaring for a Commonwealth against Monarchy: Till at last, when he saw all ripened thereto, he declared for the King. The chief Men (as far as I can learn) that turned his Resolution to bring in the King, were Mr. *Clarges*,¹⁰¹ and Sir *William Morrice*¹⁰¹, his Kinsman, and the Petitions, and Affections of the City of *London*, principally moved by Mr. *Calamy*¹⁰² and Mr. *Ash*,

¹⁰¹ Sir William Morrice, 1602-1676 (*D.N.B.*), knighted by Charles on his landing at Dover. Sir Thomas Clarges, d. 1695, (*D.N.B.*), commonly referred to as Dr. Clarges, was commissioned to convey to Charles the Parliament’s invitation to return; and was knighted by him as soon as he had read the message at Breda. Both were related to Monk, the former through Monk’s wife, the latter through his sister Anne, who married Monk.

¹⁰² Edmund Calamy, the elder (1600-1666).

Simeon Ashe (d. Aug. 23, 1660).

William Bates (1623-1699).

Thomas Manton (1620-1677).

Thomas Jacombe (1622-1687).

Baxter does not name himself because he took no formal part, but his actual influence was the most weighty of all.

two ancient, leading, able Ministers (with Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and other ministers of *London* who concurred). And these were encouraged by the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Hollis*, the (late) Earl of *Anglesey*, and many of the (then) Council of State. And the Members of the old Parliament that had been formerly ejected, being recalled, did Dissolve themselves and appoint the calling of a Parliament which might Recall the King. When General *Monk* first came into *England*, most Men rejected [rejoiced ?], in hope to be delivered from the Usurpation of the Fanaticks (Anabaptists, Seekers &c.), and I was myself so much affected with the strange Providence of God that I procured the Ministers to agree upon a Publick Thanksgiving to God. And I think all the Victories which that Army obtained were not more wonderful than their Fall was, when Pride and Error had prepared them for it. It seemed wonderful to me, that an Army that had got so many great and marvellous Victories, and thought themselves unconquerable, and talkt of nothing but Dominion at home, and marching up to the Walls of *Rome*, should all be broken and brought into Subjection, and finally Disbanded, without one blow stricken or one drop of Blood Shed ! And that by so small a power as *Monk's* Army in the beginning was : so Eminent was the Hand of God in all this Change !”.

F. J. POWICKE.

A Congregational Church as seen in its Minutes.

Clapton Park, 1849-1929.

IN previous articles we have seen the formation of the Church in 1804 and its progress under the ministry of Dr. Pye Smith until 1849, the Rev. John Davies being co-pastor from 1846. A survey of the Church's records impresses one with the need for keeping full minutes of church meetings and for regular and frequent surveys of a Church's life and activity. Dr. Pye Smith's minutes, as we have seen, were full of information and interest. Mr. Davies begins by copying in a new book the entries during the three years of his co-pastorate, but his subsequent minutes, to the end of his ministry in 1867, are scanty indeed, consisting almost entirely of the names of those received into and transferred from the Church's fellowship. With the coming of Dr. Spence in 1868 not only did the minutes become fuller, but a Manual was issued every year : this gives much supplementary information.

Under Mr. Davies the growth of the Church seems to have been steady. From 1855 the names of the members seem to have been read publicly each year and a statistical report given. The total number of members is never stated, but the influx is generally greater than the efflux, those received by transfer from city and other churches being numerous. 1864 is said to have brought the largest increase—59 (36 of these being by transfer). Among those received was Samuel McAll, Professor at Hackney College, who was to render great service to the Church during vacancies in the pastorate. Names familiar to the present generation now become common in the minutes, among them Pye Smith, Reed, Child, Carter, Hardy. The one reference to the Sunday School concerns three persons accepted for church membership and reads : "The last three were Sunday School scholars happily transferred to the Church."

In 1866 Davies desired to retire and the Rev. Alfred Holborn, M.A., became assistant minister. On the pastor's retirement in 1867 there was a division of opinion as to whether Mr. Holborn should succeed him, and a considerable and apparently obstinate minority developed. Mr. Holborn declined to consider an invitation not unanimous : the Church's minute,

A Congregational Church

which merely gives the facts and figures, is described as "a succinct account of that which occasioned at the time much discussion and some anxiety, but all soon subsided into the Church's accustomed peace and unanimity."

The next pastor was Dr. James Spence, who had been finding his church in the Poultry a heavy burden and was glad to have a less strenuous charge. Among those who took part in his recognition were Allon and Binney. The first Manual of the Church (1868) shows 8 deacons, and Missions with City Missionaries at the Grove and Chapman Road. The chapel had three schools—Boys (160 scholars and 17 teachers under Mr. E. J. Carter), Girls (200 scholars and 23 teachers under Miss Rutt) and Infants (180 scholars and 6 teachers under Miss Esther Child). The Grove School had 270 scholars and 20 teachers, Chapman Road 168 scholars and 9 teachers, while the Missions had also Day Schools.

The financial summary for that year includes the following:—British Missions £100, Congregational Fund Board £120, London Missionary Society £340, City Missions, *etc.*, £163. Incidental expenses include £37 for the pew opener and £40 for the leader of psalmody.

It is clear that Dr. Spence's ministry was crucial in the history of the Church. People were pouring into the district, and his first year shows a net gain of 100 in membership (68 being received by transfer in that year and 57 in the following year). At the end of 1870 the number of members was 457. It was decided to erect a new chapel, and in July, 1869, the foundation stones of the present building were laid, among those taking part being Dr. McAll, Thomas Jones, and John Kennedy. The minutes under Dr. Spence's pastorate give the impression of wise and vigorous leadership and the seizing of a great opportunity. Spence urges that the system of pew rents is not in accordance with the spirit or principle of the New Testament. He states

"that as the agencies of the Church in connection with Sunday School effort were expanding and the expenditure increasing, it was desirable that there should be a little more direct and definite organization for this branch of the work of the Church,"

and

"it was therefore agreed that the Superintendents and Secretaries of the several schools and of the Ragged School be appointed to act with the Pastor and deacons of the church as a School Committee for the promotion of the general interests of the School and the

consideration and control of all financial matters connected with them."

The Ragged School mentioned had been opened in Hockley Street, Homerton, and was afterwards transferred to John Street.

There was serious discussion about having an organ in the new building and

"it was manifest that the vast majority were favourable to the introduction of an instrument to aid in the service of song," while we read

"The Psalmody Committee had prepared for use in the Chapel a brief selection of Bible psalms pointed for chanting with the *Te Deum* and the two Sanctuses already in use in the hope that they would add a little variety and interest to the public service of song."

Charles Reed, afterwards Sir Charles, M.P., and Chairman of the London School Board, is now taking a prominent part in the church's life, and bringing public questions to the fore, while Talbot Baines Reed joined the church at this time. £82 was raised for the sick and wounded in the Franco-Prussian War.

The pastor's health broke down and he was unable to preach in the new chapel. He had received 230 people into fellowship, and the sum of £900 presented to him shows, in some measure, the people's appreciation. The final services in the old chapel were conducted by two "children of the church" who were students for the Ministry—Mr. A. M. Carter, B.A., and Mr. C. E. B. Reed, B.A.—and on April 26th the first services were held in the present building. Among the ministers who took part in the opening series of services were McAll, Raleigh, Allon, Binney, Joshua Harrison, John Davies, and Baldwin Brown. The nature of the population at the time may be gathered from the occupation of the trustees of the new building:—

"silk manufacturer, solicitor, stock broker, ship broker, coal merchant, banker's clerk, surveyor, brewer's clerk, stock broker, stock broker, surgeon, medical student, member of parliament, coal merchant, gentleman, shipping and insurance broker, solicitor."

The final cost of the buildings was £21,294.

A vacant pastorate, a church throbbing with life and opportunity—how was the situation faced? The system of calling a new minister is interesting. The deacons confer with the heads of families before calling a church meeting; 37 are for and 5 against, a resolution, subsequently carried

A Congregational Church

by 114 to 14 at the church meeting and 158 to 6 at the statutory meeting, stating

“that the Church hereby choose the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., of Birmingham as its pastor and requests the deacons to invite him accordingly. The Chairman then declared that Mr. Dale was duly appointed pastor.”

Dale was sorely tempted by the invitation. He was staying at Grasmere, and met a deputation from the church at Windermere. But ultimately the pull of Birmingham was too strong, and he declined to come to Clapton Park.¹

In 1872 Dr. D. W. Simon also declined an invitation, but in November of that year the Rev. Samuel Hebditch of Bristol began his pastorate. At this time it is interesting to note that Dr. Robert Halley and his family are members of the church. The Old Gravel Pit is apparently still used for Sunday School purposes, but it is now resolved to extend the buildings at Clapton Park, the decision no doubt being accelerated by the fact that the London School Board desired the use of the Old Gravel Pit for a Day School on week-days, and the Rev. De Kewer Williams for worship on Sundays.

The minutes now become very scrappy, but the Manual enables us to see the activities of the church. Services are at 11 and 6.30 on Sundays and on Thursdays at 7; there is a monthly Young Men's Prayer Meeting on Sunday evenings; the Lord's Supper is celebrated on the First Sunday of the month in the morning and occasionally in the evening; the pastor has a children's Bible Class, and a ladies' Bible Class on alternate Sundays, while his wife takes a ladies' Bible class at her house on Sunday afternoons except on the first Sunday; the Young Men's Association meets on alternate Wednesdays for studying the Scriptures, discussion, conversation, and prayer. The deacons, who, by the way, seem always to have taken the devotional services at the church meetings, had also districts for visitation. The discussion at the Annual Meeting in October, 1874, suggests that the problems then were pretty much as they are to-day. One member urges attention to the weekly offering and communion tickets; another asks for help at one of the schools; the minister says that help is needed at the Ragged School and Penny Bank and visitors are required at the Christian Instruction Society; one argues that the church is behind other churches in

¹ Dale's correspondence with the church is a model for ministers. It will be printed in the next number of the *Congregational Quarterly*.

monetary matters and another urges systematic contributions ; tea meetings at the end of each year are also suggested ; one willing helper offers his services for a Sunday School class, to give an address, or help in Mission work occasionally.

People were still flowing into the neighbourhood so that by the end of 1885 the membership is 773. A magazine is circulated, and the pastor works hard at pastoral visitation. The minutes show more concern with the work of the Sunday Schools : now the appointment of teachers is reported at the church meeting, and prayers are offered for their work. There is little in the way of discipline, though one member is removed for intemperance. Signs of interest in public affairs are also to be found—there is a memorial to the Queen about the Bulgarian atrocities, and the opening of museums on Sundays is opposed.

The last years of Mr. Hebditch's ministry constitute another turning point in the history of the church. Mr. E. J. Carter, who had become secretary of the church in 1882 in succession to Mr. Henry Child, conveys to the church the Mission in Pratt's Road (afterwards called Glyn Road) built in memory of his father, James Carter. At the time the church undertakes this new responsibility its minister, with a foresight that does not seem to have been shared by his people, sees the problem before the church in the future. Writing in 1883 he says,

“London, like a huge wheel in motion, generates a mighty centrifugal force. All semi-suburban neighbourhoods are losing their more prosperous residents. Less wealth, less culture, and less capacity for some kinds of service must result, as the history of many of the churches proves. *We* cannot escape. The process is going on. But in numbers and in *spiritual* power there need be no decline . . .”

The words seem to have fallen on deaf ears. The foresight shown in 1868 to 1870 now seems to be lacking. Though we read of one family after another, distinguished by service for the church, leaving the neighbourhood, no real attempt to meet the situation emphasised by Mr. Hebditch seems to have been made. There is abundant and increasing activity, but a personnel slowly but surely becoming less able intellectually and financially to maintain it. There is no systematic effort either to secure a continuance of contributions from wealthy members leaving the church or to build up an endowment to maintain the fabric or provide means to secure service in the inevitably poorer future.

A Congregational Church

Mr. Hebditch, who had visited Australia in 1880-81, accepted a call to Adelaide in 1885, and for some time afterwards the church was vacant. Meanwhile the new Grove Mission buildings were opened, and so two of the Missions had splendid fabrics. In 1886 the Rev. G. S. Barrett of Norwich declined an invitation, but the following year the Rev. W. J. Woods, B.A., of Cavendish Chapel, Manchester, accepted, and began a five years' ministry, which ceased in 1892 when he became Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

At this time discussion about the best way of electing deacons became vocal at church meetings, and it has continued to recur for forty years. Gradually the system of "election for life" was eliminated, though recently Mr. Jonathan Mason, Mr. C. J. Sayers, and Mr. W. E. Stevens were elected Life Deacons. Many methods have been tried to secure an adequate vote of the members: at present the election is biennial, a third of the deacons retiring each election. During Mr. Woods's ministry equipment and responsibility were further increased, rooms being added at Glyn Road, but the trend of population is evidenced by the transfers in 1888—in 36, out 48. Again we note little in the way of discipline, although "the pastor reports that by his desire had resigned from the membership of the Church."

For a time Mr. Woods gathered the young men of the church in the church-room after the evening service to discuss the sermon, while he also held a class for Lay Preachers. The Young Men's Society was dissolved, and the Literary Society formed. The annual income of the church at this time was about £3,000.

Attempts were made in this and subsequent years to improve the worship of the church by the adoption of Barrett's *Congregational Hymnal*. It was but slowly the church gave the requisite approval by a two-thirds majority. In 1892 the voting was 112-132, in 1894, 139-125, and in 1896, 107-23.

The Rev. Thos. Nicholson having declined an invitation to the pastorate, the Rev. H. Harries, M.A., of Stockport, accepted in 1893, and began a twenty-seven years' ministry during which the changing nature of the population began to be fully felt. Seventy-five names were erased from the roll of members in 1893, and though Mr. Harries worked valiantly, lifting the number to 734 in 1898, and (largely as the result of a special mission when over 100 names were added) to

776 in 1906, the fluctuations could not hide the falling trend. The Great War did not help matters, nor did a long vacancy in the pastorate, and at the end of 1921 the membership was 613. Problems of finance, too, became increasingly acute. Sales of Work were resorted to, or the pastor sat in his vestry to receive contributions towards deficits, but the amount provided for ministerial service decreased, and as far back as 1908 the Chapman Road Mission ceased to be an integral part of Clapton Park's work, nor was responsibility taken for John Street.

Nevertheless the church had a record of service of which any church could be proud. It sent into the ministry and mission field in these years A. W. McMillan, H. C. Carter, H. Merchant, W. Duxbury Woods, J. Quin, W. T. Dyke, H. M. Harries, E. A. Matheson, Gladys Harries. Its schools, before Chapman Road was detached, had 2,000 scholars (565 Clapton Park, 619 Grove, 601 Glyn Road, 215 Chapman Road), and afterwards, in 1911, the three remaining schools had 1,857 scholars (with an average attendance of 1,322) and 145 teachers. In 1909 Mr. G. H. Archibald lectured, and the grading of the Home School, in time to be extended to the other schools, began. Every appeal from the London Missionary Society received a generous response, while £530 was contributed to the denominational *Twentieth Century Fund*, and about £1,000 to the *Central Fund*. The buildings were kept in good repair, although this made a continual drain on the finances, and electric light was installed. A bequest of £1,000 for the upkeep of the fabric from Mr. Alfred Evans, a generous supporter of the church, gave and still gives welcome help in this direction. In 1906 the church was refaced with Ancaster stone, at a cost of £4,000.

On every side the church was well served, notably by Mr. E. J. Carter, as deacon and secretary, by Mr. J. T. Chattaway as Superintendent of both Missions, by Mr. W. T. Leighton at the Home School, Mr. John Jeffreys as organist for twenty-seven years, and Mr. and Mrs. Knappett as caretakers for thirty years. The minutes contain some striking instances of the confidence of the people in, and their affection for, some of their leaders, as, for example, at the deacons' election in 1896, when Mr. T. F. Mayes secures 361 out of 365 votes cast. In 1904 the Centenary of the church was celebrated, a tablet to Dr. Pye Smith being placed in the chapel, at a great gathering of the clans. In that same year Miss Lawrence was appointed deaconess and began twenty-one years' service,

A Congregational Church

in which she carried blessing into many homes. At Chapman Road Mr. Dyke continued a marvellous work of visitation, which is chronicled in these figures at his jubilee in 1908 :—

1858-1908.

Visits and calls	..	..	..	..	423,250
Meetings	..	..	..	..	8,752
Tracts given	..	..	..	..	1,219,668

In many ways the church continues to be conservative, although it adopts the individual Communion Cups by 367 to 46. The use of envelopes for the offerings is rejected by 174 to 119 in 1909, and an attempt to establish a systematic scheme of finance in 1920 fails. It cherishes, we are glad to note, the old Independent idea, and sees no reason for Dr. Parker's "United Congregational Church"—either the name or the thing—believing that the "improvement of administration and organization of the Congregational Union should attain the objects aimed at without infringing the constitutional rights of the churches."

The church begins to speak out with greater boldness on political matters, protesting against the Education Bill of 1902 and the Licensing Bill of 1904, and even approving of the candidature of the Liberal Candidate for Central Hackney, Mr. Albert Spicer. A resolution in favour of the Licensing Bill of 1908 is passed, and the House of Lords censured for rejecting the Bill. Concern is also shown about the desecration of the Sabbath in the opening of shops, shows, *etc.*, locally.

The war years told heavily on the church ; 229 men joined the Forces, and thirty-two laid down their lives. A special Relief Fund was formed, and the buildings proved a refuge for many during air raids. The length of the war was fortunately hidden ; at the end of 1914 a committee was appointed to welcome the returning soldiers ! That welcome was delayed until 1919 ; in July of that year a Memorial Tablet to the fallen was placed in the church. It is not without interest that a resolution urging the Government to open negotiations was moved at a church meeting in 1916. It met with little support, but it stands as a testimony that the church was not altogether under the influence of the war spirit.

The end of the war brought its difficulties, which found expression especially in differences of opinion in regard to

amusements, and the right of minor members to vote. In 1920 Mr Harries relinquished the pastorate he had held, having fought a brave fight for over a quarter of a century. A vacancy of two years followed, during which the Rev. J. Philip Rogers declined an invitation to the pastorate. During this period excellent service was rendered to the church by Mr. Chas. J. Sayers, Senior Deacon and Treasurer, who presided over the church meetings, by Mr. W. G. Roberts, Secretary since 1917, and by the Rev. W. L. Lee, the London Moderator, while the *Round Chapel Review*, a monthly magazine, was founded under the editorship of Mr. S. J. Dickins.

In 1922 Dr. Albert Peel of Great Harwood was invited to the pastorate, and the people, young and old, rallied round him. A bazaar, previously arranged, raised £1,446, and met the cost of decorating the church and missions; a Manse was bought and soon paid for; and £1,031 was raised for the Forward Movement of the Congregational Union. The work of the Schools was reorganised, the Mission Schools being thoroughly graded, and worked in double sessions. The full hierarchy of the Scout movement—Brownies, Guides, Rangers, Cubs, Scouts, Rovers—was established, totalling well over 300; these parade for worship on the last Sunday morning of each month. Finally an All-In Finance Scheme was accepted by the church, the Budget, passed by the church each year, raising some £2,500, of which £300 is for the L.M.S. and about £150 for denominational organizations, charities, etc. Several small bequests were made to the church and missions, so that now (1929) the endowments, etc., amount to £2,733. The generosity of a friend enabled the *Congregational Hymnary* to be introduced.

The membership reached 700 once more in 1926, but the drift to the suburbs continued, and at the end of 1928 it had dropped to 667. Deacon after deacon, worker after worker, moved from the vicinity of the church, and heavy losses were suffered through death. In a very brief interval the church lost the Rev. Henry Harries, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Carter, Miss Ellen Child (the first, and so far the only, woman to be elected deacon), Mr. J. Leighton, Miss Mary Leighton, Mr. Jonathan Mason, Mr. W. J. Moore, Mrs. Roberts, Miss N. Mayes, and Mr. Tournay, these being among the best workers any church could have had. In 1926 the ministerial staff of the church was reinforced by calling an assistant, the Rev. R. G. Martin, B.A., of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, who had already spent

A Congregational Church

three months helping in the work in 1925. At the end of 1926, too, Dr. Peel collected monies from friends in the denomination which enabled two deaconesses to be appointed, and Misses M. Corben and E. Peters began work in 1927. Largely as a result of their work, a Women's Own has been started, which meets on Wednesday afternoons.

Activity continued to be shown in regard to public questions, such as the establishment of a dog-racing centre, the sale of alcohol in the King's Hall, and the employment of humane methods of slaughter. A branch of the League of Nations Union was formed, and it now has 574 members. It was decided to place all the buildings in trust with the London Congregational Union.

During these difficult years the church has been excellently served by its deacons; and it has done well to call some of its younger members to this responsible office. There is an excellent combination of the energy of youth and the experience of age, and this is seen in every part of the work. The Grove Mission, for example, is in the hands of Mr. W. B. Evans, who has given so much time and thought to its superintendence for many years, while Glyn Road is now in the hands of one of the younger deacons, Mr. R. J. Way, who has done much for the boys of the Mission through the Boys' Brigade. Probably there is not another diaconate in the country which can show father and son deacons twice repeated (Mr. W. C. Ingham and Mr. W. Ingham, and Mr. J. Winterton and Mr. Hardy Winterton).

* * * * *

Clapton Park has no need to be ashamed of its record during the 125 years of its history. May this account inspire its workers and worshippers to thank God and take courage.

ALBERT PEEL.

Rodborough Tabernacle

THIS letter was written in 1844 at the suggestion of Benjamin Backhouse, who held the pastorate at Rodborough Tabernacle from 1843 until 1848.

The writer, John Knight, was a native of Whiteshill, a village some three miles away. Born in 1763, he joined the Church at Rodborough, as he records, when he was nineteen, and died in 1860. Verses in his honour published in the latter year bear the title "The Good Old Man or Patriarch of Whiteshill."

C. E. WATSON.

Whites Hill August 19th, 1844.

REV SIR,

Agreeably to your request I have written a few things respecting the Cause of God at Rodboro' some of which transpired many years before I was born, but having heard them related by old ministers and friends who have long since entered their eternal rest, they still remain fresh on my memory.

The Cause at Rodboro' originated from the ministry of that eminent Servant of God the late Revd. George Whitfield,¹ who was born in the City of Gloucester, and educated at Oxford, and while in the University was made the subject of the Grace of God. And before he began his public ministry he read Matthew Henry's commentary of the Bible upon his knees, and he came out of College like a flame of fire burning with holy zeal for the Glory of God and the most affectionate love and compassion for perishing sinners. I have heard that he had a fine pleasant musical voice, and a good pair of lungs that he could exert so as to make a congregation of 20 thousand persons hear with pleasure, and that it was worth going 10 miles to hear him give out that Doxology, "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow," &c. The City and County of Gloucester shared largely of his labours. He itinerated from town to town and in many villages and in several Churches, particularly Stonehouse and Randwick, in this part of the County, his ministry was crowned with the richest blessing from the God of Love in the Conversion and Salvation of very many sinners to Christ. Of some of these Converts, several Societies were formed, for building up each other in the faith and hope of the Gospel. One of these Societies met at a House at Frigg's Mill. Some of the Members' names are the following, Mr. Thos. Adams, Mr. Wm.

¹ This was for many years a common spelling of the great preacher's name. He himself, however, always wrote "Whitefield."

Hogg, Mr. John Croome, Mr. Wm. Vines, all those became afterwards itinerant preachers in the Tabernacle Connection. Other members were Mr. Henry Restal, Mr. John & Mrs. Mayer, Grace Bidmead and many more whose names I cannot now recollect.

Mr. Adams was the proprietor² of the premises where the Tabernacle now stands. A House for God was there erected, and I believe was opened by the Revd. George Whitfield. Mr. Adams having no children left the premises on trust by Will to the Cause of Christ for ever. The Cause of God at Rodboro' continued to flourish and increase and very many souls since its formation have, through the ministry of the Word there, been brought savingly to Christ and trained up for heaven.

I believe the Church of God at the Tabernacle from its commencement and for many years after contained a number of the most lively spiritual devoted Servants of God which this Country ever produced.

Since the Tabernacle was first erected it has been enlarged 4 times. Mr. Adams living on the premises had chiefly the care of the flock but was frequently labouring in distant parts of the Connection and endured great persecution in his own neighbourhood for righteousness sake, particularly at Hampton, where he was opposed and used very ill. At one time his persecutors dragged him out of the Town and cast him into a tan pit or lime kiln, I am not sure which, but he came out unhurt.

Mr. Whitfield also was opposed and ill-treated by the rioters in that neighbourhood (for he frequently preached on Hampton^e Common, &c.) so much so that he was constrained to have recourse to the Law for protection. Mr. W. entered an action against some of the ringleaders of the opposition, and they were tried at the Assizes held in Gloucester, and convicted and punished and bound up to their future good behaviour. The Judge on the Trial advised the prisoners in the language of Gamaliel, "Refrain from these men and let them alone for if this Counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought but if it be of God you cannot over-throw it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." The same evening after the Trial, Mr. W. preached

² Thomas Adams, a Minchinhampton man, was converted under the influence of a sermon preached by Whitefield to a congregation of 20,000 people on Minchinhampton Common on Sunday, July 1, 1739. He is described in legal documents as "gentleman." He began his career, perhaps in his father's business, as a last-maker; but from the time of his "awakening" when he was twenty-one he was seemingly a man of leisure and of independent means. Nevertheless he was only the "proprietor" of the site and fabric of the Rodborough Tabernacle as trustee. The land was acquired and the building erected by resolutions of the Association and by contributions from all the Societies in the Tabernacle Connexion.

³ Hampton is Minchinhampton—and so throughout the letter.

from those words, "By this I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemy has not triumphed over me." I have heard it observed respecting the Town of Hampton that it appeared to many of the Lord's people that the frown of the Almighty rested upon that people, because they rejected the message of Salvation sent to them by God. The Baptist Church at Shortwood built a Chapel at Hampton some years after, and the late Revd. Benj. Francis their minister frequently preached there, but very little good was produced and at last the Chapel was shut up. After many years had passed away Mr. James Weight of Bowbridge went to live in Hampton and he was made the instrument of a gracious revival of the work of God in that place, and there his mouth was first opened to speak publicly for God. The Chapel was re-opened & many sinners since have been converted to Christ.

I might here record a circumstance which I once heard ; it was this, While the Tabernacle at Rodboro' was building and nearly up to the roof, a considerable number of wicked men agreed together to go by night and demolish the building. It happened to come to the ears of a man, a servant of Mr. Halliday of Froomhall, who told his master of the circumstance. The man himself thought it was wrong ; the master said it would be a pity to have the building destroyed which these poor people were erecting. "Well," said the servant, "master, if you will give me a quart of beer, I will try to frustrate the design." The master said, "I will give you the beer and one shilling if you will do as you promised." I believe it was the same night they all met together at the Building and before they began the work of destruction Mr. Halliday's man said to the others, "Let me go up into the Grove and if I hear any one coming I will give you a signal." He retired but a short time, and then gave a loud whistle which the others hearing, took to their heels and ran away affrighted. Thus God shewed his power in counteracting the designs of the enemies of his Cause.

In the year of our Lord 1769 Mr. Whitfield came into Gloucestershire for the last time and preached at Rodboro' at the bottom of a Grove of Beech trees which then stood above the Tabernacle, but is now converted into the burying ground. I had the pleasure of hearing that Servant of God preach in the open air, I was about 6 years of age my father held me up in his arms, and though so young I well remember to have seen the tears run down the cheek of that Servant of Christ while preaching the love of his Master to dying sinners. If I am not mistaken Mr. Whitfield embarked the same year for America and in the following year finished his earthly course and entered his eternal rest. I have read in his Journal that he was frequently engaged in preaching 40 hours in a week and was instrumental to the Conversion of many thousands

of perishing sinners to Christ, which will be his Crown of rejoicing for ever and ever.

Mr. Thomas Adams a fellow labourer with Mr. Whitfield finished his course about the same time and said on his dying bed, "I feel through all my soul that death has lost its sting."

Mr. William Hogg (late of Painswick) was another useful zealous faithful labourer in the same Cause for many years. Having an extensive business he was enabled to help in supporting the Cause of God at Rodboro' and its connection with his property. His hand and his pocket were always open as well to relieve those who were in distress.

Mr. William Vines was a faithful labourer in the same Cause from its commencement. I remember to have heard him say that he worked half a day at Haymaking (at Fowler's on the Hill) and in the afternoon of the same day took his staff and walked to Bristol and preached at the Tabernacle in the evening; and likewise on a Sunday morning in his turn, would rise early and walk to Clack in Wiltshire, a distance of 30 miles, preach in the morning at C. and in the after part of the day travel several miles on foot to preach at other places. Carrying his food in his pocket, when he came to a Spring of Water he sat down and eat of his bread and drank of the water. On the Monday morning he would return home to his usual employment. They seldom received anything for preaching, and this man of God, like the Apostle Paul, was determined not to be burdensome to the Flock. In the itinerary that was established among the neighbouring congregations, viz. Rodboro', Wotton-underedge, Dursley and Frampton, Mr. Vines always took his turn every Sabbath-day and continued to preach for many years, generally going and returning on foot the same day. He lived to an old age, I have heard him preach many times when he was quite blind. He had a strong nervous frame of body, and he felt it his honour to be employed for God in his day and generation, and was made very useful in building up the Church of Christ in their most holy faith. Such men of God are worthy of double honour.

Mr. John Croome was another devoted Servant of Christ, a minister of deep experience, and knew how to comfort and encourage the tried and tempted pilgrim in his thorny path to the Kingdom of heaven. He likewise was very faithful to expose the false refuges and sandy foundation of the mere professors of religion. His mother was a Quakeress, and he had a little of their method in his address using the word *thee* for you. He was plain and homely in his preaching and though he did not suit some of the refined part of his hearers those who knew how to prize real worth very highly esteemed his ministry.

He visited London twice in his life and preached at the Tabernacle in Moorfields with great acceptance. Mr. Croome living in the

village of Rodboro' chiefly had the care of the flock at the Tabernacle, meeting the Society, &c. As in the latter part of his life through age and infirmity he could not travel much he frequently occupied the pulpit at the Tabernacle. He went to see his old friends, at Christian Malford, Wiltshire, and died rather suddenly. His remains were brought to Rodboro' in a hearse and buried in the Tabernacle.

At an early period of the Cause of God at Rodboro' Mr. Nathl. Butler was called by grace in his youth and united in Christian fellowship to the Church there. His mouth was opened to speak for God in the villages around and afterwards he was taken into connection and laboured actively and disinterestedly with the other ministers for many years. He was later ordained at Frampton & spent several years there, and then removed to Haverfordwest in South Wales—preaching among the people the truths of the Gospel faithfully and experimentally. He remained among them a few years and then returned and lived in Stroud, preaching occasionally in different places. He laboured under afflictions of body and at last finished his course and departed to be for ever with the Lord. He was a plain experimental preacher & was made useful to many of the Lord's people who were tried, tempted & afflicted, having passed himself through many trials and afflictions in body, mind and circumstance.

The ministers that laboured in the Connection and many of the Church used to meet at Rodboro' the first Thursday morning in the month, and by fasting and prayer earnestly seek a blessing on the ministry of the word through the month. After the public meeting they dined together, Mr. Hogg of Painswick providing meat, &c. They likewise appointed their preaching excursions for the month.

Many ministers from the Tabernacle, London, visited Rodboro'. One of these was the Revd. Torial Joss, who before his conversion was the Captain of a Merchant Vessel trading from Berwick upon Tweed to London. He once related to me the way the Lord had led him. He was brought under serious concern about eternal things while engaged in seafaring pursuits, and to see the evil of sin; and, feeling the power of divine Truth upon his own soul, became concerned for the Salvation of those around him. He tried by every possible means to convince his ship's crew of their evil course, and to restrain them from cursing and swearing, but all his efforts proved fruitless; they would break out again and again, until he began family prayer. He set up the worship of God and called them together, his usual custom being to read a portion of Scripture, expound and pray with them. And this had the desired effect. There was immediately a reformation among them. They left off cursing and swearing and became serious. All this time they were lying in the port at Berwick

Rodborough Tabernacle

and while he conducted family worship in his own vessel other ships' crews would come on board their vessel and join with them until they had no room. He was obliged to go upon deck and conduct the worship of God in the open air, and this increasing his popularity, he was invited to preach in the Town Hall. He complied, and being well known in that Town and a vast concourse of people coming to hear him, he continued to preach there regularly for some time, and the place was crowded to excess. Then the enemy was permitted to come in upon him like a flood, persuading him that he was not called to the work of the ministry and one evening when the time of preaching drew near, he thought he could preach no more, and went and locked himself in a room where he thought no one could find him. Soon however two of the leading men came and standing outside the door, reasoned with him respecting his conduct. They said the place was full and the people waiting for his coming. Mr. Joss said he could not preach, but they insisted upon his going to the Hall to give his reasons, and, if he could not preach to dismiss the congregation. Mr. J. still felt reluctant but the men said unless he opened the door they would break it open, so he was obliged to comply and went with them. He told me he could compare himself to nothing but a sheep stealing dog with his tail between his legs while walking up the street with them. Just before they came to the Hall he was requested to go into a house, where he found two persons under deep concern about their souls. Mr. J. was informed that his preaching had been instrumental to their awakening. This circumstance deeply affected him. Immediately the clouds dispersed from his mind, his fears gave way, his soul was encouraged, and he went in and preached boldly for Christ. This circumstance so confirmed him in his work that he never after doubted his call to the ministry, though he continued some time after this in the Merchantile line. He became acquainted with Mr. Whitfield who pressed him to give up his worldly pursuits and join the Tabernacle at London as one of its ministers. Mr. Joss accordingly did as that Servant of God advised him and was taken into Connection. He used to visit Gloucestershire nearly every summer, spending a month or six weeks at Rodboro', preaching at Wotton, Dursley, Frampton, Painswick, Stroud, Stonehouse, Ebley, and many other places, while making Rodboro' his home. I have heard him preach on Hampton Common, & it was computed that ten thousand persons were present to hear him. His usual custom was, after leaving Rodboro', to visit Bristol and Haverfordwest in South Wales and then return to Town for the winter. Some years after Mr. Whitfield's death Mr. Joss was ordained at Rodboro' as one of the Tabernacle preachers. I had the privilege in the 19th year of my age to be admitted by this Servant of God to the Society and Communion of the Church of Christ at Rodboro'.

I believe that he laboured for 40 years⁴ after the death of Mr. Whitfield. He finished his course in London.

About the time of Mr. Whitfield's death the Revd. Rowland Hill was raised up to preach the Everlasting Gospel in the same spirit as his predecessors, sacrificing all his earthly prospects (and they were not few for his Father was a baronet in Shropshire). After he left the University he laboured in the London Tabernacle Connection and supplied at Bristol Tabernacle & for some time was in straightened circumstances. Mr. Hogg of Painswick, hearing of his trials, went to Bristol and supplied him with money to pay his debts, and gave him a pressing invitation to visit Rodboro' and he complied. I have heard some of our old Rodboro' friends say that when Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Adams died they felt a spirit of prayer and a wrestling with God that he would raise up other ministers to fill the awful chasm made by death in the Church of Christ, and they considered Mr. Hill sent as an answer to their prayers. Mr. Hill spent much of the early part of his time at Rodboro' and its vicinity preaching in many places in the open air to multitudes of sinners the unsearchable riches of Christ. I well remember him when a boy, and particularly a sermon which he preached on a Sunday morning at Rodboro' from the Song of Solomon. The text was: "Because of the savour of thy good ointments thy name is as ointment poured forth therefore do the virgins love thee." He preached Christ so sweetly that my soul was melted into tears of holy joy while feeling his love shed abroad in my heart; I suppose I was about 10 years of age at this time. Mr. Hill's memory will ever be dear to me as being the instrument of my Father's conversion. My Father had lived nearly 40 years in sin and a stranger to the power of vital godliness, living without hope and without God in the world, running hastily the downward road. Mr. Hill was published to preach in a field near Painswick. My Father out of curiosity went to hear him; the text was "Adam, where art thou?". While Mr. Hill was preaching an arrow of conviction by the power of the Spirit of God pierced his soul and from that hour he turned his back on sin and the vanities of the world and became a decided follower of the Lamb. Afterwards he was as zealous for God as he formerly had been in the ways of sin and Satan even until his death.

Mr. Hill afterwards married a Lady of Fortune and had the world more at command. He was instrumental in raising the Cause of God at Wootton-under-Edge in this County and of erecting the Tabernacle there. He purchased the premises contiguous and

⁴ An instance of the frailty of human memory! 40 should be 27. Torial Joss, to whom Berridge was wont to refer as the "Archdeacon of Tottenham," was buried on April 22, 1797, in Tottenham Road Chapel, as the Chapel Register testifies.

built the dwelling house and made it his country residence. Afterwards he was instrumental of raising a Cause in London and of building Surrey Chapel, &c., &c. He generally spent his winters in London and his summers in the country, preaching from place to place wherever a place was opened; and he continued this exercise for more than 50 years, until he finished his earthly course. He took several journeys into Scotland, and preached sometimes to congregations of 20 thousands souls. Ireland and Wales likewise and many counties in this Kingdom enjoyed his ministry.

After Mr. Croome's death it was considered necessary to have a minister settled at Rodboro' who was qualified to administer the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper there and in the other parts of the Connection. Mr. Jehoidah Brewer, a young minister from Wales, was recommended by Mr. Hill (if I mistake not). Mr. B. had applied for an Episcopal Ordination to the Bishop of Llandaff, but was refused because he believed in the doctrine of Election and had preached in a meeting house. He had an invitation from the Church at Rodboro' and he accepted the Call^s. He came and settled there, making Rodboro' his home, and was ordained at R. but was frequently supplying in the other parts of the Connection. He had good preaching talents and was a very acceptable minister of the Gospel and was made very useful, especially among the young people. He kept a horse to ride about. After he was settled he married a young lady from Wales. He continued for 8 years at R. Some unpleasant circumstance arose between him and one of the managers of the Tabernacle at Rodboro'. The Independent Church at Sheffield in Yorkshire was then destitute of a minister, and they gave Mr. B. an invitation to labour among them, and he accepted it and removed from Rodboro' to Sheffield to the grief of many of the Flock at Rodboro'. Mr. B. continued some years at Sheffield and then removed to Birmingham—to Carrs Lane. He visited Rodboro' twice after he went to Birmingham. He finished his earthly course at Birmingham.

Some years passed away before another minister was settled at Rodboro'. But many ministers visited it from many parts of England and Wales.—Revds. Mathew and Mark Wilks, Shenston, Davis from Wales, Sibree of Frome, Durant from the Tabernacle, London, Brooksbank, Woodgate, C. Winter, T. English, Sir Harry Trelawney, Sir Richard Hill, Capt. Scott, Bodily, Giles, &c., &c.

The next minister that came to reside at Rodboro' and to take the charge of the Flock was Mr. Anlezark from Homerton Academy, London, who was recommended by Mr. Joss. He was ordained

^s For an account of the rupture between the Countess of Huntingdon and the Tabernacle Connexion in consequence of Jehoiada Brewer's settlement, and for other details concerning people mentioned, reference may be made to a paper on "George Whitefield and Congregationalism," in *Transactions*, VIII., p. 171.

at R. & was married there. He spent some few years among the people & its Connection, but was not a suitable preacher for R. nor adapted for the station which he was called to fill. He left Rodboro' and afterwards joined the Episcopal Church, & after wasting three years to purge away all his dissent he was ordained by a Bishop in that Church. While Mr. Anlezark was at Rodboro' Mr. Jay, while a student, was sent from Marlborough by Mr. Winter to supply. He preached on the Sunday morning from these words "I am not ashamed for I know in whom I have believed," &c. The congregation were much surprised and edified by hearing one so young deliver his message with so much propriety. He has laboured in the Lord's vineyard since that period more than 50 years.

The next minister that settled at Rodboro' was the Rev. R. Heath from Plymouth Dock. He spent 9 or 10 years at R. and was made very useful both in awakening sinners and comforting saints. After he came to R. the Tabernacle was pewed; before that period the people sat upon benches—the men on one side and the women on the other. The pulpit was opposite the great door. At the same time a seat was made for the singers in the gallery. Mr. Heath finished his course and was buried in the Tabernacle at Rodboro'.

The next minister that settled at Rodboro' was Mr. Orlando Jeary. He had very extensive talents for preaching and was well received & was ordained there; but afterwards was very much afflicted and was obliged to resign his charge at R. and removed to live with his relations near Henley-on-Thames. He continued a considerable time labouring under a painful affliction and at last sunk under it & died. The friends at Rodboro' were very kind to him after he left there, and raised by subscriptions a considerable sum of money to help support him.

The next minister who settled at Rodboro' was the Revd. John Rees⁶ from Newport in Monmouthshire. He was very much like the Calvinistic Methodist Ministers of Wales in sentiment and in his preaching, and appeared well adapted for this part of the Lord's vineyard. His ministry was greatly blessed and the congregation greatly increased. Messrs. Thomas and A. Gilman were both called by grace and raised up to be preachers under his ministry, and both (at different times) were ordained and set apart for the work of the ministry at Pitchcombe. Mr. Thos. G. is labouring at Newport in Monmouthshire and Mr. Alfd. G. at Pitchcombe. Mr. Benjn. Parsons now of Ebley was a Sunday School teacher

⁶ John Rees (the correct spelling) was one of the first group of ministers ordained, after long controversy, by the Calvinistic Methodist Church of South Wales. In London his Church was that meeting in Crown Street, Soho, and when he died, some nine years later, he was buried under the pulpit in the Chapel. Later the premises were acquired by the Roman Catholics and his remains removed elsewhere.

at Rodboro' and was encouraged to preach by Mr. Reece and by him recommended as a student to the Trustees of Lady Huntingdon's College, where he received his education for the ministry, and afterwards was ordained at Ebley where he still remains. Mr. James Weight had the approbation of Mr. Reece and the Church as a preacher of the Gospel. Mr. Reece was frequently supplying the pulpit at the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel in London, where his popularity was very great. At Cheltenham also and many parts of this County he was frequently engaged in preaching the glorious truths of the Everlasting Gospel. While the Lord's work was thus prospering, Satan who is ever going about seeking to hinder & destroy the work of God and the peace of his Church contrived to get among the Flock at Rodboro' and a sad flame of discord was raised betwixt minister and people which broke up their union, & Mr. Reece left Rodboro' and took the charge of a Church in London where he continued to labor for some time.

Mr. Davis succeeded Mr. Reece at Rodboro' in the pastoral office. He was a preacher of first rate talents, he continued a few years at Rodboro' but in consequence of affliction he saw it right to resign the pastoral office and leave this part of the country, yet afterwards he was enabled to undertake the co-pastorate with Mr. Luke at Taunton. At present I believe he is an independent minister at Oswestry.

The next minister that settled at Rodboro' was the Revd. E. Jones from Swansea.

Having been absent from R. for more than 40 years, helping forwards the Lord's work at Ebley and Ruscombe it cannot be expected that I can give you so much information as those who have continued constantly to attend at R. and must refer you to Mr. Jas. Weight who is able to give an account of many interesting events since he has been united to the church at Rodboro' which have transpired there.

Rodboro' Tabernacle Church is the Mother Church of Frampton on Severn. A considerable number of people formerly attended the morning service winter and summer at R. at the early hour of 8 o'clock, the service commencing for some years at that time on purpose to accommodate those who were favorable to the Episcopal Church and the evening service commenced at 5 o'clock.

Ebley and Stonehouse congregations are the offspring likewise of R. and I think Ruscombe congregation may trace its origin to the same source. The Tabernacle ministers of Rodboro' for many years used to preach occasionally at our house at Whiteshill.

Mr. Thos. Simms, late of Whiteshill, and Mr. John Skinner, late of Painswick and raised up to be useful preachers of the gospel in their day were fruits of the ministry at Rodboro'.

Thus have I in a very imperfect confused manner attempted

to give you a very faint outline of some of the events that have transpired connected with the Cause of God at Rodboro'. Please to excuse all its deficiency. That a double portion of the same spirit which actuated its first founder and many of the Servants of God which succeeded him may continually rest upon you, that many precious souls may be converted and brought savingly to Christ that at the last great day of account you may have a goodly number to present before the great Master of Assemblies and be enabled to say, "Here am I and the Children thou hast given me" that shall be pearls to adorn the mediatorial Crown of our Redeemer for ever and ever

Is the prayer of, Rev. Sir,

Yours very truly in the bonds of the Gospel

JOHN KNIGHT.

To

The Revd. Mr. Backhouse.

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