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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

Original Sin, Feetwashing, and the New Connexion.

THIS letter was from Daniel Dobel, of Cranbrook, Bishop or Messenger of the General Baptists in Kent since 1761, succeeding Thomas Harrison, of Sevenoaks, in that office, and being succeeded in 1783 by his son, Benjamin Dobel, both mentioned in this letter. It was sent to Gilbert Boyce, of Coningsby, Messenger in Lincolnshire since 1753. Boyce was 59 years old, and Dobel about the same age; they were the foremost men in their ancient Connexion.

The occasion of the letter was the publication at Boston of Boyce's "Serious Reply to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley in particular, and to the people called Methodists in general &c," a book of 197 octavo pages. Dobel refers to two publications of his own at Canterbury in 1742, one a twopenny 16 page tract, "The plea for Infants Baptism, impleaded: or, remarks on a piece, Intitled, A Plea for Infants &c," the other a sixpenny tract of 36 pages, "Water Baptism an Ordinance of the Gospel-Church, manifested, by the Doctrine and Practice of the inspired Apostles."

But if this is the occasion of the letter, the date of 1771 shows that something more serious was in the background, really even more serious than Dobel and Boyce yet realised. Their Assembly had long agreed that the practice of washing the feet of the saints, urged in Lincolnshire by Robert Wright in 1653, and in Kent by William Jeffery in 1659, should be left optional, as not specified in Hebrews vi. It had lately been discussing Original Sin, as to which Dobel pleads that there is no such thing, as sin is a matter of environment, not of heredity. The diversity

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of view, and the old-fashioned air of the Assembly, had just provoked a newcomer to head a secession from it, which we may suppose presented itself to these veterans somewhat thus:—

In 1763, Joseph Jefferies, of Gamston, had baptised a Methodist preacher aged 25 called Dan Taylor, whom he introduced to the Lincolnshire Association under Boyce. William Thompson, of Boston, went with him to Yorkshire, and baptised several of his converts forming them into a Church. Taylor next year heard of some Leicestershire preachers who had baptised one another nine years before, but failed to bring them into the Association. He was sent to the General Assembly two or three times, where he met Dobel and the leaders in the South. But he used the opportunity to organise a secession in 1769. This was consummated next year in one of the old General Baptist Churches at London, just when the Assembly was meeting; three Kentish Churches, three Essex, two London, two Lincolnshire Churches were led out, together with Taylor's new Church, while five Leicestershire Churches united. To define their position as against the Assembly, they agreed on Six Articles. (The copy sent to Dobel evidently differed from that printed by Adam Taylor, to which his criticisms are irrelevant. Which is the original is not evident.) The Assembly was so disturbed by the secession that it simply passed one resolution and adjourned:—"The case deliver'd by Mr. John Brittain and signed by others, was read and We are very sorry that any of our Brethren in Union with us in this Assembly established on the principles of general Redemption and on Hebrews 6. 1—2 should make any particular Sentements and Interpretations of Scripture a Plea for their Separation from us—We heartily wish for Union and Harmony and while we express our Determination not to make a Difference of private Opinion a Breach of brotherly love and affection we recommend the Complainants to a more deliberate Consideration of their present proposal and future Conduct, leaving them entirely at Liberty to judge and act for themselves."

If the minutes say little, the Messengers evidently acted in their visitations of the churches. The Assembly had been rent by secession before, and they felt their responsibility. The Church at Bessel's Green had split in 1769 and Dobel was trying to re-unite the seceders under John Stanger with the parent Church under Samuel Benge, as he mentions in a postscript. Now he and Boyce did their best to reclaim the erring churches, and were so successful that every single Church except that at Boston, under William Thompson, was soon re-united with the ancient Assembly. Young Taylor for some years continued to haunt its meetings,

and his presence there came to be remarked upon, as if he were trying to entice away its constituents. He did as a matter of fact win some by degrees, and he quite intercepted all accessions of evangelical Churches, which henceforth cast in their lot with the New Connexion. The influence of William Vidler, as shown in our first number, introduced several Unitarian Churches to the Assembly in after years.

The question of public singing, alluded to in a postscript, was discussed in one or two books between 1785 and 1787 by Boyce and Dan Taylor. Most of the books referred to are in the College Library at Nottingham.

The letter itself, which fills three pages of foolscap closely written, has been placed at our disposal by the kindness of the Rev. George Camp, of Epworth, former pastor of Coningsby, where a portrait of Boyce hangs in the vestry.

Dear Brother, I have read Your Book over twice, and some parts of it several times; and I think it is the most extensively usefull of it's kind that I have seen. Yet there are some things therein; which if you should think proper to have another Impression, I could wish you to alter: vis 1. that you would not use the word rantized so frequently, if at all, for it is looked upon by some as an unkind reflection; they not knowing it to be a Greek word: and is ready to give offence; and therefore—

2. That when you cite anothers words, you would put them in the small character, and not only comma it at the beginning and end; but also at the side. for some I find are trobled to distinguish their words from your's, and this would certainly make it more Intelligable to many readers.

3. That the Short Paragraph page 148. be much alter'd; or intirely left out: for some shew of an argument, may from thence be taken up against you. for if adults may be Baptized, altho ignorant of the great ends thereof; vis, the remission of sins; will not some be ready to say; that they may without the lesser; and so form a plausible argument in favour of

Baby Baptism. which I intreat you to consider of. Besides, if you had inserted the whole texts; which I think should have been done; viz, the words of Ananias to Saul. Acts 22: 16. which no doubt Ananias did to him; I say, if so, it can't well be supposed, that Saul was Ignorant of haveing his sins washed away, in the use of that ordinance: neither, will this hardly bare compareing, with what you say, with respect to the same case: about the middle of the 53 page. for I conclude, that Ananias not only hastened him by saying, and now why tarriest thou, Arise and be Baptized: But also, by his acquainting him, that in so doing, his sins should be washed away,—. And therefore, I can't see you had any just reason to say: 'Prehaps he neither knew, nor thought of his sins, being washed away at that time' [quotation underlined].—as page. 148.

I had once a contest with a Presbyterian, from the Press; who formed his argument in favour in Infant Baptism; from our Lords washing his diciples feet (which he said was as much a Baptism as the other) and Peter being at the same time, Ignorant of his master's design and end therein; and yet, our Lord washed his feet &c. And from hence, He argued in favour of Infants being proper Subjects of Baptism,— And to this Auther, I gave two Public Answers: Both which Bro: Jeffery, hath. The first I call'd, 'The Plea for Infant-Baptism, Impleaded. [title underlined]—The second, Infant Sprinking an unscriptural Doctrine, [title underlined]—And some time after the Publication, I discovered some things not so well expressed, as I could have wished: However, I should like, that you could have the reading of them.

And here my Brother, Permit me to make an application to you: tho I wish there be no Room; or Grounds for it. However, I frequently find you are Justly Arguing; that there ought to be a universal [underlined] obedience to our Lord in whatsoever he

hath Comanded; and not to a part only; but neither less nor more, than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures &c. And that ministers of the Gospel, are likewise to Preach accordingly.—But not to multiple words. Are You my Dear Brother, in the Practice of washing feet, agreeable to John ye 13.—for if you are not; how may your words be Retorted on you with advantage. For did not our Lord do this to his diciples, and therein give them an example [underlined], that they should do as he had done; and this likewise, He inforced on them; by saying; If I your Lord and Master have washed your feet; ye also ought [underlined] to wash one anothers feet.—Pray my Brother, pass another thought on this passage. And may the Divine Spirit of Grace, attend your Deliberation thereon. I have been in the conscientious Practice of it upward of forty years; and can't as yet se, that I could Justifie my self, to live in the neglect thereof. and my being in the Practice of it, hath been of no Small Advantage to me, in my dispute with the Quakers; and likewise, with the above mentioned Presbyterian: they not knowing, that I was in the Practice thereof, thought to have had great advantage of me on that account, in point of Argument: and I let them run out against me their full lenght,—and then I told them, that I had been in the religious practice of it, for many years, together with the Society of Christians, of which I was a member &c. and this put them to a great nonplus, for I returned, their arguments on them, agreeable to the different purposes, for which they had used them against me. The consequence of which was; that the Presbyterian Minister, was, by a vesterry of his Friends, called to an Account for what he had done, and blamed. and the Quakers became silent on that point.—So that herein, I not only discharged my conscience, in a way of obedience to my Lord; but I also find my self, better quallified to vindicate a universal

obedience to all his commands; than otherwise I could have been. Our well Beloved, Deceased, Brother Tho. Harrison, was one with me herein: and we have Journeyed out together on this account; But alas, He is gone; and for ought I know, I am alone as a Messenger on this point. O that I might receive an Answer to this from you; agreeable to the following excellent lines.

1. "I chearfully comply
 "with what my Lord doth say,
 "Let others ask a reason why,
 "My glory is t'obey.

2. "Jesus our Lord, before he took his leave
 "of his Diciples, unto them did give
 "commission, and authority to preach;
 "and all he taught them, they mankind must teach'
 ["must" doubly underlined]

And as to the fall; or, original Sin, and the Depravity of the Human Nature thereby; take my thought as follows. That Adam as he came out of the Hand of God, was not only Innocent, but good and pure; and the principle of God's neither creation, and that he was created a man; not an Infant; so that when it pleased God to cause him to live; he was at once an Inteligent, Rational being; of great understanding &c. and with respect to his Actions was a free Agent; vis, he had power to do; or, to refuse; as he should be disposed, in away of obedience; or, disobedience to God. And had power given him over the Animal Creation. And his being in the Image of God; I conclude consisted in his Noble reasoning powers, understanding, and great capacity; which his Creator indued him with. And in this State he was Happy; haveing Peace in himself, and intimacy, &c with his God.

But in the Image of God, as above expressed; I do not conceive Adam to be equal to the Divine being; No, far from it: but only, that he therein; did in some degree resemble his Creator. But by his Sin, he corrupted; or defiled himself, and his way before God; lost his Innocency, and purity; Incured the Divine displeasure, filled with Dread and fear; his Peace and happiness destroyed; and he overwhelmed with remorse and shame. And likewise, himself and off-spring, exposed to Labour, Pains, Sickness and Death. Yet, I do not see that he lost the Image of God; unless, we take in the purity above mentioned, and if so, then indeed, he lost that part of his Creator, I imagine [two words interlined.]. tho, for my self, I am inclined to think; that the noble abilities of the mind, with which Adam was endowed at his Creation; is, that which strickly speaking, is to be understood by the Image of God Gen: 1. v, 26, 27. and with respect to this, I think the Scripture will bare me out, as. Gen: 9. v, 6, where by the Image of God, I take it to mean, the reason, and understanding with which Adam was endowed with, at first: and as such is here made use of as an argument, why mankind should not shed mans Blood. But if by the fall, this Image is lost; how could an appeal to that Image, be a consistant argument then; to dissuade mankind from it. And it was because the Image of God was not lost; that I conceive it became so very crimal in Cain, to kill his Brother; and that his punishment, was reasonable and Just. Again, James ye 3: v, 9, where the Apostle declares, that men are made in the similitude of God; which is also, spoken in the present tense; and is not to be understood, of a bodily shape: no, but intends the excellent endowments of the Mind, in which man doth bare some likeness; or similitude to his Creator. which to me, sheweth, that mankind hath not lost, but still retains the Image of God; or, that which was so called

Gen: 1: v. 26. and it is to be observed, that here; Image and likeness; in this case are synonymous Terms [no omission, so in original] Likewise, 1. Cor: 11: v, 7 where St: Paul is speaking of Public worship; and given a reason why men should be uncouered, in the exercise thereof; says, forasmuch as he (that is, man) is [doubly underlined, next phrase singly underlined] the Image and Glory of God. which is as much; or, more, than was said of man, when he was first created. Tho by the Image of God in this tex; may be supposed by some, principlly to mean; Superiority & Dominion; Yet, then its implied, that man retains those abilities, and power, to exercise the same, agreeable as at the first Gen: 1: v, 28. Besides, it is very manifest, that man is [interlined] still possessed, with a Rational, and Intilgent mind &c. And notwithstanding the fall; was, and is, a proper subject of a Law; and as such was treated, by an Infinitely wise, and Good God: and if we may Judge by the Law; or Laws, which god hath since the fall: injoined on man; in which are contained, more prohibitions, and Injunctions; than we can find was ever given to Adam in Paradise; I say, if we consider this; we can't well draw an Argument from hence; of our depravety; or incapcity, by the fall, to obey God; no, but rather an Argument quite the reverse. Yet, I belive that as man comes up in life; he is under greater disadvantages, than was the state of Adam before he sinned. for when he was made to live; as I said before, He was a compleat man at once, and in the full possession, and exercise, of those Abilities, which doth so eminently, distinguish the Human-race; and in which state, he was free from those Bad examples, and corrupting vices, to which we are exposed in our childhood state, before our Rational, and reasoning powers, come to there proper exercise and strenght: And we being surrounded with bad axamples while in this state; they are apt to take hold

of us, more or less; viz, Taint and captivate the mind; even, to the soon contracting of bad habites. And on this account since the fall; men may be said [two words interlined] as they come up in life, to be Dead in trespases and [interlined] in sins. and herein it is, that our state is [interlined] far more difficul, than was Adams in is perfect state. But then, this state of weakness; or, disadvantage, is not criminal; nor, yet, the effects of the fall: no, [writing ends abruptly in the middle of a line, the words "turn over" are squeezed below, and a line is drawn across the page three inches from the foot, below which are three separate memoranda, placed here at the end] no, for this was by the wise apointment; or, order of God, before the fall. as Gen: 1: v, 28. and therefore not the effects of it. And it is our thus comeing into the world, and being beset with bad examples, difficulties, and temtations; that we become corrupted, and Depraved, as we advance to adult years. And it is worthy observation, that the Scriptures make not the least mention, of our Noble and Godlike Capacity; or powers of the mind &c. being Marr'd; or Depraved, by Adam's sin: No, tho they frequently do, on account of our own [interlined] Actual Transgressions.—

And I have no Notion, of Adams being our federal-Head; or, Representative, with respect to vertue, and vice: tho he was our Head or first Parent with respect to the Human-race. and he haveing sinned; he according to the sentence became Mortal; and thus Death by sin came into the world. and as in Adam all die; even so in Christ shall all be made alive. And by, or through Christ, (the Promised Seed of Blessing) all our Disadvantages by the fall, are made up, and through Grace; abundantly supplied. From hence, You may se my thoughts on this Point: and that the difference between us; is, that I do not make so much of it, as you seem to do. If I could

have seen; that our commencing Infants &c. had been the effects of the fall; I should then have very different Ideas of this case: But as it is not so; you have above my sentiment in this point, which hath so much perplexed the Christian world, and been the foundation of many errors. and my seeing things in this light; preserves me for that Intricacy; which many Friends labour under. However, I claim no authority, over the faith of my Brethren: But hence, I clearly see the great fitness, and Importance of Solomon's Advice, to Parents; viz, that they be careful, to train up children, in the way they should go.—and likewise, of St: Paul's to Christians; to bring up their Children, in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord.—But if I had thought that our mental Powers: &c had been depraved by the fall; I should have had but little hopes, of being much usefull to my children, in endeavouring to educate them: But should rather, have left [interlined] it to that being, who first endued man with the Noble Abilities, and Powers of the Mind. And, strictly speaking, I can't as yet see, why Adam's sin; should Deprave the Mind of his Posterity; any more than our sins should now Deprave the mind of our Children: For, had it been the natural effects of sin in Parents, to Deprave the mind of their off-spring; to what would the mind of the Human-race; been come to, by this time. And if it is not the natural effects of sin, thus to Deprave &c. it must then, one would think, be [interlined] by the appointment of God: but will such a supposition bare comparing [interlined] with the Divine Perfections: especially, when we consider that there was not the least hint; of any such Depravity, contained in the threatening. Gen: 2: 17. And as the threatening contained no intimation to Adam: that if he sinned; it would destroy: or deprave: his Posterity of the Image of their Creator; and as the Scriptures, speak of our still retaining that Image::

I say, these things considered; I can't see, there is any just grounds to conclude; that the Image of God in man; was, strictly speaking, lost by the fall.—However, let the above be as it will: It is sufficient for us as ministers; to consider that all capable to attend our ministry, are transgressors & mortal &c. and as such, need all the help, which Grace hath provided, and is exhibited, in and by the Gospel.—

I Rest with my Christian Respect to your self & spouse: and to all your Family. and likewise, to all Friends with you; and in particular, to all my young Brethren, in Christ. from your Friend & Brother in the Gospel of Christ

DANL DOBEL

febr ye 14: 1771

[The next four paragraphs are on the same page, irregularly dispersed. The other three paragraphs are on the third page, below the line.]

omitted, my wife joins with me in Christian Respects, to You; and the other part of your self; viz, your spouse &c. my son Ben: is in London, and I have ordered him to pay Mr. Jones.

Satterday ye 16.

two of our Deacons desired to see this, which caused me to miss one Post day.

providence permitting, I may some time send you my Scheme of Gospel Singing. but this must be left as yet, because I have other things to write to you.—

P.S. I have lately had a smart contest, with one of the Methodist ministers; whose name is Wolf [underlined], and we soon came to talk of your [~~crossed out~~,

and written again at once] Book: But he would not answer to any of your arguments, nor take any notice thereof. But I find they have got a Scheme, to render your Labour abortive, as that you have not wrote seriously; but that your Book abounds with sneers &c and therefore they will not take any Notice thereof: and endeavour this way, to prevent others.—he turned me to page 4. and the 3 line, and these words. “ This is bravely [underlined] said indeed Sir [no final quotes, but the whole phrase underlined, as well as the word “bravely”]. Query. whether the commas, are not wrong placed there. whether, it may not answer to have another Impression, and if you think well of it, then to alter those things, which I have took notice of; and of those short seemingly Pert turns, which the methodist make an Handle of: and then I think your work, will be unexceptionable: Thus my Brother, I have dealt with you in all plainness, as I think we ought to do, with each other. I could vent a great many, especially if it was alter’d as above.

S.P. The affair remaining as before Christmas, I can’t give you as yet, that information I thought about this time, to have done.

I thank you for sending me the Six Articles; and I think of them just as you do. and am surprised to think, that Bro: Thompson should once imagine that we could sign them &c. When you se him, do so much as ask him, what it is to be atone’d; and who it is, or was [these words smudged out, and a caret inserted, but no words substituted] that Christ atones.—if he will gives a direct answer to these, I should be glad to know what it was &c Prehaps in my nixt I may send you, a copy of the Letter I sent to the Church at Bed-sels Green, on account of which I was

publickly charged, with being a sower of Discord &c.

The Postage from Cranbrook to London is, 3d. from thence to your Post stage; or, Office; is 4d. so that is is 7d. where the Bag is oppened. and if you do not take the Letters from thence, you can't well avoid paying a penny more. we have had a great sickness, and Death amongst Friends; and I have been much taken up with vissinging, funeral sermons &c otherwise I had wrote before—

[Endorsed] Mr. Gilbert Boyce at Coningsby
near Horn-castle in
Lincolnshire

a single sheet

Dr. Carey and the Baptist Magazine.

THIS letter, as the writer anticipated, is one of the latest he wrote. It is in the possession of our treasurer, who has lent it for reproduction.

Mrs. F. Carey is perhaps wife of Felix Carey, who went from Serampore to Burmah, where he prepared the way for Adoniram Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Foreign Missions. In 1814 he had won such favour from the king of Burmah by his skill in medicine and languages, that he "shrivelled from a missionary into an ambassador," to quote his father. On the 31st of August that year a squall overset his boat on the Irawaddy, and drowned his second wife and children.

Dr. Carey had reluctantly allowed his portrait to be painted at Fort William by Home and sent home. The engraving from it is very familiar, but this letter will explain why its publication in the Baptist Magazine was deferred till 1817. It has recently been republished in Dr. Howell's plea for a revival of Serampore College.

Kett[er]in]g Ap 1. 1815

Dear bror.

I fear there is no reason to conclude in favour of Mrs. F. Carey's personal religion. The acct. of Cumberland is very good and shd. be first in the P[eriodical] A[ccounts of the Baptist Mission] but as we cannot go down to Augt. in the Number 28 you may take it, only do not say where you took it from. We must enter it when we come at it. I will send you the C[ommittee] L[ette]rs marked, so soon as I can get time to mark them. I have sent 3 [this sentence interlined]. I'll send you Prendergast's Letter. There is no doubt of his being a mean lying fellow; but

whether it be best to put him upon uttering these lies before the House, I know not, especially as he can do us no harm; and if he knew all that Dr. Carey sd. about "none of the Missionaries preaching in the Streets of Calcutta," he might prove from our own Statements that they did, or they wd. not in 1806 have been forbidden to preach at the Lall Bazar. [Foot-note by Fuller: See the Ed. of Brief Narrative reprinted by E. Morris p. 57.] If any thing were done in answer to his Letter it seems it must be to state that there are living witnesses who heard him utter the substance of what was reported in the Times paper—that the same things in effect were printed in the Christian Observer for July 1813—that therefore there can be no reasonable doubt of the truth of it—and that as to his contradicting it in the House, he might use his own pleasure, as the opinion of the public would be the same. But advise with bro. Burls upon it, & let me know your opinion as to what I should do. The mistake of Vol III. for Vol IV. was of your making.—Thus I was answering your Lr. when, being called off, I have mislaid it! I am happy to find that the report of Chamberlain's leaving Sirdhana is unfounded. Morris printed a great No. of the piece on Discipline of the primitive Churches. I shd. wish to be sure that it is wanted before I reprint it.

B[aptist] M[agazine]. I hope you have not engaged to the printer for the sale of 5,000. If you have, he may have an after claim on you. He shd. print what number he pleased, and if it were short of 5000 let our profits be proportionably less. Whatever story T.S. may carry to Cambge. or elsewhere, he cannot succeed long. I would not hunt him, but merely repel, as occasion required.—I had a pleasant meeting with Mr. Waugh at St. Neots—He said nothing, nor I, about my Lr. to him.

Dr. Carey has expressed a strong dislike to the

print of him already taken, and says it is a violation of the promise made him. . . . What then would he feel and say to be hawked up and down in Magazines? I wish you would inform the proprietors [interlined: of the W.E.M.] in my name that if a single impression be made they may expect an action will be commenced agst. them by the Bapt. Missy. Society immediately. Or perhaps Mr. Barber of Chancery Lane had better write to them.

All the Copies [interlined: of P.A.] that are sent to Mr. Burls for setts are no otherwise deficient than as respects No. 24 of wh. we have very few, & suppose he has many, & therefore cd. supply them—and as respects the Cash Accts. or Appendices, wh. we never reprint, & therefore can not supply. Or if the half sheet 22. be wanting I can furnish 12 of them, but it will destroy so many numbers. I will send the Numbers up (xxii), so that if Mr. Burls's 12 setts can be made up out of them it may be so; if not, the numbers need not be injured. You'll find 22. p. 285—292. I have had a letter from Mr. Hoby, and may answer it, but my strength is small, & I have much writing. I shd wish him of the Committee, as soon as we can make room—I question if Burls wd. like to be a Joint Treasurer.

I think I'll send this Letter off as soon as may be.

I am dr bror. Affect. yrs. A. FULLER

[On opposite margin] I am so ill that I often think I cannot live long.

Rev. Jos. Ivimey 20 Harpur Street London

Printing Ryland's Funeral Sermon.

THE following letter from Robert Hall to Mr. Joseph Gutteridge—a frequent correspondent of the great preacher's, as readers of his Letters in Vol. V. of his Works will remember, was given to me several years ago by Mrs. John James Smith. She received it from her father, the late Mr. W. Lepard Smith, who is still gratefully remembered as for many years treasurer of the Particular Baptist Fund. The letter relates to the publication of Mr. Hall's well known sermon on the death of Dr. Ryland, pastor of the Church at Broadmead, Bristol. The sermon was preached on June 5th, 1825, and Mr. Hall had apparently no intention of committing it to the press, until he was urged by friends in various parts of the country to do so. Mr. Gutteridge and Mr. W. Lepard Smith, his nephew, were among these friends, and Mr. Smith also undertook to see it through the press. The letter affords a striking instance of Mr. Hall's humility and the modest estimate he placed on the value of his work. He probably consented to the publication of the sermon on purely benevolent grounds, and in the hope of securing some benefit from its sale to the members of Dr. Ryland's family. It is curious to note that Mr. Hall was willing to leave the correction of the proofs in the hands of his friends in London. A short time after the sermon was preached the Church at Broadmead invited Mr. Hall to succeed Dr. Ryland in the pastorate. The anxieties connected with his removal doubtless interfered with the preparation of the sermon for the press.

J. STUART.

October 7. 1825

My dear Sir,

At length I send you the sermon on the death of Dr. Ryland—A number of journies and an—~~an~~ interruptions which it would be tedious and useless to explain have combined to delay it so long.

I expect ten thousand, the number mentioned by Mr. Smith will be more than will be sold. However as I renounce all interest in it I must leave this to the determination of others. I am afraid the sale will be very much injured by its late appearance—a circumstance that should be taken into the account in deciding on the number. I have done as well as I could, but am far, very far from having satisfied myself.

As the Manuscript is pretty legible I should hope it will not be necessary to send the proofs to Leicester. It would be attended with considerable delay—I should think that any person accustomed to correct the proofs would be able to do it with sufficient accuracy.

There is one circumstance I must beg leave to mention. I must earnestly request that no other Bristol bookseller's name be invested in the title page besides Mr. James's and that his be not omitted. Having found it necessary to resign his tutorship in the Academy, his income is considerably affected and I know he has little or nothing to spare—His kindness to both my sisters has been very great and on every account I feel it my duty to consult his interest. It (is) his express desire that his name may stand alone, not any other Bristol bookseller, nor do I believe there will be one the less sale on that account.

As to the London Bookseller I shall leave the choice entirely in the hands of Mr. Smith or of the gentlemen for whom he may be acting. I wish Mr. Comber of Leicester to be mentioned in the title page. He is a most worthy man and my intimate friend. He would have printed quite as cheap and as correctly as it will be done in London and it would have been convenient to me, being on the spot to correct the proofs. He is not only a bookseller but an excellent printer.

I wish it to be understood while I resign any profits that may accrue from this publication for the benefit of

Dr. Ryland's family I do not intend to part with the Copy right, as it may be of advantage to my family to possess an exclusive right in whatever I have published. I am willing to give this edition, reserving the right of publishing it hereafter on my own account.

I beg to be most affectionately remembered to Mrs. Gutteridge and to thank her for her great kindness while in London—Please to remember (me) also to Miss G and particularly to your nephew and all enquiring friends.

I am Dear Sir
with great esteem
Your most affectionate friend and
humble servant

R. HALL

P.S. I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken of sending the Manuscript. I should not have troubled you with it had I known Mr. Smith's direction.

The interesting documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which appear in this number, enable us to postpone for a few months the still more interesting documents of the seventeenth century, which were collected in 1710 into A Repository of Divers Historical Matters, used in 1738 by Crosby. Our next number will be concerned largely with these, and with Benjamin Stinton of Southwark, a distant predecessor of C. H. Spurgeon.

Militant Baptists 1660-1672.

THE persecutions endured by Baptists after 1660 have often excited our sympathy, and we have wondered at the callousness of Charles in so lightly breaking his word as to indulgence. But the publication of many state papers of the time show what ample justification there was for much of the severe legislation and administration. We can tell the story with special emphasis on three or four military Baptists. Those who are proud of a Havelock, a Lush, a Lloyd George, will see the necessity of studying the movements of others than the meek preachers who too often fill the pages of our histories.

The New Model Army which crushed the Royalists swarmed with Baptists and other "sectaries." The Clarke Papers which deal with its movements give abundant details as to Overton, Robert Lilburne, Disbrowe, Packer, Gladman, and other Baptists; while Chillenden, Deane, Denne, Everard and Harrison have already attracted the attention of some historical students. Most of the Baptists were pronounced republicans, or Levellers; when Cromwell coquetted with the idea of kingship, and did accept the power as Protector, he found it necessary to cashier the colonel of his own Guards, John Wigan, and to send the late commander-in-chief in England, Thomas Harrison, into private life, along with numerous others of less note. For the rest of his life he was warned of plots against him, in which such Baptists as Harrison, Lawson, Danvers and Fipps were concerned. It might well be expected that when his hand was removed, this party would be none the less active. Monk had some trouble in keeping them still, both in Scotland and in Ireland, and there are amusing glimpses at his intrigues whereby garrisons deposed their officers quite in the Young Turk style. Still he succeeded in preserving peace, and staving off open trouble till the arrival of Charles, when most of the army was paid off, and the officers had to choose between giving security for good behaviour, emigrating, or being imprisoned.

The first outbreak did not concern Baptists, being of Fifth-

Monarchy men under Venner; but when London was for four days in the power of armed men openly resisting the new order of things, there was ample reason for forbidding all unlawful and seditious meetings held under the pretence of religious worship, as the band had prepared and started from such a meeting, in a street where there was also a Baptist meeting, with others hard by. One result was to encourage the new government to keep troops afoot, quite an innovation for a king, to employ spies, and to furbish up Elizabeth's Conventicle Act and other forgotten laws. A licenser was appointed for literature, the post office was overhauled and the sectaries installed there were ejected, both in town and country. Newbury, Bristol, and Caxton are instances where these nerve-ganglia were in Baptist control, while from Carlisle, the West, Norwich and Kent came in reports that Baptists were most dangerous.

There was indeed one error of the authorities; finding that Baptists and Quakers would not take oaths to be quiet, they inferred that revolution was in view, whereas it was the oath itself which was the stumbling block with many, not the object of the oath. But while this worked great injustice to the peaceable Quakers, it is true that three or four Baptists were ring-leaders in plots for a few years.

As early as June 1660 it had been found wise to put under restraint Thomas Tillam. Familiar to us as Messenger of the Coleman Street church, founder of Hexham and probably of Warrington, he was familiar to the Government as active at the military centres of Newcastle, Dalkeith, and Colchester. By next March, Lancaster jail was crowded with more than 250 Quakers, with 500 in various London jails, and thousands more all over the country; till Charles realised that their objection was only to swearing, and that they were not dangerous, whereupon he freed them all.

Parliament had, however, been elected during the fear excited by Venner, and the constant embodying of the militia to keep down the revolutionaries; and soon there were definite facts enough, without verifying the rumours of plots near Worcester, for the extremists realised what was to be expected from this Parliament.

From Berwick in April came a story of a Baptist schoolmaster threatening the powder magazine, with hints of a widespread plot. At the end of June Colonels Okey and Danvers (the minister who pleaded later for Laying on of hands) were at Newington preparing an insurrection. And by the middle of August the authorities had their hands on Paul Hobson.

This man was originally a tailor; after being member of a Separatist church in Crutched Friars about 1639, he became Baptist and signed the Confession of 1644, preaching in various parts of London and at Bristol. Taking a commission as Captain, he was arrested at Newport Pagnel for lay preaching, but was freed in London. At Yarmouth and in the Midlands, at Hull and at Newcastle he was active, and at the last garrison had found time for a vigorous quarrel with Tillam. He had by these varied pursuits qualified to become Fellow of Eton College, whence he was ejected at the Restoration. Now he was acting under a commission from a German Prince to export manufactures, but the authorities evidently questioned whether this were the whole truth.

At the end of August spies reported a meeting of Fifth-Monarchy men in Norton Folgate, rejoicing over the landing of Ludlow, Whalley and Tillam in Essex. In a few days it came out that Hobson, Tillam and Pooley, a Baptist preacher in Norfolk, were concerned in a scheme whereby a hundred families had gone to the Palatinate, and were in communication with the leading regicides. Clearly there was serious risk of an invasion from abroad, and when John James preached open sedition at Bull-stake Alley, it is little wonder if an example was made of him, and he was executed for treason.

Another plot being disclosed, the Parliament in a panic passed the Corporation Act, whereby it would be impossible for Baptist butchers like Thomas Hobson to be chosen to municipal office. The militia was reorganised, for only a few years before, General Harrison had enlisted chiefly Baptists and Independents. The fortresses in the land were either dismantled, or occupied in force. To this the response was another plot, this time to murder Charles, and stories rolled in of Baptist gatherings by night at Cranbrook, of church collections for a rising next spring, of plans at Plymouth for a Baptist insurrection. By the end of the year, Newgate was packed with 289 Baptists and their friends, only 66 ordinary prisoners being there besides. Among them were many prominent ministers such as Samuel Fisher, Thomas Parrott, Richard Pilgrim, John Griffith, Jonathan Jennings. Warning was given that Belcher, preaching at Coleman Street in Limehouse, was likely to prove another Venner.

By this time another set of malcontents had been created, the Act of Uniformity causing some 1,800 Presbyterian ministers to resign from the Established Church. So serious was the situation that Charles in December issued a Declaration of Indulgence, on the lines of his promise from Breda, but against the

advice of his Council. With the Presbyterians kept quiet, it might be possible to hold down the Baptists. For in November it became known that Gower and Hobson had been arranging with John Joplin, ex-jailer at Durham, for a rising in the North; Muggleswick and Stokesley, two Baptist centres, were centres of the plot. Hobson was captured but released on bail before the full plot was known, while the Durham militia was called out to arrest the northern leaders.

Yet another Baptist colonel was busy on the same errand, over in Dublin; Thomas Blood. The Cromwellian soldiers were being displaced from the Irish farms they had settled, and he had no difficulty in finding ready listeners. Small wonder if Parliament decided to make no distinctions between Dissenters, obliged Charles to withdraw his Declaration, and drafted an Act to close all Conventicles, which were demonstrably centres of sedition in many cases: the Lords, however, checked this last move.

By August 20 in 1663, Hobson was secure in the Tower, and was discovered to be corresponding with Joplin and John Atkinson the Stockinger. By October he had turned King's evidence, and the Government was looking out for Captain Jones at Muggleswick, and Oates, while Ludlow and Hutchinson were under suspicion. Meantime evidence poured in from Newcastle and Westmorland of the extensive preparations, and of the governor of Chester Castle being in suspicious touch with a Baptist agitator; while in the Isle of Wight and in Somerset the Baptists met defiantly. With one man cross-examined under trial, and Atkinson also turning King's evidence, an alarming state of affairs came to light. The southern malcontents were being managed by Ludlow and Goffe, but the northern almost entirely by Baptists. Two thousand horse were enlisted, and many trained bands were ready to mutiny; Hull, Durham, Appleby, Carlisle were to be attacked. The chief travelling agent was Jeremy Marsden, ex-chaplain to Overton—both Baptists. At Gildersome it had been announced on October 6 that the twelfth was set for a general insurrection.

Parliament naturally took severe measures. It was not the time for a general election, so they repealed the Triennial Act. And for the next three years they passed a Conventicle Act, which forbade all manner of meetings of above four people under the guise of religion. Ex-soldiers were ordered to leave London and not to carry arms. This resulted in meetings at girls' boarding-schools, in plotting being transferred to the country, till word came up that many thousands were implicated, and were expecting help from Holland. When a scheme to seize the Tower

and Whitehall came to light, forces were embodied anew, York and Devon being specially garrisoned. In Lancashire the Baptists met as usual, refused to pay the fines, and went to prison. Five thousand people were reported here and from Cheshire as thus passively resisting, while Colonel John Wigan, founder of the Baptist church at Manchester, was not likely to stop short of active resistance. In Furness beyond the sands, where Colonel Sawrey had retired and founded Tottlebank church, the churches met openly. Major Gladman was to command 400 cavalry in Staffordshire. From Norwich came news that Pooley and Tillam were away on the Continent, a dubious errand.

Matters became even more serious with 1665, for in February war was declared with the Dutch. Ludlow was overseas, and was being told that if the Dutch could attack in force, 30,000 men would rise, of whom many belonged to the old army, while part of the fleet would mutiny, and cash was not wanting. This was based on solid fact, for in the June before, out of 25 new naval captains, many were Baptist and Presbyterian. The Morecocks of Chatham were still in great force at the navy yard, while at Deal the late governor Taverner was still there, a Baptist minister now, and the post office was in the hands of another Baptist. Blood and Jones were concerned in another plot to capture the Tower and Whitehall, while the prisons were so badly managed that fifty Baptists were actually storing arms in the White Lion.

The defeat of the Dutch fleet in June checked the greater scheme, so Tillam, Jones and Blood crossed to Ireland to mature another plan. About this time the miserable Hobson, who had been transferred down to Chepstow, and had been petitioning for thirteen months to be transported to Jamaica, appears to have received the reward of his infamy and to have been set free. He appears once more during 1665, but not in the State Papers, as causing two women at Devonshire Square to be disciplined for wanton conduct with him.

The lenient conduct of Parliament is astonishing. There was now ample evidence that conventicles were in some cases the mere cloaks for plotters, and that dissenting preachers such as Marsden, Gower, Hobson, Tillam, Wigan, Jones, Price were active conspirators. They therefore framed an oath to be tendered to all such; an oath to accept the existing state of things and be loyal. If this was refused, the only penalty was to move five miles from every corporate town and any place where the preacher had exercised his ministry. The Five-Mile Act deserves praise for its ingenuity and mercy.

Yet in 1666 the danger to the Government was still great.

A four days' battle in the Dunes prevented a Dutch landing and a rising, but public credit was so low that neither the city nor the North would lend money, while Deal, the great Baptist centre, was reported so disaffected that it was not safe to quarter troops there, and it came out next year that Taverner was plotting, while the Dutch were regularly informed by Baptists there. A naval victory off Sheerness ended the foreign danger for the year, and the Irish plot culminated in an insurrection there, and in another rising of Dumfries suppressed at Pentland; Blood was in both these, as appeared next April.

Tillam and Pooley were busy promoting a great emigration scheme to the Palatinate, which to the spy seemed inoffensive; but Blood, Danvers and Jones were wanted for trial. As it was, the Earl of Bridgewater only got hold of such innocent Baptists as John Griffith, Jonathan Jennings and Benjamin Keach, whom he committed to Aylesbury jail and told the king he would be responsible for the cause.

In 1667 it was found that the Baptists at Bell Alley were apparently intermediaries of plotters, who certainly used to send seditious letters there. In June and July the Dutch fleet destroyed Sheerness and Chatham and raided the coasts; and it was not reassuring to find that the agent for all the packets at Dover was Jemmett, well known as a Baptist. In many quarters the Conventicle Act was a dead letter, and people met openly, the Baptists of Minehead and Durham being specially defiant, while Colonel Blood signalled himself on July 25 by rescuing a prisoner from an armed escort.

By this time Clarendon was falling, and the new minister was Buckingham, who undoubtedly sympathised with dissent. The expiration of the Conventicle Act and the peace with Holland gave a great check to the militant dissenters, and Tillam's emigration schemes prospered. But with February 1669 the Act was renewed and made permanent. A serious resistance was organised; constables would not enforce, and when the soldiery was called out, three or four thousand people turned out to defend the chief meeting houses in London. The king secretly approved, but by July had to own he could no longer protect Alderman and Major Kiffin. The consequence was that when he wanted to borrow £60,000 in September, the city refused to lend. Arrests of preachers and hearers were made, and fines of £20 were imposed on the ministers, and all through 1670 reports came in. The State Papers yield many names of Baptist preachers fined or in jail during this year, and the spies begin to report that it is no good sacking the meeting houses, they are repaired and used

again, while a troop of horse would be needed to keep down the dissenters in Wilts. Convinced of this, and doubtless really sympathising, the Government let the Act drop into much disuse by the end of 1670.

But in May, 1671, a last outrage was committed by Baptists. Colonel Blood and his nephew, with Robert Perrot, a silk dyer, evidently related to the great Thomas Perrot, nearly stole the regalia out of the Tower. To save their lives, they turned King's evidence, and a number of people were arrested, including John Belcher from Oxfordshire, a Sabbatarian preacher. But Blood was received by Charles in a personal interview, when the king evidently was convinced that the policy of repression was suicidal; and steps were taken to reverse it. Plans were matured by the ministers and Charles, working through Blood during the winter, and on 15 March, 1672, Charles issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, offering licences for buildings and preachers. Almost at once we find Colonel Rede of Porton applying—to be refused, however, at first; with Taverner of Dover, the Baptists at Cranbrook where these had been drilling, and the White's Alley group, also refused because they were the Bell Alley people. All the people recently figuring as defendants, now appear in high favour; and in many cases the notorious Blood is the intermediary.

With the Dissenters placated, Charles felt strong enough to declare war again on the Dutch without fear of an insurrection. The weak point in his policy was finance, and he only secured money by stopping payments out of the Exchequer. When the cash in hand ran out, he had to convoke Parliament again, and the Houses obliged him to withdraw the Declaration. They did not, however, insist on any more repressive measures, and as a matter of fact persecution almost stopped till James reversed his brother's policy for a year.

Now it is surprising at first to find Baptist ministers involved in schemes of this kind; but it is as well to recognise that there were Baptists of this stamp. Their proceedings were the cause of the Conventicle Acts, and it is hard to see what less the Government could have done when confronted with meetings where preaching and plotting were blended. An honest attempt was made to divide the sheep from the goats by the Five-Mile Act, when every peaceable minister could swear that it was unlawful on any pretence to take arms against the King, and that he would acquiesce in the existing government of Church and State. Who would know, from the frequent diatribes against the Act, that it had no bearing except on people who refused this most reasonable promise?

The fact remains, that men like Blood, Gower, Hobson, Sawrey and Wigan were not content to be put down summarily. If their superior officers like Harrison were executed or banished, they remained the officers of highest rank in the disbanded army, and while its traditions were yet strong, they would make another stroke for freedom. They saw no more harm in planning an insurrection than the Royalists had seen under Cromwell; they saw no more harm in an understanding with Holland than Charles in an understanding with France or than the bishops or lords twenty years later when they plotted with William of Orange.

If this were all, we could sympathise largely with the officers. But when we find that at least four of this group, Blood, Gower, Hobson and Perrott, betrayed their friends to save their lives, we can no longer respect them, though we can understand the temptation. And until we know what Blood and Perrott meant to do with the regalia, we cannot tell whether they were mere bold robbers or whether some political motive may palliate their conduct.

Clarendon and Sheldon have often been blamed for the series of Acts that repressed dissent; but these proceedings will show the Acts were mere measures of self-defence. On the whole, the Presbyterians fared far worse than they deserved, for the provocation was given by a party whose brains and arms were Baptist. Their sins were visited on many innocent people, but Charles frequently did his best to restrain the panic and revenge of the Cavalier Parliament, and did at last permit a practical toleration.

There is a remarkable epilogue to this story of twelve years. The Baptists had suffered so much from mob violence when there were rumours of plots, that one or two astute politicians saw how to turn this to account against another party, the Roman Catholics. When Shaftesbury took refuge in the city with a Baptist minister, it was presently a renegade Baptist, Titus Oates, who infuriated the populace against the new victims.

It is well sometimes to remember that not all Baptists were ministers, and that not all Baptist ministers had an unblemished record. This study is avowedly one-sided, and it needs to be remarked that for one of the plotters mentioned here, there were hundreds who repeatedly and emphatically disavowed them, finding their interest in religion and not in politics.

The Baptist Licenses of 1672.

IN the exercise of the "dispensing power," whereby the Stuarts gave leave to specified persons to be exempt from the operation of certain laws, Charles II. notified on 15 March 1671-2 that he would grant licenses, (1) for a particular place to be used for worship other than according to the customs of the Established Church, (2) for a person to teach a congregation in a place named, (3) for a person to teach in any licensed place. For a year many applications were made, and the great majority were granted. The Quakers declined to apply, holding that they would acknowledge the justice of the Conventicle Act by accepting dispensations from it. Many Baptists shared this scruple, and continued to worship without license; but many others applied, and the licenses issued were all registered in a special book now in the Record Office in Chancery Lane. This has been repeatedly studied, and local extracts have often been published. It will be, however, of service to have the whole of the Baptist entries summarised and annotated. Comparison with the reports made to the bishops in 1669 and 1676 is of special value.

The spelling of all names of places has here been conformed to that in Bartholomew's 1904 Gazetteer: the spelling of the names of men has usually been reproduced, unless the preference of the man himself is known.

In Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmoreland, not a single Baptist sought a license. This is not because none existed, for the churches at Muggleswick and Newcastle are well known; but apparently they disdained to ask as a favour what they claimed and exercised as a right. Whatever the motive, such cases remind us at the outset that a list of licenses will never disclose all the churches and men that were really active.

In Lancashire only a single license was taken out, on 5 July, for the house of John Leeds in Manchester. This was of course for the church founded in 1649 by John Wigan, and upheld by Edward Gathorne. No preacher there sought a license. In Bury and

Liverpool, where the bishop of Chester knew of Baptists, no sign was made by them. When we examine what was being done in Furness, in connection with the church of Tottlebank and Broughton, we find that William Rowlingson made two applications, one for his house at Cartmell, the other for his house on Furness Fell, while Gabriel Camelford also obtained a license for his house on Furness Fell; but all three were declared to be for Congregationalists. These facts remind us that the question of baptism was ignored in this scantily populated district, so that all evangelical dissenters might unite in one community. Not till 1719 did this church unite in fellowship with Baptist churches, nor did it record anything about baptisms till Sedgfield came in 1725. Meanwhile it is remarkable that no preacher in 1672 obtained a license for these places.

On the border of Cheshire stood Warrington, where a Baptist cause had existed for a score of years, now owning a plot of ground across the river at Hill Cliff. But no one connected with this place sought a license at all. There was also a cause at Great Warford, but here also the people trusted in obscurity rather than in the king's pleasure, though the bishop was aware of their existence in both vicinities. In this county the only licenses taken out, on 25 July, were for Samuel Bowden to preach in the house of William Browne at Stockport.

Nor were the Baptists of Yorkshire much more complaisant. Thomas Walker in April applied for leave to preach in his own house at Horton, near Bradford. This is an interesting coincidence with the subsequent growth in this district connected with the Horton College, but there is not trace of any real connection. In July Theophilus Browning obtained leave to minister to a congregation in the house of William Wombwell at York. The wording of these licenses deserves attention, for whereas many men acquiesced in the nickname "Anabaptist," these at York were declared to be for "Baptists." The variations in this respect are frequent, but do not disclose any obvious principle. No application was made on behalf of the churches at Pontefract and Stokesley, as to which the archbishop was well informed.

In Lincolnshire a very different state of things obtained. The Baptists here had made repeated applications to Charles for toleration, and now that it was granted, they decided to comply with the terms, and shelter under the king's ægis. The licenses were mostly obtained in three batches, on 10 August, 28 October, and 9 December. Although in the Isle of Axholme, possibly since 1615 and the days of John Smith, there was a flourishing Baptist church meeting at Crowle, Butterwick and Epworth, with

more than a hundred members at this time, no application was made thence. A license was taken out by Thomas Williamson of Scotter, to preach anywhere, and this may refer to Axholme, though it directs attention to the neighbouring church in Kirton. Further east, Ralph James of North Willingham was licensed for his own house, while the widow Brumpton registered her house at Cherry Willingham. The widow Perk at Thurlby provided a home for the church known best as Alford. Down the centre of the county was a line of licensed houses: Valentine James at Hackthorne, John Anderson at Brattleby, Roger Fawnes and Nicholas Archer at Lincoln qualified themselves and their residences, while Elizabeth Lyly and John Anderton provided two more meeting places in the city. John Taylor registered his house at Hykeham, Edward Browne of Bassingham, Robert Wood of Carlton le Moorland obtained licenses for themselves and their homes, while at Stragglethorpe the house of William Rollington was available, at Moorland that of John Ward, at Brant Broughton that of John Barker. Further south three more men put themselves and their homes under the protection of Charles: John Skerrett at Manthorpe, John Allen at Easton, Henry Hitchcock at Ingoldsby. At Stamford Abel Laine obtained leave to preach in the house of William Collington; at Sutton St. Edmunds near Wisbech John Diggott ministered in his own home; Richard Wale in his home at Pinchbeck provided for the church of Spalding; John Thorp at Frampton similarly accommodated the church of Swineshead. Boston was housed by John Ashwell in his own home, and Moses Wells threw open his doors at Stickford. So also did John Haw at "Wierell," not identified.

Eighteen licensed preachers, with twenty-five licensed meeting places, show that Baptists mustered much more strongly in this county than further north. This is natural when we remember that the General Baptists arose by the efforts of John Smith, famous about 1600 in Lincoln and Gainsborough. Though he died abroad, we know that many of his followers returned, and that they soon founded a church in Lincoln city. The diocese was so huge that the returns for this county were overlooked when the transcript was made for Lambeth, and we cannot tell what the bishop knew here. Apparently all the Baptists in this county were of the General type. It is with some surprise that we miss the name of Thomas Grantham here, but for him we must look across the border.

For Leicestershire the licenses were drawn with some carelessness, and in a few cases people are entered as Presbyterian and Congregational, when we know that they were not. The Baptist

licenses were chiefly issued on 8 August and 9 December. In the adjacent county of Rutland none were sought.

John Kitchin obtained a license, but not for his own house at Lutterworth, being content with leave to teach at Shilton in Warwickshire, where John Perkins lived. The bishop knew him as an ironmonger, with another congregation at Leyre. William Aynsworth of West Langton qualified himself and his home; we know him as ministering for some time past to a congregation at Saddington, whence he had been reported to the bishop of Lincoln as a labourer. At Lubenham, hard by, the house of Henry Hartshorne was licensed; he also had been reported to the bishop as a yeoman and husbandman, serving about four Anabaptists of the meaner sort. At Mowsley, a short walk to the west, William Burdett gathered a congregation in his own house. Then not far away, at Rolleston, Thomas Grantham took out a license. We are probably safe in interpreting "Raiston" and "Ralleston" thus; yet it is news to find this man in this district; he had previously lived near Alford in Lincolnshire, on the South Marsh, and he is met afterwards in Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth, while there is no other sign of his activity here. The entry is, however, vague as to where his ministry is to be exercised. So also with Richard Hiffe of Fleckney. At Kilby, Richard Farmer licensed his own house; he too was known to the bishop as gathering some forty Anabaptists of a meane sort at Blaby, and as a yeoman preaching at Arnesby. In Leicester itself the home of Richard Coleman was made available, but no preacher was specified; this is the more singular as the bishop knew four leaders there. At Earl Shilton, where fifty Anabaptists of the meaner sort had been reported, the house of Edward Choney was thrown open for William Biggs to preach in. At Barwell, close by, John Jones was licensed for the house of John Onebye. Another license was issued to John Ownsby to conduct worship in his own house for a "Presbyterian" gathering, but this is manifestly a blunder, as the family is known otherwise, here and at Long Lawford in Warwickshire, as Baptist. William Peasant of Bosworth also took out a license, without the sphere of his work being mentioned. At Ratby, Richard Boosh preached in his own house, and this probably accounts for the church at Markfield. Mountsorrel had been the seat of a Baptist church for some time, but the only license issued here was for Richard Adams, to Congregationalists in his own house. Here is another evident mistake, for he is well known as coming to London and ministering there to two Baptist churches. When, therefore, we find that Henry Coleman licensed his house at Tur Langton, and that

Richard Farmer was licensed to preach in the house of Henry Fox at Wigston, although these are specified as Congregational, the evidence of the names makes us suspect further errors. And there may also be doubt about the houses of George Borfert at Fleckney, William Hartshorne at Harborough, John Cave at Theddingworth and Elizabeth Brotherhood at Thornton; for two places and two people have Baptist associations. And again we know of numerous churches which refrained from any application.

Nottinghamshire yielded only a group of six hamlets near Newark, in the Trent Valley, associated really with the Lincolnshire churches. The nearest is Muskham, where the house of Robert Colvert was licensed; then Norwell, where Richard Easam preached at home; Carlton and Sutton, where William Woolhouse took out two licenses to teach in his own houses; while across the river the house of William Russell was available at Scarle and the house of William Hart at Collingham. The archbishop knew Woolhouse as preaching regularly at the latter place to about sixty people. The influence of Helwys at Basford and of Colonel Hutchinson at Nottingham left no trace at this time. Elias Boyer, known to the bishop and to several churches, made no application. Thomas Case of Kersall, and farmer John James of Hintham, known to the archbishop as ministering to Independents or Anabaptists, chose to register as Congregationalists.

Derbyshire was even less touched by Baptist views; not a single preacher was licensed, and only two places were registered for preaching; the home of Francis Stephenson at Dronfield, and the home of George Booth at Glossop. Yet the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry knew of quite a strong group round Bakewell and Great Longstone and Moniasbrough to whom Ainsworth came from Leicestershire; they probably trusted in their inaccessibility, and lived to form the church of Ashford.

Stafford had only three scattered places licensed. At Burton-on-Trent, where a large meeting had been denounced to the bishop, John Blundell took out a general permission, while the house of John Tomlinson was ready for him. At the county town John Wade took charge of a congregation in his own home. And near the borders of Cheshire, the town of Audley seems to have been a Baptist stronghold, though it is otherwise unknown in our annals; Thomas Beech arranged to preach in the house of John Cotrocke, and Thomas Sillito in the house of Samuel Sillito.

In the county of Salop, not a single Baptist took any notice of the king's declaration.

Hereford, however, had been well evangelised from across the Welsh border, and a few applications came thence. In the city itself the home of Edward Prae was put under the king's protection: this entry is probably an error for Edward Price, known there as Baptist a few years later; especially when we see that Price did take out a license as a preacher in his own house, when he is described as Congregational. In Leominster, where the work of Tombes had been followed up by Vavasor Powell and Price, Francis Pritchard and John Powell successively registered their houses. At Moccas, David Jones licensed his home. A curious feature is that no preacher qualified for any of these places, perhaps Welsh itinerants were relied upon. There were, however, two English Baptists; at Wharton Richard Whitall had led the way in protecting his house; while Samuel Tracy of Clifford Priory registered himself as preacher and his mansion as a meeting house, on the same day that the Welsh applications went in. When we note the doubtful entry as to Price's denomination, we look again at another "Congregational" entry, which is of Richard Perkins for his house at Weston-under-Penyard. Now in 1653 there was a Baptist church here, which joined with the churches at Leominster and Hereford in a letter to Hexham, denouncing infant sprinkling; there seems some probability that Perkins was really sheltering this church. The bishop of Hereford's returns are not available for comparison.

The numerous Worcestershire Baptists were not allured by the promises of Charles, except that John Langford registered his house at Kyrewood; as this is on the Hereford border, and the license was sought on the same day as the Herefordshire licenses, we may probably associate them.

Warwick is really linked with Leicester, not only geographically but doctrinally; as early as 1626 the influence of John Smith had founded a General Baptist church at Coventry, and in 1651 one or two neighbouring hamlets sent delegates to a Midland convention. This group was now represented at Brandon, where John Woollaston registered for the house of Thomas Matthews; and at Long Lawford, where John Wilcox registered for the house of the widow Onely. This last entry is to be compared with the entries for Barwell in Leicester, and with the news the bishop of Lichfield three years before that Wilcox and John Only were active here. Midway between these places lies Shilton, where John Kitchin of Lutterworth took leave to preach in John Perkins' house. Further along the great Roman road lies Nuneaton, where William Sadler licensed for his own house, known to the bishop as a mercer's warehouse: and only a few miles

beyond is Atherstone, where the bishop knew he had been accustomed to preach in the house of William Powers; the good results were shown in Francis Clayton taking out a license to teach there, while William Keeling took out another for himself in his own home. Close by is the hamlet of Whittington, where Manassas King qualified for the house of Thomas Chapman. Perhaps King is the Coventry man reported with Elias Boyer as busy at Castle Donington. All these licenses were taken out on 25 July, together with one for John Cammidge to teach in the house of Jeremiah Saunders at Burton: now Burton Hastings is close to Atherstone and Nuneaton; but Burton Dassett is several miles to the south, close to Avon Dassett where the bishop knew of a strong Baptist meeting, and to Horley in Oxfordshire, another centre; which is the licensed Burton is not quite clear.

In Northamptonshire there were many Baptists in touch with those of Warwick and Leicester; but they all refrained from accepting the king's offers, except that at Sibbertoft, near Lubenham and Mowsley, Thomas Carne qualified as a preacher, though the only house licensed there was that of Samuel Sturgess, for Presbyterian worship. Far to the east Baptists had long found a refuge, and under the shadow of the cathedral Isaac Spence registered his house, while Christopher Bell obtained leave to preach. Four miles to the north-east lies the hamlet of Eye, where Edward Payton took out a General licence, while William Holt registered his house; a month later John Sarjant also obtained a personal license. These places lie in the fen country, bordering on Lincoln, Cambridge and Huntingdon, so that this same group of people used to preach at Whittlesey in Cambridge, where the house of John Gates, known to the bishop of Ely as the centre, was now licensed. Also at Parson Drove the house of Robert Hilton afforded another centre nearer Wisbech.

Cambridge shows a group of churches, which sent in their applications by John Denne on 16 May, and received them through his father, Henry Denne, the famous evangelist and officer. The house of Joshua Johnson provided a home for the important group at Wisbech, where the bishop had been erroneously told that no conventicle was held, as the Anabaptists met in neighbouring towns. Thomas Meeres welcomed his friends at March, the widow Sherwood at Ely, Thomas Gotobed at Stretham, Thomas Waller at Swaffham Prior, John Denne junior at Wilbraham magna, William Davis at Trumpington, which the bishop knew as a great centre whither hundreds of dissenters resorted, the widow Pate at Harston, and Benjamin Metcalfe at Melbourn, where the bishop had long had an eye on his farm. Up the Great Ouse

was another group, Robert Cole taking leave to preach in the house of William Cranford at Over, John Denne himself at his own house in Saint Ives, Edmund Mayle at his own house in Fen Stanton, Thomas Chapman at the home of Robert Stokely in Warboys, John Lacy at Godmanchester in the house of the widow Weeden, and Thomas Gates in his home at Ellington. Henry Denne had been a celebrated itinerant, and saw the advantage of taking out general licenses, permitting the holders to preach in any licensed place, so that an unusual number of such documents was obtained for this district. William Blackburne of Ely would thus be able to minister at Elm and Wisbech, where he had already been known to the bishop's spy, and Thomas Taylor of Wisbech was made free of the district around, including that Sutton St. Edmund already noted in Lincolnshire. Joining hands with them was Edmond Smyth of March, though it is with some surprise we see there was no place made available at Chatteris, where a church was flourishing. Abraham Coe of Stretham was splendidly placed to go either on the Great Ouse or the Cam. Thomas Waller of Swaffham Prior could serve the flourishing southern group, with the help of Edward Hancock from Wilbraham, also prominent enough to figure on the bishop's list, Giles Taylor from Trumpington, William Homerston of Harston, and farmer Metcalfe of Melbourn.

Practically all the Baptists met hitherto were firm believers that the Gospel was meant for absolutely all men, and that there was no limitation to the "elect." But when we pass into East Anglia a different type comes to view, connected with the Calvinists, and not thoroughly differentiated from the Pædobaptist Separatists, with decidedly exclusive views as to election and salvation. The little handful of churches lay in the district north and south of Norwich and Yarmouth, and are known to be connected with the Separatist movement in the early years of the century, as may be seen in the pages of George Gould and John Browne. Within the city of Norwich, William Tuke of St. Clement's took out a general license for himself, a hint at a group of churches; Henry Austin, known to the bishop as a dyer, Thomas Flatman, Daniel Bradford, and John Waddilow of St. Peter's did the same. The only place within the city where they asked leave to assemble was at Tuke's own home, though the bishop knew they met at Bradford's home and with a chemist called John Willson; so that we naturally look afield to see the scenes of their labours. To the north lay North Walsham where Henry Symonds now had leave to preach at the house of John Haggis, who in 1677 was to become pastor of Ingham. This

village had had a Baptist church since 1637, and in 1657 enjoyed the services of John Woolstone; he now took out a license to preach in the house of Samuel Durrant, himself destined to take pastoral care on the death of Aggas. Between the two was East Ruston, where the bishop was aware of Woods, Woolston and Tracy as leaders; Robert Wood now took out his license to preach in the house of Elizabeth Becker. On the coast at Yarmouth Thomas Tracy and John Barber took out licenses, rather vague in form, but apparently available anywhere, while Timothy Pye put his house under the king's protection for worship. It may be remarked that Tracy had been prominent in Separatist circles for more than twenty years, but had been expelled from the Congregational church in 1657 for urging his Baptist views. Further south lay Mundham, where John Wilson took leave to preach in his own house; was he the chemist from Norwich? Not far on was Hedenham, where Thomas Mallett or Mariott obtained a like permission for himself and his home; and just across the Waveney in Suffolk was Bungay, where John Allen and Thomas Walcott obtained a remarkable joint license for their houses to be used for Congregational and Anabaptist worship, while Henry Lacy with more exclusive views licensed his home for Baptists. It may be observed that most of these licenses were among the last issued, as if there had been great hesitation about trusting the king's ability to protect them against the law.

In Essex there was even greater reluctance, and most of the numerous churches ignored the offer of Charles. Only at Matching did William Collins take leave to preach in the house of widow Anne Boreham. A few years later the work centred at Potter Street and Harlow, which latter place was represented by Collins in 1689 at the Assembly of the Particular Baptists.

Hertfordshire yielded only two groups of people who heeded the invitation. At Cheshunt, not far from Matching, Joseph Maisters took out a general license; John Spencer also obtained leave to preach here in the house of Anthony Spinage. Perhaps this was the Captain Spencer who had defied the law three years earlier, and openly preached in Hertford, where four hundred Anabaptists had fitted up three places of worship. But these places were now not protected by license. Far away on the borders of Bedfordshire, Thomas Silly and Thomas Vaux and Robert Collinson took out a joint license to preach, while Thomas Carter's house was made available for the Baptists there. Vaux had been reported to the bishop of Lincoln as leader at Edworth, just across the border, but a prisoner in Herts jail three years before.

In Bedfordshire not one house was licensed for Baptist worship, and only a single Baptist preacher obtained recognition, Stephen Kilbey of Shefford. This brings us face to face with the singular case of John Bunyan. It is well known that he joined a church in which baptism was not made a pre-requisite to fellowship, and it is equally well known that while he himself was baptised, he strongly opposed making baptism a test of communion. It was exactly at this time, 1672 and 1673, that he was engaged in a vigorous paper warfare on the point, against Kiffin and other strict communionists. Hence when he applied for a number of licenses, he styled them all "Congregational." We recognise that in his lips, this word did not imply the adoption of infant baptism, but neutrality on the question. Hence we scan the list, to see if from other sources we can identify any as really connected with Baptists. Two places cannot be identified at all, Ford End in Bedfordshire, where Nathanael Alcock was licensed to preach in the house of John Tingey; Upthorpe in Huntingdonshire, where George Fowler was licensed for the house of John Cooke; the latter may represent Upton.

Twenty-four places besides these were comprised in the circle of Bunyan's interest, mostly within a radius of twelve miles from Bedford. At Toft and Gamblingay in Cambridgeshire the movements did not develop into ordinary Baptist churches, unless Gamlingay Old Meeting be a secession in 1710. At Kimbolton in Huntingdon there still is a mixed-fellowship church, which, however, claims to originate only in 1692. Keysoe in Bedfordshire where John Donne, ejected from Pertenhall, took a license, is to-day a Baptist church claiming 1652 as its origin, though the bishop of Lincoln classed the worshippers as Independent. Wollaston in Northampton has no ancient Baptist church, and the little cause at Brafield under the wing of Hackleton is probably not connected with Bunyan's day. But in Buckinghamshire we find two places of interest: John Gibbs took out a license to preach in his own house and in the barn of William Smith at Newport Pagnel. Now Gibbs was the ejected minister, and was well known to the bishop and the neighbourhood as an "Anabaptist." Olney was the other place patronised by Bunyan, and here too the bishop knew of a conventicle of two hundred Anabaptists served by Gibbs. While then this man so far shared Bunyan's views that when applying for a license at Astwood, he styled himself Congregational, and when asking for his own house to be licensed he called himself Presbyterian, common repute ranked him with Baptists. And by 1694 there was a church in Olney which was avowedly Baptist. Lower down the Great Ouse

lay Turvey, another of Bunyan's places, which gave rise to no Baptist church. Then Pavenham, where the bishop knew of forty Baptists of the meanest sort. Further on was Stevington where he knew of fifty more, and opposite was Oakley another Baptist centre. At Stagsden John Fenne was licensed, and the bishop knew him as a Baptist hatter. Kempston and Goldington, hamlets close to Bedford, the bishop was uncertain about, whether Baptists were there or not; but the fact that John Sewster was licensed for the former, and that the bishop knew him for a Baptist, clears up the uncertainty there. Cardington he knew as having fifty of the meaner sort, helped from Bedford and Gamlingay and Toft; and at Blunham, where John Wright was licensed, the bishop tells us he was a collar-maker, ministering to fifty Baptists of the middle sort. Cranfield and Ridgmont were classed as Independent by the bishop's spy, though the former has a Baptist church dating from 1660; Haynes he knew little about, but as Samuel Fenne was the licensee, we put it down as largely Baptist. Maulden was ministered to by Nehemiah Coxe, who is well known as son of a prominent Baptist minister in London, revising the Confession of 1644, and as himself taking charge of a prominent Baptist church there. At Edworth the bishop knew only of a score of Baptists of the meaner sort, but the case of Ashwell in Herts remains obscure. Of the whole group therefore, more than half were esteemed Baptist by the people around. Many are Baptist still, though the influence of Bunyan has availed to perpetuate a fellowship between Baptist and Congregationalists in the County Union.

We now reach the Thames Valley. In the London district there were about ten Baptist meetings which put themselves under the king's protection. William Potter of Bell Lane, Stepney, had his house licensed for Stephen Tory to preach in. In East Smithfield, Edward Whiston had dared to appropriate a house wholly for preaching; this was now used by Samuel Loveday and Randal Roper. All these were prominent General Baptists, known even to the Government. Loveday was known to the bishop as a coat-seller, and his place was in Whitsun Yard, Aldgate Parish. At Bishopsgate, near St. Botolph's, Daniel Dick took leave to preach at the house of David Jones, and Thomas Harrison in his own home. The latter was a tallow-chandler, prominent in Baptist ranks for fifteen years, a member at Devonshire Square lately. In Petty France, Edward Harrison obtained a license to preach in his own house; he was an ex-clergyman, and his meeting developed into the chief Particular Baptist church, still represented in Stoke Newington as "Devonshire Square." Not far away,

in Little Moorfields, Richard Horton's house was used by John Gosnold and Thomas Plant: Gosnold had been master of the Charterhouse, and the bishop tells us that the building had been a music house, and stood on Gun Alley. Near Aldersgate, George Harris had a house, now declared as the meeting place for Jonathan Jennings, another General Baptist leader. On Cornhill, Francis Smith opened his book-shop and preached openly. There were of course many other Baptist causes, but when the Coleman Street meeting was refused a license for John Martin's house in White's Alley, there was a broad hint that some need not apply. Across the river, only James Jones of Southwark was registered, and at present it is impossible to link him certainly with any Baptists before or after.

Going up river, we take leave of General Baptists for a long time, and find only Particular Baptists in Berks, Bucks and Oxon. William Ruthey of Maidenhead and Edward Gillett of Cookham, known to the bishop of Salisbury as a collar-maker, took leave to preach in the house of James (or Thomas) Jeffrey in Cookham. Thomas Taylor conducted worship in his home at Wycombe, while John Harper of Watlington took out a general license. Reading was a Baptist centre, where Jeremiah Jues [? Ives] held a general license, Daniel Roberts took leave to preach in his own house, and Mary Kenton threw her house open. Wallingford had been made a stronghold by the Stennetts, though the bishop of Salisbury was under the illusion that meetings had ceased; so it is not surprising that Edward now claimed liberty in the castle, while John Kem obtained license to preach here in the house of Richard Cox. At Appleton, Silvester Marchant took out a general license, and as the house of Peter Stevens was put down for Presbyterian worship, we look on to Abingdon, where the bishop knew a strong band headed by Captain Consolation Fox, William Stevenson, a mercer, and Simon Peck, a maltster. Here John Coombes and John Man had leave to preach in the house of Katherine Peck. In Oxford city, Lawrence King and Richard Titmarsh registered to preach in the house of the latter, while at Woolvercot the house of James Beckford was also licensed. Witney saw the widow Collier open her doors, into which Thomas Packford of Finstock would often come with his general license, good in his own village at the home of Thomas Crasse. At Longworth, where they had been bold enough to appropriate a hop-garden for burials, John Man, who was already licensed for Abingdon, found another opening at the house of Jane Tuckwell. Most of these places are grouped in their applications for licenses, but at Wantage we find the influence

of Kiffin exerted to get leave for Robert Keat to preach in the house of Aaron Jones, and for Bartholomew Tull to preach at home. It is curious that Kiffin refrained from obtaining a license for himself and his church; perhaps at London he was able to forecast that the king's protection would have to be withdrawn soon.

In Gloucestershire among the Cotswolds, John Oates and Giles Watkins took out licenses at Cirencester, and as widow Jane Palteeres did not declare her denomination, and as no other declared itself, we may suppose that she sheltered the Baptist congregation. Kings Stanley was a Baptist centre, but its activities are only reflected here in that Thomas Evans took leave to preach at Nympsfield, in the house of widow Pegler. At Horton James Nobbs qualified to preach at home, and also from Westport in Wilts he sued out a general license, while Ann Smith provided a meeting place, available also for William Pick of Malmesbury with another general license. Back in Gloucestershire Samuel Webb of Chipping Sodbury held another of these roving commissions, while John Kibble opened his house. At Bristol no Baptist sign appears in the entry book, but at the Baptist College may be seen the original license granted to Thomas Hardcastle, described indeed as of Bitton, and a Presbyterian, but well known to be pastor of Broadmead. Also the original license granted to Andrew Gifford, who himself has corrected the description "Presbyterian" into "Baptist."

There is another group of churches in Wilts and East Somerset, clustering around the Avon. Passing up from Bitton, we reach Bradford where John Broomejohn held a license for his house, while Henry Sharpwell took leave to preach at large. Just to the north is Stowford, where widow Blake opened her house, and John Alchurch had permission to teach there. A mile or two further lies Whitley, where William Ruty used the home of Abraham Little. Back by the river is Wyke, where William Ads took leave to preach in the home of William Lewse. Trowbridge was the scene of Paul Frewin's labours, especially in the house of Edward Grant, whose clothing establishment had been a trouble to the bishop of Salisbury. At North Bradley, within an easy hour southwards, Thomas Collier took leave to preach at the house of widow Bradley, as also in Southwick at Robert Runwell's house; though the license in this latter case is for Congregational worship, Collier is well known as the absolute head of all the Baptist work in the West country. A little east was Earl Stoke, where William Aldridge was preacher, and Thomas George provided the place; while Devizes was the up-

land limit, where John and William Fox with Thomas Okey ministered at the house of widow Fidsall. On this home again the bishop had his eye, and was told that Okey the wool-breaker was of Fifth-Monarchy tendencies. Up another tributary of the Avon, in Somerset, was another great centre at Frome, round which the bishop of Bath and Wells was annoyed at the activity of Richard Allen. Curiously, the only license he obtained was marked "Presbyterian" and was for a barn belonging to Seamour's Court at Beckington; but there is a possibility that this is another mistake.

In Frome itself, John Davidson obtained leave to use the house of John Wayland, and Richard Gadge to use the house of George Hopper. Out at Whatley, the house of Richard Egerton was opened, and William Rundell qualified as preacher. Further up stream was Witham Friary, where William Clarke was alike host and teacher. Not far hence were two more villages on the Wiltshire downs; Deverill, where William Adlames protected his house, and John Uzzall took out a general license; Kilmington, where Robert Cox had leave to preach in the house of Francis Hartgill. The latter case gives interesting exercise to conjectural emendation, for the entry is of Kibminton, assigned to Somerset, whose border is indeed only a mile away; since the bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese Wilts lay, was acquainted with Robert Cox as a husbandman at Maiden Bradley, a few miles away, there is no doubt that the license is wrong again, and we must hope that the magistrates would not insist on technical errors when it was pleaded. The remaining Wiltshire licenses are for places south of the watershed, and may be described in connection with Hampshire.

In Somerset, near Wilts and Dorset, lies Wincanton, where Thomas Coale entertained the Baptists and taught them. Fifteen miles to the north-west is Glastonbury, where William Angear opened his house in St. Bennet's, and taught. Thence an easy walk of five miles takes to Wells, where William Higgins was leader, in Anthony Taunton's house at St. Cuthbert's. Hard by was Croscombe, where in the home of Stephen Ames the Baptists met to hear Robert Addrige; or at Horrington in the house of Abel Bewsies, Ambrose Brooke was preacher. Lower down the Axe, John Collier's home at Cheddar was available for Stephen Ham, and at Axbridge Edward Woolcott took licenses for himself and his home. Coasting along to the Parrett, the next place of refuge was Bridgewater, where first Nathanael Byfield qualified to preach in John Oldmixon's house, then Toby Wells took leave for the home of Charles Miles; Tobias Wells was on the bishop's

black book. Not far off was Broomfield, where John Speare opened his house, and Robert Speare took a Baptist license, though his application was put in as a Presbyterian. At the head of the stream lay North Perrott, where the home of John Partridge was opened, Christopher Jones and Thomas Miller preaching. Miller belonged to Hushe in Dorset, where he sued out a second license without place being specified; so that he could help William Ireland and Jeremiah Dry at the house of Robert Carlisse in South Perrott. Down the Parrett again, and up the Tone, it is surprising at first that Taunton Baptists claimed no protection, when we remember the importance of the town and the cause. Only at Pitminster did Edward Gatchell take licenses for himself and his house, and at Ashbrittle Francis Bryant, John Carnall and Isaac Farman took personal licenses, though no one protected his house. Did they cross the hills to Minehead on the coast, to help Stephen Lanelark preach in his home?

Perhaps Devon was more attractive to them, for at Bampton John Ball and Thomas Bryant had obtained licenses for their houses, while Richard Hooper had leave to preach at home. Eight miles down the Exe was Tiverton, where the ancient church now sheltered in the house of Martin Dunsford, and profited by the ministrations of William Facey. Down at Exeter Adam Pearse opened his house, but no leader is known; the bishop, however, had been greatly annoyed seven years earlier by John Symonds, described to him as an ignorant Anabaptist who practised physic and kept conventicles at Farringdon, two or three miles further on; perhaps as he was described then as unlicensed, he kept up that reputation and his ministry. Up the Dart was a second group of Devonshire Baptists; Robert Stead at Dartmouth took out a general license, as befitted a leader; while possibly the house of John Forly at Totnes was available, and the house of James Searle at Darlington, though the licenses (mis-spelt) read as Presbyterian.

The delectable Duchy of Cornwall showed not one licensed Baptist preacher; the redoubtable Thomas Tregoss, an evicted clergyman, who in 1665 was known at Budock as a great conventicle keeper, lately imprisoned, made no application. Yet two places were put under the king's protection, the long loft in Park Hellen, belonging to Thomas Smales of Penryn, and the house of William Hocker of St. Breock, Wadebridge. The former at least testifies to the permanence of the work of the erst-while Vicar of Milor and Mabe, still represented in the Falmouth church.

Back towards the eastern border of Devon lies Honiton, where the homes of Samuel Searle and Peter Cole were licensed. Cross-

ing into Dorset we reach Chideock, where the house of Robert Scott was open, and Peter Jule was licensed. At Dorchester there were John Dibnam and Francis Gie. The Poole Baptists made no application, but up the Stour there was Wimborne, where John King preached at home; Corfe where John Maynard was licensed; Tarrant Keynston where Thomas Ball protected his house, while John Persons of Blandford who had leave to preach at home was probably the minister; and Faringdon where again only a house was licensed, belonging to John Holland. It may be mentioned that in this county had worked the eccentric Francis Bampfield, who now defied all classification, but took out a general licence as a nonconforming minister; in after days he found his bearings as a Sabbatarian Baptist, preaching in London and imprisoned in Newgate.

The next river of any note is another Avon. Going up this we pass Downton, where the ancient church ignored the declaration of indulgence, and come to Salisbury. Here under the eyes of the bishop, James Wise qualified to preach in the house of Thomas Batt. At Broad Chalk, on an affluent, the episcopal register had noted that a husbandman called Henry Pen ministered to ten Anabaptists; he now protected himself and his house. In the parish of South Newton, John Alchurch took out licence to preach at the residence of the widow Blake in Stowford. Up the main stream was Amesbury, where the bishop knew of Thomas Long as a pillar; he now registered himself and his home. A little beyond was Bulford, in which John Lydiard's house was made available. Rushall yet higher up, a General Baptist church, made no application.

Up the other stream lay Porton, where Colonel John Rede had his mansion, whence he evangelized the country around. So obnoxious was he to the authorities, that he met with the rare experience of a repulse when he applied; but eventually he obtained a general license for himself, with leave to assemble meetings at his manor in Idmiston. Across the Hampshire border was Broughton, where Henry Abbott's house was licensed, and Over Wallop where John Kent provided both room and preaching. Further up was St. Mary Bourne where dwelt Richard Bunny, another pillar of the cause; he licensed his own home, and obtained leave to preach at John Dozzell's house in Whitchurch. Down near the coast at Bishop's Waltham, Edward Goodyear's registered his house; while in Southampton, where the bishop of Winchester had been annoyed at Richard King, Thomas Frod. and William Harding for entertaining conventicles, a fact notorious as to the first in our annals, we are amused to find

Harden and King labelled Presbyterian in the Entry Book, and only John Alchurch licensed as Baptist. The Isle of Wight seems to have been most popular with the denomination. At West Cowes, Michael Aldridge and Edward Knight and James Wise all qualified, the meeting being at Knight's house, while the others ranged afield, Wise being known at Salisbury. Newport was another home, which remained unregistered. At Carisbrooke, under the shadow of the castle, Mark Wight took license for his house. Portsmouth Baptists paid no attention to the king's offers.

The bishop of Winchester looked after Surrey, where he knew of three causes, none of which took advantage of the declaration. Five places, however, did shelter themselves. John Wheeler registered for the house of Edward Billingham at Elstead. John Bernard declared himself at Gadbrook near Reigate, preaching in the house of Richard Humphrey. At Effingham, not far away, William Wilkinson harboured the congregation of Thomas Strickland. On the river at Chertsey, Arthur Squibb had one meeting at home, and William Burnett ministered to another in William Longhurst's house. Francis Smith the Cornhill bookseller, qualified a second time to preach at West Croydon in what had been a malthouse.

The Sussex Baptists, numerous as they are, were very wary of the license system. At the city of Chichester itself, they certainly deemed it wise to claim protection, so George Upton of the Manhood, and William Fletcher of St. Pancras parish, registered for the house of the latter outside East Gate. At the other end of the county, Richard Bacon qualified to preach at the house of Mark Wright in Hastings, while at Mountfield, just north of Battle, Thomas Martin ministered to a congregation in the house of Richard Spencer.

Thus we reach Kent, a stronghold of Baptists, sprung from two or three different centres, but all at one in being again of the General type, not represented on the lists for the south elsewhere. In this county alone did they outnumber all other dissenters. In the Isle of Oxney, the house of Thomas Barnes was opened for Henry Peene. At Hawkhurst, William Worsley ministered at the dwelling of Henry Paine. Rolvenden was apparently refused a license, and the reason doubtless would be its connection with Cranbrook, where it was reported that hundreds of Baptists had drilled to rise in rebellion against the king. The archbishop knew they were very numerous here, and that their leader though imprisoned, had been set free by the jailor. Yet at Cranbrook Richard Gunn obtained a license, and though

refused for one place he at first desired, the home of Theophilus Beath was registered and that of Alexander Vines also. As there were quite four hundred Baptists here, according to the archbishop's roll, it is not surprising that Nathanael Row also had leave to preach at John Miller's house. Tenterden was another dependency, and here James Blackmore was host and preacher. Biddenden saw George Hammond, the great evangelist, licensed for James Harding's house. Another mainstay of the cause was the Kingsnoth family; Thomas licensed himself and his home at Frittenden; Richard and his home at Staplehurst qualified; Henry preached at Smarden in Walter Gilham's house; while Daniel went a little distance to Thomas Hills at Charing. He had to pass Headcorn, where Robert Knight preached at John Hopper's house. Slightly to the west lay Marden, where Francis Cornwell, known to the archbishop as a husbandman, preached in his own house. In this same district the houses of Elizabeth Hopden and Samuel Turke at Goudhurst were licensed, but the denomination was not declared. Near Charing were three other places: at Lenham in the house of John Henicer, Daniel Kingston preached; at Wye Thomas Glover taught at John Searle's, Norton Munden at George Wadlow's, John Jarman at Michael Hadlow's. Mersham saw Thomas Jarman preaching at Thomas Heritages'. Some of these families so intermarried that Searles Jarman afterwards was well known. On the coast there was an important set of Baptist sailors and officers; they were ministered to by Richard Hobbs, at Dover in Samuel Taverner's house, at Deal in Joan Colemar's. Feversham had been an early Separatist centre; close by, at Boughton Monchelsea, where the widow Sanders had sheltered a church lately, Henry Snoath now took license to preach at Thomas Hooker's. Chatham with its dockyard was another Baptist stronghold, where Thomas Arkenstall had begun defiant worship even in 1660 in a house used continuously ever since; perhaps it owed its immunity to its ownership by the Morecock family, in great power at the yard. Now it was licensed, and Benjamin Bowyer was declared as preacher. Close to Gravesend, at Milton, Thomas Terry took out a general license, and William Sexby registered his house. Further west, inland at St. Mary Cray, the house of William Bowers was registered for Edward Delamaine: this is the cause known also as Sevenoaks, Bradburn, Bessels Green. At some place disguised as "Norgame," Matthew Sanders qualified himself and his home.

Wales to-day teems with Baptists; it is remarkable that they showed so scantily at this time. In Monmouth at Aber-

gavenny, John Edwards and Christopher Price, a shoemaker and an apothecary, as the bishop of Llandaff knew them, qualified themselves and their homes, while William Prichard who had been pastor there, registered himself and his home in Llantilio Pertholey. Across the hills at Bedwellty, Thomas Jones was host and preacher to another company. These all applied in a group.

In Brecon there was but a single place, at Llanafanfawr, where Thomas Evans held a license. Further inland in Radnor, William Greene at the same time applied for himself and his home at Llandrindod. Beyond this to the north, Baptists were silent.

Glamorgan even then was the centre. At Bridgend, Thomas Joseph provided home and preaching. Four miles south is St. Brides Major, and this is apparently the place where widow Williams registered her house. Five miles south-west is Newton, and from its subsequent association with Nottage we can identify this as the place where William Andrews opened his house and Howell Thomas preached.

The application for the house of Llewelin Morgan at "Llangewyth," made on the same day, probably points to Llangynwyd, also near Bridgend. Swansea had been a Baptist centre since the days of John Miles; it is natural that William Dykes opened his home, and Lewis Thomas registered to preach.

Eight miles north-west, across the Loughor, lies Llangennech in Carmarthenshire. This is apparently the place meant by "Llangennyth" or "Llangennijth," where Robert Morgan qualified to preach in the house of Joshuah Franch, on the same day. Professor Lyon Turner, whose exact reproduction of the Entry Book here is most welcome, indeed supposes that Llangennith in the Gower peninsula is meant. But thrice is the county stated alongside other entries for Glamorgan; and Robert Morgan had been at work in Carmarthen for twenty years, as Joshua Thomas showed in 1795. It is true that in 1690 he was elder of Swansea, jointly with Lewis Thomas, and even went as far East as Gelligaer or Craig-yr-allt on the Monmouth border, but this is explained by the statement that Carmarthen was now dissolved. We therefore prefer to correct the spelling here as is so often needful, and to adhere to the geography. And this is confirmed when we see that four licenses were issued in a group, for Anabaptist meetings in the house of William Dykes at Swansea, John Morgan at Llannon in Carmarthen, Joshuah Franklin and Edward Williams at this place in question; Llangennech lies between Swansea and Llannon, while Llangennith is in quite another direction.

On the whole question of Baptists in Wales, the important remark of Joshua Thomas is to be borne in mind, that they were in mixed communion with Independents, not only in the two churches of Montgomery and Denbigh, but in most, if not all, of our congregations in Wales. The criticism of the license returns from this stand-point really needs a Welsh expert, who will find the material in Professor Turner's three articles during 1905 for the Congregational Historical Society. Our elder sister, the Welsh Baptist Historical Society, might see to this matter.

The value of these licenses was from the first problematical. The moment Parliament met, in February, 1672-3, the constitutionality of the Declaration was impeached; and after some attempts to uphold it, and the failure of a bill to legalise the system, Charles cancelled the Declaration on 7 March. From that date the licenses were worthless, so that informers began again to trouble the meetings, and now had ample means of knowing some places and leaders. In the winter of 1674-5 the king sought the support of the bishops, and in February issued a Declaration to enforce the Conventicle Act, announcing that the licenses "were long since recalled," which probably only means, regarded as invalid. Archbishop Sheldon called for returns through the bishops as to the number of Popish Recusants and other Dissenters, as a preliminary to a systematic enforcement of the law. A copy of these, in the Salt Library at Stafford, is of much value when thoroughly criticised. Yet the breathing space of 1672-3 gave such respite and encouragement that it is no rare thing to find existing church-books beginning about 1676.

The general principle of licensing was followed seventeen years later by the Toleration Act. It provided that any person, who chose to make certain oaths and declarations should be registered and might take out a certificate, which certificate should be a sufficient defence to any charge under the conventicle and other specified Acts. It also provided that the places must be registered in like fashion, and certificates taken out. Although this legislation has been much modified, Reginald Winslow, a barrister, expressly summarising the law in 1886, warns us that unless the place is registered, there is no protection of worship against brawlers, nor is there any right to be exempted from rating; nor can the minister claim any exemption from juries, corporate office and militia. And on the other hand, when the place is registered, if a tradesman chooses to register himself as its minister, he can claim such exemptions. It does not appear that any one has a right

to object to any one else registering, and unscrupulous persons have before now registered themselves as ministers of a congregation which repudiated them, thereby acquiring remarkable rights. The principle of certificates has even been extended, for marriages can only be performed in places registered in due form, first for religious worship by a proprietor or trustee, and second for marriage by twenty house-holders habitually worshipping there during one year.

The following license is reproduced from page cxiii of the Rev. George Gould's "Open Communion and the Baptists of of Norwich," the transcript having been made by Dr. Gotch from the original at Bristol College. Italics mark words and letters that are written, the body of the license being in print. Gifford himself crossed out the word Presbyterian, and added Baptist.

Charles R.

[Seal] CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, We do hereby permit and license *Andrew Gifford of our Citty of Bristoll* of the Perswasion commonly called *Presbyterian Baptist* to be a Teacher, and to teach in any place licensed and allowed by Us, according to Our Said Declaration. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 5th day of *September*, in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

By His Majesties Command,

ARLINGTON.

Gifford A Teacher.

If we fill in the corresponding printed form for a place, with details from the Entry Book, chosen because they have been wrongly quoted as Presbyterian, and because they represent the oldest Baptist Church in Lancashire and Cheshire, we get after the introductory greeting:—

In pursuance of Our Declaration of Ye 15 of March 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. Wee have allowed and wee doe hereby allow of *the howse of John Leeds, at Manchester* to be a Place for ye Use

of such as doe not conforme to ye Church of England, who are of ye perswation Commonly called *Anabaptist* to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship and Devotion, and all and singular Our Officers and Ministers, Ecctical Civil and Military, whom it may concerne, are to take due notice hereof, and they and every one of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, and to Protect them in their said meetings and Assemblyes. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 25th day of *July*, in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

Old Wisbech Records.

THERE is a volume containing registrations of births, burials, marriages and receptions into the church on baptism, from 1700 till 1837, concerning the Baptized Believers who owned Universal Redemption at Wisbech. It had escaped from its proper custodian, but found its way into the hands of an antiquary whose ancestors had belonged to the church. He printed a dozen copies of a transcript, and lodged the original at Somerset House. It contains 174 pages, not all full, and used in rather curious order, but the entries are mostly contemporary. A study of this, and of the Assembly Books of the old General Baptists will supplement the historical statement made in 1905 at the 250th anniversary, by the Rev. J. H. Brooksbank.

The first known ministers were Edmond Smith and Israel Cave, ordained in the presence of delegates from the Fenstanton church. In the breathing space of 1672, Thomas Taylor took out a licence to preach in the house of Joshua Johnson. But not till 1697 did the church rally from the persecution, to start records and to build a meeting house. This was erected in Place's Yard and served for more than a century.

Who was the elder at this time is not quite clear; Henry Place and Benjamin Grantham undertook to collect to relieve Marham of Lynn; Place was a woollen-drafter, Grantham apparently was related to the famous Thomas Grantham who had lately died. But probably Francis Morris, messenger of the churches in this district, gave some pastoral care, for when he died at Needham Hall in 1706, he was buried in the meeting house here, and the entry in the register book is one of the earliest. A messenger was a sort of diocesan bishop, who had previously been elder of one church; he was appointed at the request of the churches in the district, with the consent of his own church; and the relation of elder might or might not continue. Evidently Morris had sustained some relation here, and his decease led in 1710 to the election of a new elder, John Sharman.

The register book records his ordination on June 12, and the renewal of the covenant by seven men and twenty-four women. His family has left many marks in Baptist history, and this book fills in a few gaps. His first wife Mary was buried in 1715, he himself in 1722-3, his widow Ann in 1732. Ten days before this last death, his son John was ordained deacon; John junior married Ann Fish in 1737, and was buried in 1742-3. In a later generation, Edward Sharman of Cottesbrook, a farmer, was dismissed from College Lane in Northampton to form a new church at Guilsborough, but about 1790 was called to be pastor at Moulton. Within the next ten years he denied the Godhead of Christ, and published two letters against Trinitarian doctrine. Nathan Sharman about the same time is heard of in the neighbourhood at Arnesby, going on to Cheney.

When Elder John Sharman died in 1723, the Wisbech church profited by Messenger Nathaniel Locking; but he only survived two years, and was then laid to rest in the meeting house, where his widow Mary followed him eleven years later. Meanwhile William Fisher was ordained Elder in 1732 on the fifth of June, and the covenant was again renewed. His pastorate lasted till his death in 1747, and then came another interregnum. We know however that in 1737 Gilbert Boyce had married Hannah Matthew here, and we may feel sure that this active Messenger would not neglect the widowed church.

John Proud came from Bucks in 1756 and remained till his death in 1784. But this pastorate was decidedly chequered, and two exceptional entries testify to the strained relations. In 1776 it was agreed to try and bury all former words and acts of misconduct in oblivion and absolutely forgive one another. The trial was evidently unsuccessful, and five years later the minister at Long Sutton came over as peace-maker, when it was unanimously agreed that Proud should continue Elder for life, provided he maintained the Christian character in his conduct of life.

When he passed away the church lost no time in calling Joseph Freeston. His pastorate raised the question whether the church should remain in fellowship with the old General Baptists, or should join the New Connexion to which he belonged. Although the church as a whole adopted the latter course, there were continual withdrawals during the next fourteen years. The threads are rather tangled, but apparently two distinct causes arose about this time.

One met in Deadman's Lane, afterwards called Church Lane. It was gathered by Richard Wright the famous Unitarian Baptist,

and in 1805 it joined the old General Assembly to which the Place's Yard church had formerly belonged. But it did not long continue in that fellowship, and it subsequently declared that it no longer regarded itself as a Baptist church. Apparently this is the section which in 1831 had Neil Walker as its pastor, and in 1837 was ministered to by John Thomas Cooper. In popular language, these would be called Unitarians.

The church meeting in Upper Hill Street, formerly Ship Lane, put out no claim to antiquity, but avowedly organised in 1794. A pastor named Fisher was reported that year to Rippon, and in 1837 Robert Reynoldson was returned as its leader.

But the main stock held on its way, though much weakened by the dissensions, and disheartened by the removal of Freeston to Hinkley in 1799. Joseph Jarrom succeeded three years later, and held the reins of office for half a lifetime. A new chapel was opened in 1803 by Dan Taylor, at Ely Place, the old building still remaining. Jarrom had antiquarian tastes, and filled scores of pages in this register book with records of births, noting on what authority he made them. They all cease in 1837, manifestly because of the new law. Under this Act, all entries down to this date were to be accepted as good evidence, but the books were to be sent to Somerset House. For about twenty years this particular book did not reach that repository, but now is in safe custody and accessible to all who will pay the fees.

Since Mr. Jarrom closed his pastorate in 1838, eight ministers have tended the flock, the ancient meeting house in Place's Yard has been sold, and a new chapel has replaced the structure opened by Dan Taylor.

Sutton-in-the-Elms and Arnesby.

THE district between Leicester and Coventry was an early Baptist stronghold. The journal of George Fox records that in 1647 there was a great convention near Broughton.

Four years later there was another, when representatives assembled from thirty Midland churches, including Easonhall and Marston, four or five miles west of Rugby, Ravensthorp in Northants, Waltham, Earl Shilton, Whitwicke, Bitteswell, Mount Sorrel, Wimeswold, Normington, Theddingworth and Leicester. Except for this last, the county town, the churches were all in hamlets, some of which can only be found to-day by a good topographer, as postal guides and maps mostly ignore them.

Nearly all these churches were General Baptist at first, but none of them appear to-day to belong to the ancient General Assembly. Some before the seventeenth century ran out were adopting Calvinist opinions; others during the eighteenth century felt the lack of trained ministers, and were bewildered by the lax views on the Trinity; a few died out, others were rescued by the Calvinists, others were touched by the rise of the New Connexion and cast in their lot with this kindred body. And so by three distinct routes many of these ancient causes are found to-day in the Associations and the Union which link up the great mass of Baptists.

A letter of 1765 from Mr. Morley to Isaac Woodman, then pastor at Sutton-in-the-Elms, seven miles north-west of Lutterworth, sketches the early story thus:—There was a scattered people in these parts. Their being first formed into a church state I take to be near the year 1650; my grandfather Mr. Thomas Townsend being chosen pastor, and Mr. Thomas Morris of Lutterworth deacon. The major part of the church was esteemed General in principle. Their meetings were kept at several places alternately; at Sutton, Willoughby, Bitteswell, Leir, Trowlesworth. In Mr. Townsend's old age, Mr. Benjamin Moore was chosen pastor, Mr. John Halford of Lutterworth deacon. After the

meeting house was erected, the meetings were kept once a fortnight at Sutton, and at the other places by course, for some time.

With this may be compared another summary written about the same time by John Stanger, which may be thus condensed:— His great-grandfather lived at Harringworth in Northamptonshire, a carpenter, a farmer, a General Baptist preacher; under the Conventicle Act he suffered before 1688. All the General Baptists in the shire then formed one church, though resident at Moulton, Burton Latimer, Buckby, Kilsby; there often was preaching at Brawnstone, Ravensthorp, Spratton and Scaldwell, besides these places. His grandfather William Stanger was also a farmer and a General Baptist preacher, becoming first pastor of North Moulton, then Messenger of the Connexion, with a life commission to visit and aid all the churches in the district. About 1730 a reunion took place of the Midland churches with those in the south-east, but William Stanger soon doubted the wisdom of this; and convened his county churches in an Association at Buckby Mill, sending requests for a clear statement where the Assembly stood on the Trinitarian question. Failing to obtain satisfaction, he induced these churches to sever their connection with the Assembly. This William Stanger had married a daughter of John Staughton of Blisworth, another sufferer under the Conventicle Act, and ancestor of another line of Baptists distinguished in the Coventry and Leicester district. Their son Thomas Stanger, born in 1706, succeeded to the farm in 1740, was called to the ministry by 1748, and was soon concerned in erecting a meeting-house at Moulton. In 1759 he took another farm at Holcott and was soon chosen pastor; the Stangers and Staughtons were active in promoting a church at Long Buckby this year. When Thomas Stanger died in 1768, the widow kept the people together at Moulton till her death about 1781, and then the place was closed. Meanwhile Matthew Stanger shifted the centre of gravity of another group from Harringworth to Morcott, where a second William Stanger upheld the cause till his death in 1790. A third William Stanger was Elder at Slapton from about 1748 till 1767. William Stanger junior of Fleet went as far as Wisbech to find a helpmeet in the person of Rebecca Yorke. What the General Baptists owed to these two families in keeping them alive and sound, has hardly been recognised.

John Stanger, son of Thomas, was bred as a stocking-weaver, influenced by Richard Green of Earl Shilton, and joined the Leicester church in 1759. He was called out as a preacher about 1765, and was sent by the Association meeting at Long Buckby as delegate to the General Assembly at London next year. This

soon led to his being called to a co-pastorate at Bessel's Green in Kent, fraught with great consequences to the Baptist cause there and in the Assembly. He and his adherents became linked on the one hand with the New Connexion, and on the other with the Particular Baptists, so that in 1787 he revisited his father's old meeting house to join with such Calvinists as Ryland, Sutcliff and Fuller in ordaining William Carey as pastor at Moulton; a step which opened a new chapter for the church, the denomination, and the world.

Now the Stangers represent the group of General Baptists who took the great swing over to Calvinism at the end of the eighteenth century. Earl Shilton and Friar Lane in Leicester represent the group which about the same time threw in their lot with the Barton preachers and joined the New Connexion, linking up with the others in 1891. But there was a much earlier movement of those who were not content with the General Baptist doctrines, and this is well represented by two little churches, Sutton-in-the-Elms and Arnesby, each about seven miles from Lutterworth and from one another. Each of these ancient causes possesses a good file of records which yield all manner of gleanings.

Sutton was at first only one of many hamlets furnishing members to the scattered church; both Elder Townsend and Deacon Morris signed the General Baptist Confession of 1651. Townsend lived at least till 1707 when he was about eighty years old; early in that year he received four members from the Arnesby church. But since about 1699, Benjamin Moore had been co-pastor, and it is noted that he took the church into the Particular Baptist Midland Association. This change occurred in 1707, when the Association met at Worcester on June 3 and 4; and it is somewhat singular that the church at Alcester was then troubled on the doctrine of Original Sin, which was fiercely debated between the Generals and the Particulars. When the history of the Midland Association was sketched four years ago, it was regretted that the annual letters were only issued in manuscript till 1759, and that though churches were counselled to file them in their vestries or meeting houses, none appeared to have been preserved. The faithful little church at Sutton, however, seems to have a fairly complete set for fifteen years: a list shows 1708 Pershore; 1709 Tewksbury; 1710 Alcester, when the letter was signed by Thomas Holder of Leominster, John Greening and James Smith of Stow, Humphrey Potter and William Poart of Broomsgrove, John Barnes, Joseph Willis of Worcester, John Jefferis of Bridgenorth, Dan Willmot of Hooknorton, John Alcinton and John

Higgins of Alcester, and Benjamin Moore of Sutton; 1711 Stow; 1712 Leominster; 1713 Bromsgrove; 1714 Bridgenorth; 1715 Worcester; 1716 Tewkesbury—this letter being lost; 1717 Warwick; 1718 Pershore—this letter also lost; 1719 Bewdley; 1720 Brooms Grove—a third letter lost; 1721 Worroster; 1722 Warwick; 1725 Worcester is also extant here, and shows that the 1726 meeting was to be at Leominster.

The appearance of Moore's name alone in 1710 suggests that the aged Thomas Townsend had passed to his rest; and this is confirmed by the appearance of a church covenant drawn up in 1709 and signed by the members, 62 in all. Another reorganization seems to have occurred in 1723 when the covenant was renewed. After 1727 a torpor overtook the secretary who had done so well, and as Mr. Moore was now aged 68, the records become scanty, and it may be suspected that church life was low. He lingered on till 1739, and after the brief pastorate of Robert Gilbert, there was no minister in charge from 1742 till 1753, when Isaac Woodman was ordained. He seems to have belonged to a Somerset family, and had come to this county in 1749, remaining till his death in 1777. He was succeeded by William Butler of Bedworth, a member of Arnesby, 1778-86; then came Thomas Edmonds of Birmingham, who went on to Upton. This is a sign of a new era, a semi-professional ministry, as contrasted with a member called out by his fellow members, but still earning his livelihood in their midst. The next pastorate shows even more decisively how things were trending, for a student from Bristol College was invited, and with Benjamin Evans the century ended.

The Sutton church became Calvinistic not later than 1707, but its neighbour at Arnesby took the same step a few years earlier. The first local man of prominence was Richard Farmer, a freeholder of Kilby, who in 1672 licensed his house for preaching. It is evident that there was much debate as to the points dividing the General Baptists and the Particulars. Farmer was very wide in his sympathies, for he took out a second license to preach to Congregationalists, and he joined with Richard Adams, himself wavering on the General-Particular question, and two Presbyterian ministers, in maintaining worship elsewhere. Men of clearer convictions emerged in the persons of Henry Coleman and Benjamin Winckles, who both attended the Particular Baptist Assembly in 1689, the only delegates from the county. About five years later the jarring elements separated: Coleman and a minority withdrew to Mowsley, and from this section ultimately sprang the church at Foxton. Farmer died soon after, and then

28 Articles of Faith which had been previously drafted, were adopted and signed, with the express note that this was done because they believed some among them to be not sound in the doctrines of grace. Besides explicit pronouncements on Calvinism, the chief points are disciplinary and stipulate for Marriage within the community, Public singing in worship, Mutual watchfulness, Independence of other churches in the matter of ordination.

Benjamin Winckles was now firm in the saddle; he strengthened his position by marrying a rich widow in Cambridgeshire, and though he made his home there, yet was chosen pastor here and visited this district. While the church book records numerous marriages, they begin not with his own, but with that of Thomas Palmer from Syston in 1697; Winckles appears in connection with another next year, not as celebrating it, but as one of four witnesses to it. Apparently no minister was regarded as performing the ceremony, but the mutual public acknowledgment was the essential ceremony.

The inconvenience of Winckles' absence led to the choice of brethren Wright, Sharp, and Ratlin as Elders in the west, while Winckles superintended extension in the fens near Ramsey. The situation was, however, not stable, and permanence was aimed at when he bought a close at Arnesby and built himself a house. A meeting house adjoining was erected in 1702, and henceforth there was a local centre; church meetings were held at Coventry and other places, but in 1710 the Coventry friends were dismissed to form a separate church. A list of members drawn up in 1706 shows a wide-spread constituency, living at Arnsbe, Kilbe, Wigson, Blabe, Rothwell, Whetstone, Cosbe, Litletharp, Defford, Oeltharp, Leicester, Knighton, Syston, Thrupington, Summerbe, Twyford, Frisbe, Hoton, Great Glen, Newton, Smeeton, Foxon, Mowsley, Ketteraine, Kelmidge, Northampton, Wellinborrow, Lutterworth, Bitchwell, Willey, Pelton, Coventry, litle Walton, Cheese Ashbe and Monks Kerbe; 104 in all besides 20 in the Ramsey district.

When Winckles was over seventy, his hands were upheld by the appointment of Thomas Wright, Jonathan Dorrard and Thomas Wormlayton as Ruling Elders, William Hacket and Joseph Horton as Deacons. He lived eight years longer, then devised the land and building to eight weavers and knitters in trust for the church. One of these was William Hacket, who obtained possession of the church book and made no further entry till 1750 when Daniel Hill from Walgrave, who had been pastor since 1734, gave notice to resign. Hacket then joined with Horton and Sanderson in requesting himself to come and live on the premises, he obtained his transfer from Foxton, reinstated

Horton as deacon, and advertised for a minister. Failing to get one, he qualified himself at Quarter Sessions, and in exact compliance with Winckles' 28 Articles issued long legal notices to elect him pastor. After four months, he triumphantly notified in the book that all these proceedings were absolutely unchallenged.

This naturally sets the reader suspecting that there was another movement parallel to his; and a second book beginning in 1753 shows that another section of the church had invited a Durham man, one Robert Hall, who won over Joseph Horton and another deacon, with 26 members, and added a third deacon from Wigston Two Steeples. A touch of romance is in this book, when we read how Richard Snow, miller, of Arnsbe, and Elizabeth Peck of Queenborough were baptized, fell in love and were speedily married. Presently the Hacket party surrendered, and Hall got possession by 1760, borrowing to rebuild the premises, and presently obtaining the old book. As they were strong they were merciful, and did not state their case in it, except in one or two notes to Hacket's entries. It is most fortunate for history that Hacket did not make away with the records; the restored church, however, soon disused the old book and took to the new one.

In 1770 a request went to the Particular Baptist Fund for the minister to be put in the £5 class: a note by the pastor's son adds that the stipend was but £32. 10s, and the Fund would not continue to help; already there were seven children, and ultimately there were fourteen. Ministers usually are good financiers. Just about this time the pew system was varied, and a right to sittings was made to depend on attendance and subscription.

In 1780 this son, named after his father Robert Hall, was himself called out to the ministry, being a little over sixteen years of age. His career is too well known to need further allusion, except to admire the village church and village pastor that could produce such a Christian. Ten years later two other ministers were sent out, Nathan Sharman to Cheney in Bucks, and Pearce to Birmingham. Hall ended his career in 1791, and in two years was followed by Thomas Blundell, junior, from Kettering, who left for Luton in 1804. He was one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792.

Books on English Baptist Church History.

IN response to a request for information what books are available for this study, the following list is compiled as some guide, though it cannot pretend to any completeness. Works by Baptists are marked with an asterisk.

- 1731 Neal: History of the Puritans. This had, of course, little to do with Baptists, as they had little to do with the general Puritan movement. At the time this provoked the indignation of a schoolmaster in Southwark, who had inherited materials collected by his pastor, Benjamin Stinton, and had added to them. Hence the next book on the list. At a later date, Neal was edited and supplemented by *Toulmin, a Unitarian Baptist at Taunton, and this edition is the best for us.
- 1738-40 *Crosby: History of the Baptists. Excellent for a pioneer work. The facts are poorly arranged, and the index is meagre. The leading fault is that the old General Baptists and the Particular Baptists are intermixed, deliberately, but with confusing results. Current price, 50/-.
- 1790-1803 *Rippon: Annual Register. Full of excellent material, both contemporary and more ancient; very little is worked up, and the indexes are not complete.
- 1808-10 Wilson: Dissenting Churches in London, Volumes 1-3. Incorporates most of Crosby's information, and adds much more.
- 1811 *Ivimey: History of the Baptists, Volume 1. Mostly compiled from previous works; critical powers feeble.
- 1814 *Ivimey, Volume 2. Wilson, Volume 4. Both copying predecessors.
- 1818 *Taylor: History of the General Baptists. Excellent; Ivimey's criticism is perversely wrong.
- 1823-30 *Ivimey, volumes 3 and 4. Improved with experience.
- 1835 *Murch: Presbyterian and Baptist Churches in the West of England (which became Unitarian).
- 1846 *Douglas: History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England.

- 1847 *Wood: History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion. Very good.
- 1848 *Benedict: History of the Baptists. Mostly American, but touches origins in England.
- 1862-64 *Evans: Early English Baptists. The beginning of scientific work.
- 1863 David: Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex. Gleanings for us.
- 1864 Urwick: Nonconformity in Cheshire. More gleanings.
- 1870 *Pike: London Churches. A little fresh information.
- 1871 *Goadby: Byepaths of Baptist History. Excellent.
- 1875 *Cramp: Baptist History. A convenient summary by a Calvinist.
- 1877 Barclay: Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth. Good for the early General Baptists.
- Browne: Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk. Gleanings.
- 1879 Dexter: Congregationalism as seen in its Literature. Valuable for its bibliography, and for our origins.
- Stoughton: Often revised and issued under various titles.
- 1881 Dexter: The True Story of John Smith, &c. Three good critical monographs.
- 1883 Beard: Hibbert Lectures. For Anabaptists.
- 1884 Urwick: Nonconformity in Herts. Gleanings.
- 1887 *Armitage: History of the Baptists. Mostly American; critical as to Bunyan.
- 1890-3 *Newman: Church History. General, and from A.D. 30; but it puts Baptists in true perspective, with sound critical work.
- 1897 *Newman: Antipedobaptism till 1609. Admirable.
- *Vedder: Short Baptist History, revised. The scale does not allow much space for Britain, but the summary is very good.
- Kautzky: Communism in Central Europe. For Anabaptists.
- 1898 Conybeare: The Key of Truth. Light on the origins of Anabaptism.
- 1899 *Lofton: The Reformation of 1609-40. A fine monograph.
- *Christian: Baptist History Vindicated. Early seventeenth century.
- 1900 Powicke: Henry Barrow and the Exiled Church at Amsterdam, &c. Gleanings about John Smith.
- 1904 *Pike: The Story of the Anabaptists.
- 1905 *Carlile: Story of the English Baptists. A good summary, with sound criticism on special points.
- 1906 *Shakespeare: Baptist and Congregational Pioneers. Based on minute study of originals.

No attempt is made here to catalogue the numerous monographs on churches or on associations. A student will, of course, consult the files of the General Baptist Magazine from 1798, and of the Baptist Magazine, with other periodicals.

Notes.

Baptists and Jews in East London.

Just north-east of the Tower of London is a district which once swarmed with Baptist Churches. Tower Hill, East Smithfield, Pennington Street, Broad Street, Commercial Road East, Church Lane, Lambeth Street, Rupert Street, Little Alie Street, Great Alie Street, Commercial Street, Goodman's Fields, Mill Yard, Prescott Street are names which mean much to lovers of the old Baptists. It would be a delightful experience if the pastor of a surviving church would organise a personally-conducted tour round this district, and finish with a tea in his schoolroom for the pilgrims. To-day the Jewish invasion is depleting ancient buildings of their Christian worshippers, and they are being converted into synagogues or sold for secular purposes. Three Baptist Churches have lately suffered in this way, and in this crisis of their fate they claim respectful notice and sympathy.

The Oldest Baptist Church.

The most ancient of English Particular Baptist Churches is that which has just quitted Commercial Street. It claims 1633 as its date of origin—a reference to the fact that about that time John Spilsbury is known as pastor of a little company who renounced their parish baptism and pledged themselves anew. They met in Wapping, and presently obtained a home near the Coal Harbour, to which members resorted from as far away as Watford. At Broad Street they built a meeting-house, where John Norcott ministered, then Hercules Collins, Edward Elliott, William Curtis, Clendon Dawkes, and Samuel Wilson. During his pastorate, new premises were occupied in Rosemary Branch, Goodman's Fields—better known to-day as Prescott Street—though a few lingered in the old building for a year or two. From this new site went out a stream of ministers to other churches, such as Benjamin Beddome, the writer of hymns; Josiah Thompson, the wealthy historian; and others of less fame. In 1752, trouble arose as to a new pastor, and those who favoured James Fall left to establish a new cause in Little Alie Street. To the parent church presently came Samuel Burford from Lyme, who held the fort till 1768. His successor was Abraham Booth from Nottinghamshire;

having been a General Baptist and having changed, he naturally adopted extreme views and became the great champion, not only of Baptist principles, but of exaggerated Calvinism. When the influence of Andrew Fuller was leavening the denomination with more evangelistic views, the tradition of Booth was upheld, and the church limited itself to supporting the educational movement, which resulted in the academy at Stepney, now housed in Regent's Park. Another home was found in Commercial Street, where a stately building testifies to the prominence of the church last century. A little faithful band has kept the flag flying, and friends in the Metropolitan Association were invited lately to the final meetings before the ancient church went forth, like Abraham, not knowing whether it should rest.

Are Sinners and Jews to be preached to ?

Little Alie Street has been the home of a high Calvinistic Baptist Church for a century and a half. James Fall was succeeded by William Dowars in 1757, and when he died in 1795, the cause was so low that the doors were presently closed. A member from Prescott Street exerted himself till William Shenstone from Eagle Street took charge in 1798. Within ten years a few rigid hyper-Calvinists, who were shocked at preaching to sinners or praying for them, founded a short-lived secession. Shenstone seems to have varied greatly in his doctrinal views, for he had apparently been associated with the General Baptists as late as 1795, and in 1826 he added to his duties the pastoral care of the Calvinistic Sabbatarians, whom he removed from Devonshire Square to Eldon Street in Finsbury. Five years later, Philip Dickerson joined him at Little Alie Street, remaining in sole charge on Shenstone's death in 1833. In 1871, Dickerson relinquished the charge to his co-pastor, Mr. Masterson. On his change to Brighton in 1883, Mr. R. E. Sears succeeded for eleven years. After further care from Messrs. McKee and Banks, the opportunities for usefulness in the neighbourhood seemed to be so scant, that the expiry of the lease led to the cessation of work. To-day the Jews are in possession of the site.

Another Church from Wapping.

Great Alie Street housed Baptists as early as 1698, when the son of the famous Benjamin Keach brought a church that he had gathered in Wapping; on his death, John Nichols succeeded and, about 1714, we find that the exact home was in Angel Alley. Here Mr. Ridgeway succeeded, and because there was no imposition of hands at his ordination, the church divided—one party retiring to Glover's Hall, the other to Petticoat Lane. There is an amusing uncertainty about his Christian name—John, Thomas, and Edward being all given by his friends. William Collins succeeded at Petticoat Lane on Ridgeway's death in 1749. He was followed by Thomas Davis, a stone-mason; and in 1763, John Allen came, a linen-draper. This last minister was

a voluminous author of a high Calvinist type, but his church found it necessary to expel him for his conduct. Under his successor, Christopher Hall, brother of the elder Robert Hall, the church migrated to another district.

Even Zoar is not Safe.

Great Alie Street saw another Baptist cause in 1808. A building was erected there in 1747 for a Presbyterian congregation, originally gathered in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch, by the celebrated Samuel Pomfret. It was to this congregation that David Crosley, the evangelist of Yorkshire and Lancashire, preached his famous sermon on Samson. This congregation being much weakened, John Bailey obtained possession of the building, and "Zoar" served as a little place of refuge for the Baptists for a century. For the greater part of the time there was no pastor, as when Bailey's health failed in 1824, the people relied on mutual oversight. The building was sold by auction in 1854, when Joshua Pedley, who worshipped there and was the lessee, acquired the freehold. In 1881, Eli Ashdown, once of Burgess Hill, became pastor, and soon started a school; he remained in charge till his death in 1904. This year the building was condemned by the District Surveyor, and the people have retired to St. Philip's Hall in Newark Street. Thus a third ancient building here passes out of Baptist occupation.

Baptist Churches in Blackburn.

An enquiry from the editor of the Victoria County History of Lancashire has set the Rev. Joseph Farquhar, M.A., on presenting all the facts known as to our churches there. Until a more elaborate story appears, the brief summary may be worth recording here.

Baptist work in the district was begun by the indefatigable David Crosley, once of Heptonstall Slack, then of Barnoldswick, Tottlebank, Cripplegate, Gildersome, and in 1736 of Bacup. He preached occasionally at Shorrock Green Hall, but when the church at Bacup divided on his death into two parties, differing in the intensity of their Calvinism, the work in this direction languished. In 1758, Adam Holden moved to Blackburn, and next year married Mrs. Boardman of Feniscowles, licensing their house for worship. They also bought ground at Islington Croft and began a meeting-house, whose completion he did not live to see. It was opened in 1765 by John Johnson of Liverpool, and Joseph Piccop of Bacup, and remains the oldest place of worship in the borough, though about to disappear in favour of a new building. The names of these brethren will show the initiated that the doctrines favoured are of the highest, or Hyper-Calvinist, or supra-lapsarian type. Twice in its history there have been secessions—one meeting in Ainsworth Street from 1819 to 1824, another in Exchange Street half-a-century later; both reunited with the parent church. A schoolroom, erected in 1832, was used as a day school for awhile, and was rebuilt six years ago.

The second Baptist Church began by the Itinerant Society hiring a room in Ainsworth Street during 1838. On Good Friday, of 1839, Giles of Preston, and Harbottle of Accrington, came over and formed a church by dismissing nine members from their churches—Gibbs, from Norwich, becoming pastor for a year. This also was a Particular Baptist Church, but not of the extreme section. On Good Friday, of 1840, they opened a Tabernacle on the new Branch Road, which has since been named Montague Street, and next year the church was re-formed, apparently to break the connection with the Itinerant Society. In 1848, those who desired to celebrate communion weekly seceded and met at Rehoboth in Heaton Street, with the late pastor of the church. These shifted to King Street and Fielden Street, and in 1863, listened to negotiations to rejoin the group at Montague Street. These had dissolved in 1852, and a new church had been formed in 1853, independent of the Home Mission; four ministers had been there by 1863. In 1864, Robert Cameron brought back his church, now grown very strong, and the subsequent history has been of steady increase. At present there is a project to build new premises.

The third building in the town is on Leamington road, due to the Union Church Extension Committee and the Association, opened in 1895, and occupied since 1896 by an open-membership church.

The church at Darwin, once technically in the township of Blackburn, celebrated its jubilee last year by issuing a booklet. The Baptists at Billington, Church, Enfield, and Oswaldtwistle are not closely linked with Blackburn.

General Baptist Minutes.

The first volume of the Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptists, with kindred records between 1654 and 1728, were issued in September to our guinea subscribers. As the Presbyterians of the seventeenth century did not keep up their classical and provincial synods, much less hold a General Assembly as in Scotland, these records have no rival in England. They enable us to have the history of a body organized nationally by 1654, and surviving after 250 years. Our printers and publishers have dealt with them worthily. With notes and introductions, they form a handsome volume of lxxx. and 152 pages. The minutes for the period 1733 to 1811, complete, with indexes to the whole, are in the press, and will be issued to guinea subscribers for the second year. The general public can purchase the two volumes together from the Kingsgate Press at two guineas.

William Robinson's letter of 1826, detailing his first impressions of Bristol, was contributed to our last number by the kindness of the Rev. James Stuart, of Watford.