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

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_tbhs\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_tbhs_01.php)



# DR. PETER CHAMBERLEN

*Physician to Stuart Kings and Baptist Pastor.*

Born May 8th, 1601 ; died December 22nd, 1683.

Buried in the Churchyard of Woodham Mortimer, Maldon, Essex.

Transactions

of

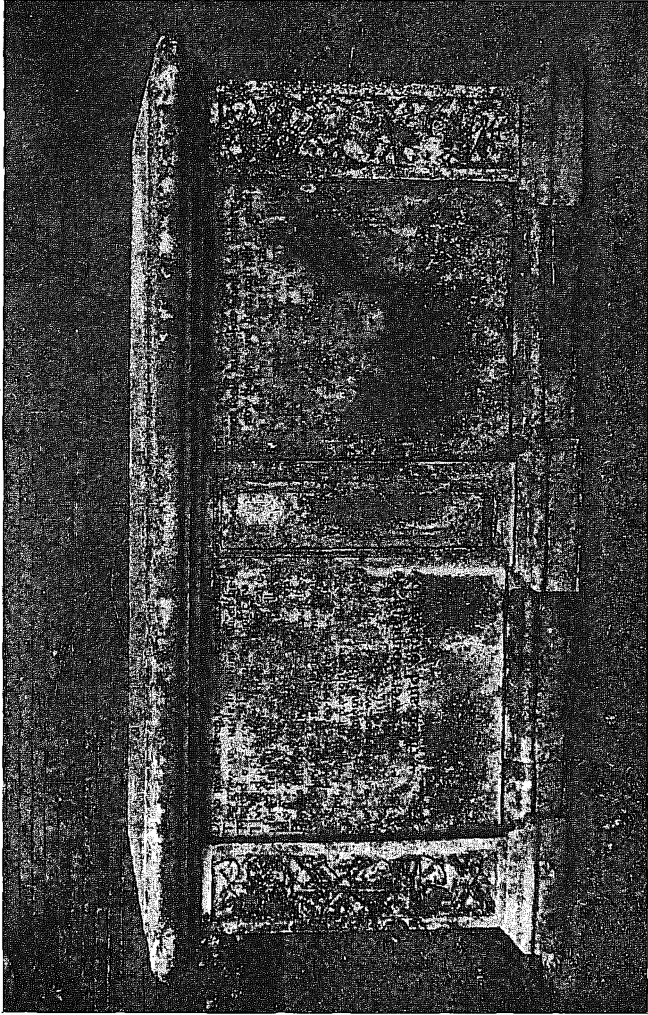
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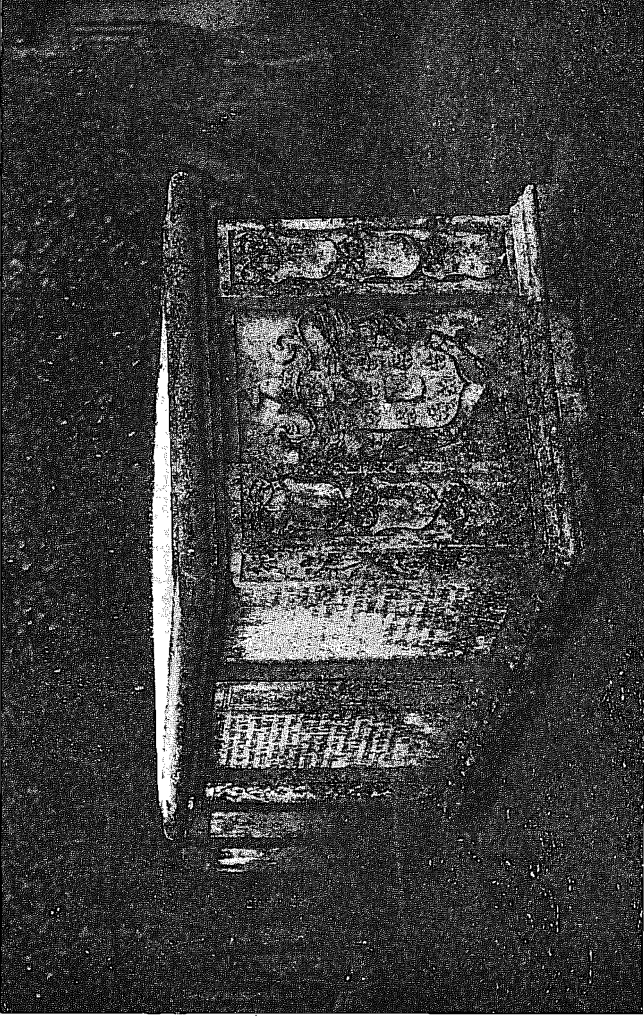


WOODHAM MORTIMER HALL, MALDON, ESSEX, where Dr. Peter Chamberlen (1601-1683) passed the later years of his life. Behind the cedar tree, on the left side of the picture, one may see the East end of the church. In the North-east corner of the churchyard, quite near to the Hall property, stands the monument which marks the Doctor's last resting-place—"the grave my hardest, but my easiest bed."





TOMBSTONE—SOUTH SIDE, WITH VERSES "ORDERED FOR HIS EPITAPH."



TOMBSTONE—WEST END, WITH ARMS. WELL DEFINED AFTER TWO CENTURIES' EXPOSURE TO  
"WIND AND WEATHER."

## THE CHAMBERLEN TOMBSTONE.

### INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTH SIDE.

Here lyes ye body of Docter Peter Chamberlen, who was borne on O ye 8th of may, 1601, & dyed on H ye 22<sup>th</sup> of December. 1683; being aged 82 years, 7 months, & 14 days. he had 2 wives, & by ye first Iane Middleton had 11 sons, & 2 daughters, & amongst them 45 grand Children & 8 great grand Children: whereof were living att his death three sons: viz: Hugh, Paul, & Iohn, & his two daughters, and 20 grand Children, and 6 great grand Children.

By ye second Anne Harrison had 3 fones & 2 daughters; whereof onely Hope was living att his Death who hath Erected this Monument in Memory of his Father.

The said Peter Chamberlen toock ye degree of Docter in Physick. in severall Vniversities both att home & abroad, and lived such above three score years, being Physitian in Ordinary to three Kings & Queens of England. viz King Iames & Queen Anne; King Charles ye first & Queen Mary; King Charles ye second & Queen Katherine; & also to some forraigne Princes; having travelled most partes of Europe, & speaking most of the Languages.

As for his Religion was a Christian keeping ye Commandments of God & faith of Iesus, being baptized about ye year 1648, and keeping ye 7<sup>th</sup> day for ye sabbath above 32 years.

To tell his Learning and his Life to Men: Enough is said by here lyes Chamberlen.

### INSCRIPTION ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

Death my last sleep, to ease my carefull head,  
The grave my hardest, but my easiest bed.  
The end of sorrow, labour and of care;  
The end of trouble, sickness and of feare;  
Here I shall fin no more, no more shall weep<sup>e</sup>,  
Here's onely to be found, a quiet sleep.  
Death's but one night, my life hath many seene;  
My life brought death, death brings me life again<sup>e</sup>.  
Seeds rise to trees, hearbes rise againe from feede  
Shall bodies then of men obtaine worfe speed.  
Wee dayly dye, entomb'd in sleep and night;  
Butt in the morning, we renew our light.

These verses were found made  
written, and ordered by

Hence spring my loyes, & comfortes evermore  
I cannot feele, butt what Christ felt before.  
Wee now believe, and hear, and talk by guess;  
Then i shall see, and what i see possesse.  
And when i wake, wrapt in eternall light;  
Of God and Christ, i know no more of night.  
Crown'd with eternal glories, ever blest;  
Oh! happy rest, that brings me all the rest.  
Bodies Calcin'd to iemms, like stars shall sing  
Ravish't with loyes, & praises of my King.  
Praised be God my Saviour, praise his name  
Angels & Saints, sing with me of his fame.

Docter Peter Chamberlen,  
here interred for his Epitaph.

*Note.*—In all, there are 460 words. In the second and third lines of the North-Side inscription, observe the astronomical signs preceding the dates—one (apparently) indicating the *Sun* and the other *Saturn*. These signs would imply that the Doctor was born on Sunday, May 8th, and died on Saturday, December 22nd.

As a fact, however, May 8th was not Sunday, but *Friday*; and it would appear that an error on the part of the stone-mason is responsible for the mistake—the (defective) Circular Shield of the *Sun* was not supplied with the pendant cross so as to form the Looking-Glass of *Venus*, whence *Vendredi*, or *Friday* (♀).

Aveling has overlooked the astronomical signs; but he reproduces a record from the French Church in Threadneedle-street (preserved at Somerset House) which shows that Peter was baptized, or christened, on Tuesday, May 12th, presumably four days after his birth (on Friday).

The stone-mason's representation of the Scythe of *Saturn* is quite rudimentary; and it is noteworthy that the date of death, December 22, is followed by "th" and not "nd."

# Transactions

of the

## Baptist Historical Society.

A Sabbatarian Pioneer—Dr. Peter  
Chamberlen.

### I.—THE LIFE-STORY.

**P**HYSICIAN in Ordinary to three Kings and Queens of England; and yet a Nonconformist, and for some years a Baptist Pastor! The man of whom we write was born in 1601 and died in 1683: hence he passed through troublous times. In fact, he added to the prevalent commotion; and yet his medical knowledge and surgical skill were jealously retained by rulers of the House of Stuart. Moreover, his religious liberty does not seem to have suffered such curtailment as was visited upon many other Baptists of the time.

To those who are acquainted with the history of British Nonconformity in the seventeenth century, this is strange reading. Certain it is, however, that the facts are so, and the exceptional issues in this particular case are not difficult of explanation. Whatever else may be put to the account of the Stuarts, we must not withhold from them the general attribute of a selfish regard for themselves and their own interests; and in the story which now occupies us, the narrow-selfishness of the Kings and those that surrounded them, accounts for a singular partiality in dealing with one who, in the sphere of religion and on grounds of conscience, assuredly caused no little annoyance to leaders in Church and State.

The subject of our sketch is Dr. Peter Chamberlen, otherwise, on occasion, Rev. Peter Chamberlen, M.D. The times were those in which every man who could write spelled as seemed good in his own eyes; and so the name is found with many orthographical



variations., e.g., terminating in—lain, laine, lan, lane, layne, and len. The form "Chamberlen" has commended itself to those who have given most attention to the point; it was the form to which the Doctor himself gave preference, and hence has received the stamp of authenticity, or propriety.

A truly remarkable man was the Peter Chamberlen of whom we write. In some senses he was far ahead of his time: that, moreover, in other respects, he was like his contemporaries, the creature or victim of his age, with its follies, limitations, and prejudices, is not surprising. Was he progressive, a man of ideas—a man actuated with problems which even to-day await solution—then in this degree he was one who lived ahead of the days in which his lot was cast. Did he, on the other hand, combine with his profession elements of superstition which in our day are held up to ridicule; did he develop a controversial disposition which in some measure hindered the progress of religious truth; did he show a somewhat boisterous and censorious spirit—then we must admit that, in these and such like respects, he was not alone, but in a large and mixed companionship. Indeed, herein, he was mightily outrun by many of his contemporaries, who at the same time were under no such control of a Godly conscience—men who, shutting their eyes to the prevailing corruption, condemned their God that they might pander to the wishes of their King.

### Parentage and Family Connections.

Peter Chamberlen was a great man descended from a distinguished family; and the distinction lay in deeds rather than words, in achievement rather than in social status. The family came from France, being derived from a persecuted Huguenot, named William Chamberlen, who sought refuge in England in the sixteenth century, when the religious wars had made life intolerable across the Channel.<sup>1</sup> Making his way from Paris to Southampton, William set up practice as a barber-surgeon. He brought with him a son named Pierre; later on, among other children, he had another son to whom he gave the same name—only in English. Hence his family included two Peters—known for distinction as

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Peter wrote on one occasion, "I boast not the Norman familie of Tankerville, nor any Lordly extraction of England." Nevertheless, in the "Herald's Visitation of London" (1634), he made proof of his descent out of France and usage of these arms by witness—"Gules, an inescutcheon argent and an orb of cinquefoils or: a label of three points"; which arms were also confirmed to his son Hugh in 1664. See arms, as on west end of Tombstone, in frontispiece reproduction.

Peter the Elder (died 1631) and Peter the Younger (1572-1626). These sons outstripped their father in surgical practice; and the fact that they both bore the same Christian name obfuscated historians and genealogists for two hundred years, and is responsible for an erroneous statement as to family relations even down to the latest edition, just published, of the "Dictionary of National Biography."<sup>2</sup> It is from the home of Peter the Younger that the hero of our present sketch came into the world.

In course of time, the Chamberlen family left Southampton, with London as their destination. Here, without delay, Peter the Elder set to work, and became a celebrated accoucheur, attending in that capacity the Queens of James I. and Charles I. Simultaneously, Peter the Younger also entered upon his life-work, and acquired considerable wealth by his profession as barber-surgeon. These two practitioners seem to have employed a midwifery forceps of which nothing was then known by the world in general. The construction and use of the instrument was a secret, and the same remained a family asset, as we should say a nostrum, for generations; and while thus equipped, the brothers made a reputation which brought them under jealous observation in the ranks of the profession in general.

### **"Schools, Universities and Travels."**

The Peter Chamberlen, M.D., with whom we are specially concerned, was, as we have noted, a son of Peter the Younger. He was more progressive than his predecessors, and achieved a fame which was beyond their reach; and, moreover, he passed on some of his own spirit to his sons Hugh and Paul, who followed him in the practice of physic. He was the grandson of William, the Huguenot refugee, and came into the inheritance of that worthy's Protestantism as well as the secret surgical processes employed by his father and uncle.

This Peter was born on the 8th May, 1601, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His father had practised medicine on a bare qualification, which more than once brought him into conflict with the College of

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<sup>2</sup> The writer of the article on Dr. Peter Chamberlen describes that worthy as great grandson of William Chamberlen, instead of grandson, and as the grandchild of Peter the Elder, instead of nephew. And this in spite of the fact that the relations are correctly indicated in the articles (by another writer) dealing with the two Peters—that is, these latter are shown to have been brothers, and not father and son.

Physicians.<sup>3</sup> In these circumstances, he determined that his son should stand in no such situation of difficulty. Accordingly, after leaving College, the son studied at the Universities of Heidelberg and Padua; and at the latter, which was then at the height of its fame as a centre of medical learning, he took his degree of M.D., in 1619, at the age of 18—an early age, no doubt, but we must remember that Peter came of a family of medical practitioners. The distinction of the graduate was in due course recognised in the home land; and having been incorporated at Oxford and Cambridge, Peter was able to describe himself—and assuredly with much satisfaction—as “of both universities.”

Without delay the young man had to encounter obstacles. Having command of wealth; and having travelled above what was customary in those days, he exhibited no little ambition, and apparently assumed certain airs of superiority. Settling down to practice, he applied for inclusion in the College of Physicians, though not to find a path that was altogether smooth. The authorities put the young man to the accustomed tests, but then seemed to hesitate before admitting him. In fact, previously to granting admission, the College, through its President, gravely admonished the applicant on the question of his dress, calling upon him to change his mode of attire, and not to follow “the frivolous fashion of the youth at court,” but rather to adopt “the decent and sober dress” of the members of the College! The applicant was accordingly kept waiting until he should comply with the request thus made; and at length he “subordinated himself unto his seniors,” and was admitted a Fellow in 1628—nine years after his graduation at Padua.

This incident throws some light upon the early habits and tendencies of Dr. Peter Chamberlen. Possibly he was living a somewhat “gay” life; assuredly, as the outcome of exceptional qualifications, he had entered upon a successful practice, which brought him under the unfriendly observation of those whose professional outlook was less promising. In fact, if we may accept the statement of his son Hope, on the tombstone in Woodham Mortimer churchyard, he had already been appointed Physician in Ordinary to King James and his Queen Anne. This cannot refer to a later date, for the Queen died in 1619. In view of the facts, as they come to us, it would appear that he was given the appointment immediately on completing his studies at Padua.

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<sup>3</sup> A corporate body of regular physicians practising in London, constituted in the reign of Henry VIII., and anticipating in some degree the more influential Royal College of Physicians of England, which was established in 1558.

The influence of his uncle, who held a position at Court, would doubtless be at command in such a matter. It does not follow that he was called upon to render actual service. Indeed, in those days, such appointments were sometimes nominal—simply conferring distinction, and neither involving duty, nor carrying stipend or remuneration.

### Opening of a Brilliant Career.

It was well for Dr. Peter that the College of Physicians administered that rebuke: it was better that the rebuke was received in a right spirit, and acted upon without delay. Having "subordinated himself," our hero was, as already intimated, admitted a Fellow of the College, two years after the death of his father, who had already been permitted to see his son in the enjoyment of a position full of promise for the future. Meanwhile, Charles I. had come to the throne (1625) and the young doctor had been appointed Physician to the King and his Queen, Henrietta Maria (called "Mary" on the tombstone); and an incident that has come down to us bears strong testimony to the place which the Doctor occupied in the esteem of the Court. In a word, the reputation of the young physician had attracted the attention of the Czar of Russia, who wrote with his own hand a letter to King Charles, begging him to allow Dr. Chamberlen to enter his service. Being a travelled man, and acquainted with German (having studied at Heidelberg) and with Italian (having also studied at Padua), he could not but prove an acquisition to the House of Romanoff; and the Czar was able to add that he understood the Doctor to be willing to serve him.<sup>4</sup> King Charles, however, wished to retain his Physician, and justified refusal on the ground that a native Russian, who had been studying medicine in England, was about to return home, and would therefore be capable of undertaking such service as the Czar wished to allocate. The Czar had, in these circumstances, to be content without Dr. Peter, though the keenness of his disappointment may be gathered from the fact that he had made great preparations to receive the English Physician at Archangel!

Though his practice continued to grow, Dr. Chamberlen found time, as it were between-whiles, to lecture on Anatomy to the barber-surgeons, also to formulate schemes for the public well-being. Such self-assertion as was almost inevitable in a man of

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<sup>4</sup> Writing after his father's death, the surviving son, Hope, was able to say (on the tombstone) that he "travelled most parts of Europe, and spoke most of the languages."

his force of character and exceptional ability, could not but be attended with risk and danger: hence the College of Physicians seems to have sought occasion against him in various ways. In one instance they showed a peculiar animosity. It appears that his apothecary was a foreigner, and not a freeman; and in connection with some transaction on the part of that person, the Doctor was summarily put under arrest. Surely the hour had struck for the detractors of the advancing physician! Nothing of the kind! Though the Philistines were upon our Samson, they found him equal to the situation. Claiming privilege of Parliament, as a servant of the King, the Doctor petitioned the House of Lords, and was promptly released!

### Proposed Sisterhood of Midwives.

One of the early public proposals of Dr. Chamberlen was, that the midwives of "the City of London and suburbs thereof" should be incorporated, or organised into a sisterhood. The suggestion occasioned great opposition, and for some years pamphlets were being written and letters were passing on the subject; also appeals and counter-appeals were being made to the powers in Church and State. The idea that Dr. Chamberlen was to be Governor of the corporation was specially unwelcome: it touched vested interests. Moreover, it was against him that his father before him had made a very similar proposition, also that Dr. Peter himself was still comparatively young.

In the conflict which ensued—and it was fierce and long—the midwives thought they carried the day when they said that Dr. Peter knew nothing but "by reading"; and not only did they describe his project as "an intrusion upon Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction"—for in those days the Bishops issued licences to midwives—but they also declared that by his act the Doctor had "trespassed against the King and State"—although it is hardly clear how this charge could be sustained. Beyond that, the women and their abettors laid to the charge of Dr. Chamberlen a multitude of sins, real and imaginary, on the part of his father as well as himself!

At length, the Doctor defended himself, by issuing "A Voice in Rhama; or, the Crie of Women and Children. Echoed forth in the Compassions of Peter Chamberlen" (London, 1647). Reading between the lines of this document, we are able to judge how determined was the attack that had been made upon its author. For thirteen years, he tells us, he had been promoting a "Charitie" which his father had attempted some thirty years before. The prevalent neglect had excited his indignation; and he spoke of a

“Deluge of Blood” as the outcome of existing conditions. Concerning his project, he said:—

A design (I thought) so full of Pietie that no man would—so full of Innocencie that no man could—so full of Importance and generall concernment that no man durst have opposed.

But the Prince of Darknesse had an hour with the Lord of Life: much more might this find enemies, though to their own hurt.

He was vexed beyond measure at the opposition shown by the profession to which he belonged, and he did not hesitate to argue the point with all whom it might concern:—

What losse had it been to increase the number of the Living, which cannot but be an increase of employment to all sorts of Trades and Professions whatsoever? yea, to the very Grave-maker, had he but patience to suspend his Harvest till the Young grew up to increase and multiply (not untimely but) more and larger Graves? What shall I conclude? Folly is as certainly wedded to Wickednesse as Wisdom is to Goodnesse.

They sold their Quiet for Trouble, their Credit for Shame, and their Gain for Losse.

The Doctor was not deterred, moreover, from meeting his detractors on their own ground. His “Fame” had, he said, “begot him Envie and secret Enemies.” Accordingly, he spoke of his professional qualifications. After alluding to the provision made for him by his parents—“education in Schools, Vniversities, and Travels”—he proceeds to say that, “ere nineteen sunnes had measured out his nativitie,” he received the “Doctorall Robes” of Padua. Then as follows: “Thus I grew up to Titles and Priviledges. But Titles give not Learning, nor Learning Experience.” Being thus “nursed up (as from the cradle) to all the Parts of Physick, and that in Asclepiad-Families”—how should he be wanting in common knowledge, as his opponents had insinuated?

The Doctor detects very clearly the secret of the opposition to his scheme:—

Meum and Tuum divide the World into Factions, into Atoms: and till the World return to its first simplicitie, or (as in the morning of the Gospel) to a Christian Vtopia, there will be repinings, and covetousnesse will be the Root of all Evil. This, This is the true Cause that fills their hearts with Malice, and their mouthes with Slanders: that what good soever I have done, or endeavoured to do is mis-construed,

or forgotten, and the evil I never did is laid to my charge, though I am not free from evil.

I am no Pharisee, yet I justify my dealings with Men before God and Man, and plead not guilty of the sacrifice of Conscience to that grand Idol Avarice.

First, My Possessions crie not out against me, they being reduced to their first Principles of mine and my wife's Portion. Onely a better Portion is added to us, of nine small children.

Secondly, the Poor cannot justly clamour against me, they having as freely enjoyed my Counsels and Labours, both in Medecines and Deliveries, as the Rich; even then when the burthen of all the Midwives in and about London lay onely on my shoulders. . . .

Disposed still further to vindicate his honour, the Doctor proceeds to resent the suggestion that he had been hard in driving bargains before giving professional attendance. He declared that he seldom stipulated before-hand what he should receive by way of payment; though his services had been much abused, he "never arrested any for what was due, whether by bargain, promise, or otherwise." He proceeds:—

For one who hath paid me 10 li., I have delivered 100 for nothing, as many for little or nothing, and as many for lesse than nothing; such as thought it a point of wisdom to save their Purse and pay me with Lies and Scandals, insufferable Scandals, and so frequent till they caused me abhor the work it self. Yea, my very Charitie hath been often, and is to this day, retorted as an Argument against my due: as if it were a part of great Injustice to have given away or undervalued my Art to some, and not to do the like to all. Because I considered the Case of the Poor, therefore I ought not to be considered of the Rich.

Enlarging upon the disappointments which he had experienced, the Doctor exclaims:—"I am wholly tired out with the injuries, vexations, and losses of the business;" and he proceeds to inform us how little it had meant for him to be Physician at Court. He says:—

I have served the Commonn-wealth now twenty seven years, toying both early and late, not without the frequent hazard of my Life. I have spent my Youth and Industrey for Food and Raiment, never receiving any Publick Encouragement, or Gratuity, but to be valued beyond my Condition or Demerit in Taxes. I have served these many years the King and Queen by speciall Commands, and in some speciall services, receiv-

ing onely one Reward and a Diamant-Ring from her Majestie, but not any stipend at all from Either.

This man knew how to speak out! He was, in fact, oppressed in mind by a crying evil; and the pity is that he should have been left without public support in his proposal, which was evidently made with the object of protecting women and children from the results of ignorance and neglect. In conclusion, he wrote:—

I have formerly cast pearls before Swine, and found the issue. I now have unfolded my Talent from the Napkin. I have washed my hands, I have delivered my soul.

What, in a word, was the Doctor's aim? It was to bring about a measure of reform for which a long-suffering community waited until the year 1905! "The Compassions of Peter Chamberlen" made a bold stand for a good cause, but he was 250 years ahead of its realization: that reform, however, on a larger scale than was then contemplated, has been enacted in our own time. The "Voice in Rhama," and the movement to which it gave expression, was designed to assert as urgent the simple proposition "that some order be settled for the instruction and civil government of midwives"; but it would appear that, under the frown of the medical authorities, and in the face of other difficulties, the project came to nothing at the time.

### Other Public Proposals.

During the period now under review, the Doctor divided his interest somewhat, making prolonged visits to "the Low Countreys"; and when at home he was so pre-occupied with various schemes of a social and political order, that he neglected the meetings of the College of Physicians. This went against him in that quarter. In 1648 he petitioned Parliament to institute a system of hydro-therapeutics—giving him privileges and rights as to public artificial baths and bath-stoves. In reality, even in the seventeenth century, he put in a plea for public baths; and therein he spoke of their ancient use and modern need. He held that, by a system of baths, much would be done to eradicate disease, relieve pain, and promote convalescence on the part of the sick; and when opposition declared itself, he did not hesitate to suggest that some practitioners might be afraid of losing their occupation in the event of diseases being prevented or reduced! He delivered himself thus:—

Other Doctors have them as well as I: Why have they not been as zealous to serve the Common-wealth with them as



I? They cannot deny them to be good,—that were to contradict their Masters. They will not confesse they fear a Diminution of their own gaine. That were to obtrude a strange Maxime to the State; That Sicknes must be provided for Physitians, not Physitians for sicknes; so Sinners for Preachers, and Malefactors for Judges.

The man's ire was raised, and in one of his pamphlets he spoke of "Doctors in Physick who only pretend to be so." The College, to whom the subject was referred, suggested obstacles; and in these circumstances, the breach between Dr. Peter and the presumed leaders of the profession in London grew wider, and at length he ceased to attend the functions of the College. As a result of this, in 1649, he was dismissed from his Fellowship—a measure which does not seem to have caused him the slightest distress.

About this time, the Doctor issued a pamphlet entitled "The Poore Mans Advocate: or Englands Samaritan Powring Oyle and Wyne into the wounds of the Nation." The Epistle Dedicatory—"To the Representatives of all the Authority and Power of England, the High and Honourable House of Commons. Assembled in Parliament"—is dated April 3, 1649. This was a veritable "tract for the times," replete with warnings on the one hand, and with practical suggestions on the other. The Doctor says:—

Note the man that dippeth with you in the dish, whose Lips still ready for the guilty sop of new Assesments, or sanc't with Birdlime Gelly of DELAY, kisseth you with the seeming tendernesse of Bul-begger caution, and blindeth your wayes with a prudential Forehead of politick Diversion..

Among the propositions of this pamphlet was—a Public Bank, by means of which the lot of the poor would be lightened, and soldiers would receive their pay more promptly. Being at this time in full sympathy with the Parliament, the Doctor was for applying the "remains" of Kings and Bishops, Deans and Chapters, for the good of the people, also for dealing with woods and forests, wastes and drowned lands, in the interests of the poor. He urged Parliament to heed his voice:—

None more fond of a King then the English, yet they departed from him to ease their purses and their Consciencess.. If they forsooke their King (I spake it to some of your House in the beginning of this Session) will they not forsake their fellow Subjects for the same Causes?

The Doctor spoke of making trade free, though he had not our conceptions of Free Trade. He said, in effect: "Take customs.

off unwrought materials and food imports, and lay them on such articles when exported." And again: "Take taxes off export manufactures, and put them on import manufactures." Moreover, he said to the Parliament:—

Provide for the poor, and they will provide for you.

Destroy the poor, and they will destroy you. And if you provide not for the poor, they will provide for themselves.

These views were expressed in the middle of the seventeenth century; and their bold exponent was vigorously denounced as a "pamphlet-monger."

### Embarking on Religious Controversy.

Already we see the Doctor to have been a man of self-reliant calibre; moreover, we find him, on occasion, quoting Scripture with peculiar aptness, and as a man who regarded its authority as equal to the settlement of all disputes. His standing was essentially Puritan, and so, in "A Vindication of Artificial Baths," he suggested that the opposition of the College of Physicians to such schemes as he had promoted, was prompted by lack of sympathy with Puritan ideals. Though, as we have seen, he gives us definite information as to the time in which his public work began—"I have served the Commonwealth now twenty-seven years"—yet he seems not to have left precise information as the religious experience which made all the difference in marking off his early life from that of the more strenuous years in which we now find him. Suffice it to say, however, that, in 1648, having left the Independents, he was baptized as a believer; and that, in 1651, he joined the Seventh-Day Baptist fraternity. These facts are set out on the tombstone, already referred to. Henceforward we find him taking part in new controversies; and these remained his prime concern until his death in 1683.

To estimate such a man, we must not only know his words and deeds, but take account of the thoughts and actions of his enemies in regard to him. It is when thus surveying the situation—appreciating as it were the very atmosphere in which the man lived—that we realise somewhat of the temperament of Dr. Chamberlen. A letter "To my Beloved Friends and Neighbours of the Black-Fryers," issued in February 1649-50, raised questions of Faith, which excited keen controversy. Among others who "answered" the Doctor was one Thomas Bakewell, who issued a pamphlet entitled—"The Dippers plunged in a sea of absurdities, or an Answer to Dr. Chamberlaine concerning sprinkling the baptized." The Doctor replied in—"Master Bakewell's sea of absurdities concerning sprinkling driven back by Peter Cham-

berlen." Another pamphlet by Bakewell was entitled— "Doctor Chamberlain Visited with a Bunch of his own Grapes, Gathered out of his own Packet of Letters: To know whether any Answer to his Question gave satisfaction, and that by his Reply to partake of those rare Gifts of the Spirit, which he proffered to publish in Black-fryers Church. Also an Answer to Dr. Chamberlains Reply, concerning Sprinkling the Baptized." Presumably the expression "Sprinkling the baptized," as thus employed, means "the use of sprinkling in the ordinance described as baptism." The point of the discussion is thus clear and well defined. The controversy exhibits the Doctor as a veritable champion of the Baptist cause.

### Letter to Oliver Cromwell.

In the troublous times of the Interregnum, no less than in antecedent years, the Doctor was sadly exercised on moral and political questions. Hence we find him writing to Lord General Cromwell as follows:—

My Lord,

Were there the same integrity with us at home as with you abroad; surely the Lord would bless us, but a secret envy divides us into jealousies, and nothing but a mutual guilt keeps us together. Your counsels, at this distance, are soon forgotten; every man seeks his own; and no wonder, for what good without faith? and how can men believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not (through obedience) the honour of God that cometh from above? (John v. 44.) What will the end of these things be? ships taken, trade decayed, taxes increased, soldiers unpaid, hated abroad, not loved at home, trusting of enemies, distrusting of friends; it will shortly be a bad choice if extremities afford you other counsels, but either to tax where it is not to be had, or not to pay the soldier the price of his blood. Might it not be accepted now, if one poor despised man could save the city? (Eccles. ix. 15.)

Oh! my lord, there are yet terrible things decreed against this nation, if we turn not unto Him by unfeigned repentance, and a more entire obedience. Truly, my lord, the helps which I (unworthy I) have offered will rise up in judgment.

This opportunity I have now taken to see whether the many suggestions against me have not, at least, blotted me out of your Excellency's favour, and to find you at so much leisure in absence to read these few lines, whom I despair to speak withal here by reason of the multitude of visits and

intrusions that will and did oppress you. This messenger, who hath once had the sweet influence of an attendance nigh your lordship, hopes to be reinstated again into the like favours.

I am still, My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble and most faithful servant,

PETER CHAMBERLEN.<sup>5</sup>

14th Dec. 1650.

"For his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell."

From this it is obvious that, at one time, the Doctor was held in favour by the Lord General—had, as he says, "the sweet influence of an attendance nigh his lordship." Now at length, he had been passed by and neglected; and, presumably as the consequence of derogatory "suggestions," he was "blotted out of favour." He speaks of the future with the consciousness of a prophet and the concern of a patriot, and concludes by seeking a renewal of former favours; but it would appear that such official consideration was for the time denied him. On April 10th, 1651, he issued a broad-sheet "Plus Ultra: To the Parliament of England"—a protest against taxation. As the years passed, and the Protector rose in power, the Doctor became increasingly opposed to him, and other pious men of Baptist principles occupied a similar ground. Their hopes of a Commonwealth on a theocratic basis were disappointed; and, at length, they rejoiced at the accession of Charles II.

### Pastor and Teacher.

Those were days in which a number of questions were being discussed in the Baptist community: consequently, we find Dr. Chamberlen (1) considering the "Fourth Principle," or laying on of hands—in the baptism of believers, the ordination of ministers, etc.; and (2) taking sides, without halt or compromise, on the Sabbatarian issue, the sanctification of the seventh day of the week instead of the first, in the acts of public worship. An educational value which is no longer given to it, was then conceded to public debate. Hence we have records of a debate between Dr. Chamberlen and Mr. Cranford in 1652, on the Ministerial Orders of the Presbyterians, and the right of private men, or tradesmen, to preach without ordination; of a "discourse" between Dr.

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<sup>5</sup> From "Confessions of Faith," pp. 318, 19 (Hanserd Knollys Library).

Chamberlen and Captain Kiffin (in 1654) in regard to the Imposition of Hands; and of a dispute on the Sabbath question, early in 1659, between Dr. Chamberlen, Mr. Coppinger, and Mr. Tillam, on the one part, and Mr. Jeremiah Ives on the other, conducted in the Stone Chapel, by St. Paul's, London, and lasting four days.

Thus the distinctive position implied in worshipping on an exceptional day of the week, on the seventh instead of the first, had come to mark Dr. Chamberlen, and claimed him till the end of his life as an unwearied advocate. As we learn from the inscription on his tombstone, he became a Sabbatarian in 1651, and it would appear that he was speedily recognised as a leader among the community; but while designated a minister, in the sense that the society with which he was associated was known as "the church that walketh with Dr. Peter Chamberlen," there is no reason to conclude that he exercised a "one-man" officialism. It was no uncommon thing in those days for a small church to have two or more ministers—pastors and teachers—in addition to sending forth messengers and evangelists to labour in other parts of the country.

Though bold in controversy, it would seem that the Doctor was singularly gracious in the circle of fellowship which he cultivated. Among the messengers of the Church in Coleman Street, London, with which the Doctor was connected in 1653, and thereabouts, was one Thomas Tillam, who had been labouring, with much success, at Hexham in Northumberland.<sup>6</sup> This good man, "the unworthiest of the ministers of our Lord Jesus," while on a visit to London, wrote a long letter to "the beloved saints in Christ, walking in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel at Hexham." In the course of his communication, which, though actually undated, was certainly sent in 1653 or 1654, he wrote:—

My dear ones, in the spirit of truth and love, you will not surely be offended, yt the hand of my Father hath drawn me to ye great city, to obey him in those pretious truths, which he pleased to make known unto me, and which he hath filled brimfull of mercy in ye practice of. For after I had enjoyed heavenly communion with my pretious brethren of Coleman St., and had acquainted them with my purpose to obey Xt

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<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to trace with certainty all the church movements of the worthies named. It would seem that up to this point Doctor Chamberlen and Thomas Tillam were connected with the church presided over by Hanserd Knollys; but the Sabbatarian and other practices involved changes, in other words, new associations, which, with the information at present available, cannot be located with precision.

in ye 4th principle,<sup>7</sup> and had received this gracious letter to ye sts. in Cheshire, from them,<sup>8</sup> I departed in much love, to ye melting of my hard heart, and having found many congregations in ye practice of the ordinances I wanted, I was, by a blessed hand, guided to my most heavenly Br. Doctor Chamberlen, one of ye most humble, mortified soules, for a man of parts, yt ever I yet met with, in whose sweet society, I enjoyed ye blessing of my God, by the laying on of their hands, and after a love feast, having washed one another's feet, we did joyfully break bread, and concluded with an hymn: in all wch the singular majesty of Xt shined forth to ye mighty conviction of some choyse spectators.<sup>9</sup>

**"The Church that Walketh with Dr. Peter Chamberlen."**

About the same time, in 1654, as a protest against the civil administration that prevailed during the Commonwealth, there was issued "A Declaration of the Several Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the City of London: Concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ, and the Present Sufferings of His Cause and Saints in England." The signatories number 150, and among them appears a group of names representing the Sabbath-keeping Church, as follows:—

<p>" In the name of the whole church that walketh with Dr. Peter Chamberlen "</p>	}	<p>Peter Chamberlen John Light John Spittlehouse John Davis Richard Ellis Richard Smith Robert Feak<sup>10</sup></p>
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Thus we see Dr. Peter Chamberlen as a leader of the Seventh-Day movement, and in active support of "the Fourth Principle" and other observances that could not but make him, on the one hand, a "tower of strength" to a despised party, and, on the

<sup>7</sup> The laying on of hands, a practice introduced into the Baptist body in 1646. (Heb. vi. 1.)

<sup>8</sup> From other records it appears that Mr. Tillam and another brother were commended to Hill Cliff, Warrington, by this church, on April 3rd. 1653.

<sup>9</sup> From Douglas's "History of Baptist Churches in the North of England," p. 57. See also "Records of Churches of Christ—Fenstanton, etc.," p. 323 (Hanserd Knollys Library).

<sup>10</sup> From "Seventh-Day Baptists in England," by W. M. Jones, D.D., in "Jubilee Papers" 1892.

other hand, a butt of scorn to the fashionable and thoughtless crowd around. One detractor, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Philolethes" (sic) was particularly bitter in criticism and insinuation. He concluded one indictment by declaring that "amongst all that have disturbed our peace none have troubled themselves more to lesse purpose than that learned gentleman Doctor Peter Chamberlaine"; and subsequently, issued a broadsheet, entitled "A dose for Chamberlain and a pill for the Doctor, being an answer to two scurrilous pamphlets written against the author of 'The Asses' Complaint.'" It is beyond question that the Doctor made many enemies by his bold propagandist methods. When, for instance, he asked "Whether is the sprinkling of infants an ordinance of God or of man?" offence was naturally given in various circles where there was little disposition to discuss the question.

Even as, throughout the Interregnum, Dr. Chamberlen was very active, so also on the eve of the accession of Charles II., he continued to raise his voice, by issuing—in June 1659 "A Scourge for a Denn of Thieves," being a proposal to raise money wherewith to pay up army arrears; and in December, the same year, "Legislative Power in Problemes." In the latter he propounded seventy-eight problems, having for their object the conferring of temporal benefits on the people. In a word, he proposed that the laws of man should be brought more into conformity with the laws of God. The issue was thus indicated:—

Then shall the oppressor cease and no more complaining be heard in the street. Taxes shall be no more, and Trade and industry should abound more than in our neighbours blessed Bee-hive. The poor should have bread and the army no more arrears. The youth and flower of our nation instead of being infected with the crabbed nonsensical study of the laws, or drawing straight lines by crooked rules raise up their noble fancy to the wisdom of Arts and Arms. The depths of Nature and knowledge of the whole world to the honour of God and themselves and not imbesling but enriching of their estates and prosperity. Then peace and safety, plenty and prosperity, should overflow the land.

For I, P.C. as a servant and witness of the Word of God do testifie with my right hand lift up to heaven that if our present parliament and army shall hearken to the Word of God and fulfil the humble desires of his servant, that all these things shall immediately ensue, but if they despise and harden God will overturn and make them desolate as in the twinkling of an eye, and will raise up another authority and power more

wise and glorious on whom he will pour his spirit and they shall do these great things and more. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Isa 1. 20 and 40, 5; 58. 14.

*“Read and believe, or read and tremble.”*

Having reached the age of fifty, the Doctor maintains the prophetic rôle—as he had already done when writing to the Lord Protector—and with great boldness he denounces the sins of his age. Had he been a minister of the ordinary kind, assuredly he would not have been endured: but he was a physician, a man with skill, mental and manual, such as could not be dispensed with in society, and so he was tolerated, and allowed to say his say.

On the accession of Charles II., as we have already observed, the Doctor once more found himself Physician in Ordinary to the King. He now issued letters and pamphlets from his “Cottage in Coleman Street.” At that time Coleman Street seems to have been a veritable centre of Nonconformist meeting-houses, of various denominations; but, as there is no evidence of a Seventh-Day Chapel having been among them, it seems quite likely that the brethren of that order met in the Doctor’s house, and thus, in a very definite sense, constituted “the Church that walketh with Doctor Peter Chamberlen.” Once more, the Doctor was in close association with the “Low Countreys”; and among other schemes formulated during residence among the Dutch was one for an invention whereby ships and carriages might be propelled by wind, “navigating with all winds in a straight line”—he was for harnessing natural forces in the interests of locomotion! Another was for a system of writing and printing phonetically; and for both these pieces of enterprise he obtained patents under which material benefit might accrue.

### Appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Nevertheless, with all such show of versatility, the Doctor could not be shielded from the sneers and jeers of those who resented his religious teaching, which, as we have seen, was not merely Puritan, but such as connected him with one of the smallest of the sects that could find a place of shelter under that name. Hence, like his contemporary John Bunyan, and many other earnest men in all generations, he was denounced as “mad”; and like Francis Bampfield, a leader in his own denomination, about the same time, he was called “Jew” by way of contempt for his Sabbath-keeping consistency. He was not for taking all this “lying down.” The scornful epithets aroused his indignation, and he was not slow to say so. Accordingly, in 1662, he published,



“A Sober Man’s Vindication.” Therein he spoke of the evils that had come upon the nation; and confidently suggested that the schemes which he had advanced (though to no purpose) would have saved many lives—an allusion to his proposal in regard to the Midwives; would have dealt with the diseases and distempers of the people—an allusion to his project for the setting up of Public Baths; and would have relieved the wants of the poor—an allusion to his appeal for a Public Bank. He wrote from “My Cottage over against the Low Conduit by the Church in Coleman Street.”

Later still, smarting under the wildest calumny, he wrote to Archbishop Sancroft as follows:—

My Lord, I understand that I have lately been traduced to Yor Grace as a Jew by a Combination of Ale Hous Gossips, some Mechanick Church Wardens, with their pettifogging Solicitor; of a Name that is not to be found in all his pretended Dwellings. . . . To be a Jew as the Apostle writes to the Romans is a Crown and Honour to any Christian. But as they intended it, in opposition to the Name & Faith of Jesus Christ, I abhor them. Nor can all they are worth make Reparation for the Slaunder and Scandal, & for the Prejudice they do me in Practice. If therefore Yor Grace would give me leav to compell them to appear before Yor Grace, to make good their Words: I desire no better Judge to approve my self as Good a Christian, as the 19th Article of the Church of England can require. Which none of my dirty-mouthd Adversaries can prove of them-selves.

Written in the style of the time, this letter is dated July 21st, 1680, three years before the old man’s death. And, if the Archbishop had been so disposed he could have given redress, for in those days Bishops had civil powers that are no longer vested in the hands of spiritual functionaries. It does not appear, however, that the Archbishop was drawn in the direction intended.

### Disputations with Jews.

Though objecting to be styled “Jew” by way of contempt, Dr. Chamberlen took a real interest in the scattered nation which that name properly designates. Observing as he did the same Rest-day as the Jews, he felt himself to be in a position of special advantage when approaching them in regard to the Messianic claims of his Master and Lord. He had disputations with some of them, and wrote a pamphlet entitled “The Sons of the East” (1682). This opened as follows:—

Greatly Beloved Nation and People most Honoured of God . . . I have heard that some (of the most worthy amongst you) have made some Enquiry after a few Christians, who keep the Sabbath of the Lord your God, and Ours. Wherefore (by the Providence of God) having been the First that endeavoured to rescue that Commandment from the Triple-crowned-little-Horns Change of Times, and Laws, as was foretold by your prophet Daniel, (chap. 7. 25). . . .

I am in some hope that God may provoke you to jealousy by a People that were not then called his People. (Deut. 32. 21) And having been conversant with several of your Nation in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, I think my self the more engaged to salute you in mine own Native Country. . . .

Peculiar interest attaches to this action of the aged servant of Christ. It reminds us of another such incident, evincing a concern for the Jewish people, which took place a short time previously. Then, in 1657, Henry Jessey, of Swan Alley Baptist Church, hearing that there was famine in Jerusalem, by reason of a war between the Swedes and the Poles, collected in London the sum of £300, and sent the same with letters on the Christian Faith; seeking thereby to draw the attention of Jews in Jerusalem to the Messianic claims of the Lord Jesus.<sup>11</sup> May we not discern in the action of both these men a ministry which, in spirit and object alike, anticipated such Missions to the Jews as, in the past century or so, have grown up in our midst as well as in other countries?

### Address to the Governor of New England.

A few years before this, it came to the knowledge of the Sabbath-keepers in London that certain of their brethren in the Colony of Connecticut were suffering persecution. This brought out another side of the character of Dr. Chamberlen, who promptly wrote letters of encouragement to the Seventh-Day Baptist Church at Newport, in the Colony of Rhode Island, of which the Connecticut Sabbath-keepers were members, and likewise enclosed an address to the Governor of New England in the following terms:—

Peter Chamberlen, senior Doctor of both Universities, and first and eldest Physician in Ordinary to His Majesty's person, according to the world, but according to grace a servant of

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<sup>11</sup> Calamy's "Nonconformist's Memorial" (Palmer's Edition, 1802-3), vol. I. p. 131.

the Word of God—To the Excellent and Noble Governor of New England:

Grace, mercy, peace and truth, from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, praying for you, that you may abound in heavenly graces and temporal comforts.

I have always had a love for the intended purity and unspotted doctrine of New England; for Mr. Cotton was of the same College and University, of Emmanuel in Cambridge, as I was; and so was Mr. Hooker, and others, with whom we were all contemporary; and I never knew them, but of a holy life and conversation. I also knew Colonel Humphrey, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Mr. Peters, who were of note among you, and Sir Henry Vane, who all had some share in the foundation of your government. But certainly the first intentions were never to debar the truths of Scripture and liberty of conscience guided thereby; but to suppress sin and idolatry, and prevent all the adulteries of Rome, to whom all things are lawful, especially lies and hypocrisy, to promote their damnable doctrines, covetous superstitions, and blasphemous supremacy. It is great wisdom to suppress sin, but not the liberty of a good conscience; and whilst men grant liberty of conscience, not to admit liberty of sin. All magistrates have not attained to this wisdom; else England had been long since freed from popery and perjury. Whatsoever is against the ten commandments is sin, (Rom. 3, 20; 1 John 3, 4.) and he that sinneth in one point is guilty of all, because he that spake one word of them, spake all, and he added no more (Jas. 2, 10, 11, Ex. 20, 1.); while Moses and Solomon caution men so much against adding to or taking from, (Deut. 4, 2; Prov. 30, 5, 6) and so doth the beloved apostle (Rev. 22 18, 19), what shall we say of those that take away of those ten words, or those that make them void and teach men so? Nay, they dare give the lie to JEHOVAH, and make Jesus Christ not only a breaker of the law, but the very author of sin in others, also causing them to break them. Hath not the little horn played his part lustily in this, and worn out the saints of the Most High so that they become little-horn men also? And if you are pleased to inquire about these things, and to require any instances or information, be pleased by your letters to command it from your humble servant in the Lord Jesus Christ,

PETER CHAMBERLEN.<sup>12</sup>

Most Worthy Governor, Sept. 1, 1677:

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<sup>12</sup> "Seventh-Day Baptist Memorial," vol. 1 (April 1852).

For the times, this must be pronounced a singularly judicious letter. The author claims friends among those who had been, or still were, on the spot. His denunciation of the Papacy is in terms that were well understood among Protestants; and the days were those in which such as were against Rome were finding it dutiful to say so.

### A Plea for Christian Union.

Later on, at the very close of his life, the Doctor was in correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, urging measures for the reconciliation of all who held the Faith of Christ. He thought the time had come when they should find, "not how far they can Differ and Quarrel Each other, but How Close they can Unite and become all of Christ." In view of the advance of Popery—he asked who it was that "was killing and wearing out the saints of the Most High" and "thinking to change times and laws" (Daniel 7.)—he insisted that in the absence of reformation there would be "certain desolation." Once again the Doctor was prophet, and once again his tidings were of coming woes. The letters were numerous, and though not rising altogether above the prejudices of the times, they showed a beautiful spirit. Moreover, they foreshadowed in the seventeenth century a highly-cherished realization of the nineteenth, when, in 1846, the Evangelical Alliance was formed in London, and now embraces in its membership, in all parts of the world, Christians of many denominations—"One Body in Christ."

The more intimate Church movements of the man and his circle cannot be indicated in the absence of material setting forth, with precision and in detail, those concerns of his life. There is no doubt that, in spite of the petty wrongs which he suffered, he was a man who found great joy in the worship of God among his own people. It would appear that, from time to time, the church with which he was connected, equally with others of the same order, came under changeful influences. There is no doubt that one of these bodies gave rise to the meeting in Mill Yard, Goodman Fields, which has become historic in the denomination in Great Britain. This church, moreover, claims that Dr. Chamberlen was its leader at the time of which we have been speaking—possibly co-leader with John James the martyr. Since that time, Mill Yard has had many migrations, and its present centre is at Canonbury Lane, N.

### Death and Resting-Place.

Peter Chamberlen died in 1683. His family relations, other

than those already given, cannot be better presented than in the inscription on the altar tombstone which covers his remains as they rest in the churchyard of Woodham Mortimer, near Maldon, Essex.<sup>13</sup> In that village, situate some seven and a half miles from the county town of Chelmsford, he resided during his later years, and lived in the Hall, a property adjoining the churchyard. He is said to have erected the building which now occupies the Hall grounds; and he must in his day have admired the noble cedar tree which for centuries has graced the front.

Like many another mansion in the neighbourhood, the Hall had its secret room—a welcome place of refuge in times of persecution—which in this instance was immediately over the porch. There, in 1818—that is, 135 years after the death of the owner—were found, packed away in a box concealed beneath the floor, a number of midwifery forceps and other instruments, some family trinkets, and, wrapped in a piece of paper, a solitary tooth. It was evidently the wife who saved this last relic, for the paper bore the words “My husband’s last tooth.” The various articles were described in the “Transactions” of the Medico-Chirurgical Society (Vol. XXVII).

J. W. THIRTLE.

[To be Concluded.]

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<sup>13</sup> See copy of inscription in frontispiece, page 7.

## The Hubbard-How-More Church.

From Gould's copy of Stinton's Repository. Text of 1699 by John Webb, junior. Notes of 1712 by Benjamin Stinton, of 1910 by W. T. Whitley.

THIS church was confounded by Neal with Jessey's, though a most cursory reading will show the difference. They both existed in the seventeenth century and admitted of Mixed Communion; Samuel How had to do with both, but otherwise they had no connection and little resemblance. All Congregational historians till quite lately were misled however by Neal, and only Wilson recognized the difference.

The main narrative is avowedly extracted from the church book in 1699. But prefixed to this is an introductory summary; eight side-notes are added; and twelve lines of epilogue carry on the story to the dissolution of the church in 1705. These additions may all be due to Stinton himself.

One side-note conjectures that the writer of 1699 was "old Mr. Webb." We naturally think of that John Webb, shoemaker, who on 28 September 1630 figures in the registers of St. Vedast, who on 10 January 1640-1 was arrested with other members of this church, who became Baptist and signed the Confession of 1644, who by 1646 was declared by Edwards to have become an atheist. But this last item makes us pause, and we note that in 1699 he would indeed have been very old; we then recall that he had been an inmate of an almshouse, and died there before 1699; so that we look more deeply for the author.

He notes that his own connection with this church began after the ejection of 1662, when for the first time he could not get good preaching in any parish church. He shows that he was opposed to Strict Communion, and rather implies that he had not been baptized on profession of his faith. The side-note also suggests that when this document was copied, about 1712, he was dead. In 1703 a John Webb signed a testimonial to Benjamin Keach; Ivimey, II, 371.

The prologue is absolutely devoid of fresh facts, and seems based upon the text following it, whose very mistakes it reproduces.

Nevertheless for the sake of completeness it is here printed, but without notes, which are reserved for the narrative proper.

But the account of the earlier years, before the author himself became connected with the church, needs critical examination and some slight correction.

The earlier life of John Canne is to some extent involved with the story of this church, since the Jessey Records state under date 1630:— "Mr. Can also then walking . . . Saints where he left Mr. How (he going with some to Holland)." We must therefore present some of the facts in his Dutch career.

In April 1640 he was teaching at Bristol. From the postscript to his "Second Voice from the Temple" we learn that he had been banished seventeen years, so that it was about the beginning of 1623 when he left England first. About the end of 1622 died Henry Ainsworth, pastor of the Ancient Church whose headquarters were in Amsterdam, though some of its members were in London. John Paget, pastor of the Puritan church in the Bagijn Hof, a few minutes away, tells us that soon after Ainsworth's death a schism occurred, part adhering to Jean de la Cluse [l'Ecluse, a printer from Rouen, now a schoolmaster], part to John Canne. The split was serious, for the printers of John Robinson's posthumous work of 1634 tell us the numbers were reduced to one-fifth; and the London members were so puzzled that when they were in doubt about recognizing Jacob's church, they wrote not only to Amsterdam, but also to Robinson, and his letters show grave troubles in 1624. But Canne was successful in healing them, with the help of Staesmore in 1630, so that in 1632-3 he preached a sermon to celebrate a reunion. With this he made his entrance into literature, for he was a versatile man, and Paget lets us know that he kept a brandy-shop and a chemist's shop and printing works all at once, besides being Elder. Two years later he published his "Necessitie of Separation," in which he upheld the clear-cut Brownist position, and incidentally that it was wrong even to hear the sermons in parish churches. Robinson had counselled Canne's London members to the contrary, and his printers now published his posthumous treatise *On the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers of the Church of England*, mentioning a few facts about Canne's people in Amsterdam and London. In 1638 Canne got into trouble with the Amsterdam authorities for the books he published annoying the King of Great Britain, and was fined £300: Evans II, 108. So it was 1639 before he replied to Robinson in his "Stay against Straying," and next year he took the same advanced ground at Bristol, having also become a Baptist, a point irrelevant to this enquiry. A rejoinder to his

Necessitie, issued in 1640, entitles him still "a leader to the company of Brownists in Amsterdam", and the preface by another author adds many details. Meanwhile his neighbour John Paget was involved in bitter quarrels, and Canne put out two or three editions of a plea for thorough Independency, the last being called "Sion's Prerogative Royal" in 1641. By this time England had become the main scene of his activity, and when he edited the Bible with elaborate notes, it was printed indeed at Amsterdam in 1642, but not with his own imprint. Yet he did not sever his Dutch connection, for two different books of 1644 refer to the Rotterdam Independents preaching publicly in Master Canne's pulpit in Amsterdam. We need not pursue his own adventurous career further, merely noting that he died at Amsterdam in 1667.

Here we have a life spent chiefly in London and Amsterdam, and however many interests occupied him, he was pastor of the Ancient Church from 1623 or 1624 till 1667. Revert now to the obscure entry in the Jessey Records for 1630. Suppose that he had come over to see his own London members, who were rather dubious as to their best course. Suppose he persuaded some to come over with him to Holland, and persuaded some others after a while to join Samuel How in the 1621 church. This will tally with the entry here, will tally with the fact that by 1632-3 he was able to celebrate a reunion, will tally with the fact that no one knows how the London branch of the Ancient Church disappeared, its last appearance being in 1632, in prison alongside Lathorp's church.

But we have now to reckon with old Mr. Webb's statements here. After 1621 Hubbard took the Southwark church to Ireland and continued there "some time." They returned and after some months "called Mr. John Can, . . . who attended that service some time, and then with some of the members left the church and went to Amsterdam and there continued with the English church many years . . . all which time the church planted by Mr. Hubbard . . . continued . . . and in process of time had the opportunity of enjoying as a member Samuel How." Webb clearly distinguishes the Ancient Church in Amsterdam from Hubbard's church, and gives no hint at any fusion such as we suppose: but he blunders in calling the Ancient Church the "English" church, which would have moved John Paget to unbounded wrath. And he says that How was only connected with the church after Canne had gone with some of the Hubbard members.

In this perplexity we turn to scrutinize How's career. On 29 April 1629 he was seized at a conventicle, worshipping with the



Jacob church then under Lathorp. This statement of the Jessey Records is confirmed by the report of his trial before the High Commission in May, when he pleaded that he had served the King by sea and land, and would still be doing so but for this arrest. Apparently he had been engaged in the expeditions to relieve La Rochelle, but as there was peace with France in 1629 and with Spain in 1630, he must have been in the regular navy, not simply in the levies raised especially. But despite the call for ship money, Charles had to reduce expenses, and How probably was discharged both from custody and from the navy.

As to the end of his career; in June 1641, John Taylor published a portrait of him preaching in a tub, as frontispiece to "A Swarm of Sectaries &c."

And at the Nag's Head, near to Coleman Street  
A most pure crew of Brethren there did meet,

\* \* \* \*

A worthy brother gave the text, and then  
The cobbler How his preachment strait began.

\* \* \* \*

For (like a man inspired from Amsterdam)  
He scorned Ne sutor ultra crepidam.

Here is clear testimony to his kinship with John Canne, and further testimony is given in the preface to How's celebrated sermon on the Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching. This was delivered in answer to a challenge by John Goodwin, incumbent at St. Stephen's in Coleman Street. Though he preached it in London, he sent over to Holland to get it printed. The first edition was in 1639, another appeared on 22 January 1644-5, and it was reissued often in the next century.

The preface confirms that he usually preached in a meeting-house in Coleman Street; and a postscript by Kiffin states that he was buried in the highway, a fact confirmed in October, 1641 by the pamphlet "The Brownist's Synagogue," if indeed the two statements are independent. The date of his death is however not given, and Wilson only ventures to put it about 1640.

Turning next for more contemporary evidence to the Lords' Journals, we find that on 10 January 1640-1, the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour's captured during the hours of divine service nearly seventy people worshipping at the house of Richard Sturges in Deadman's Place, Southwark. Five charges were laid, denied, and sworn to: one was that they held the

Parish Churches were not true churches, and that there was no true Church except where the faithful met; another that they avowed they ought not to obey the King except in civil things. Six men were brought to the House and were told to go to their parish churches, obedient to the Conventicle Act of Elizabeth and other Acts. The men in question were Edmund Chillendon, subsequently a Baptist and a Captain in the army, Nicholas Tyne, John Webb, apparently the shoemaker who signed the Baptist Confession of 1644, Richard Sturges, Thomas Gunn, another signatory to the 1644 confession, and John Ellis.

Neal's comments on this affair are all vitiated by his confusion of the church with Jacob's church; remarkably enough Fuller has made other errors in retailing the incident, both as to numbers and date. Crosby of course had this very document before him and simply paraphrased it, so his version has no independent value. Stovel at page xviii acknowledged the difficulty, and conjectured that John Canne was a preacher on 24 January, when the visiting peers heard two sermons. But this rather improbable guess is not necessary to explain why the Lord's Journals call these "Anabaptists," since we know that Chillenden Webb and Gunn were Baptists afterwards and perhaps even then.

As we know that Canne was pastor of the Ancient Church from 1624 till his death in 1667, we prefer to believe that old Mr. Webb writing in 1699 was mistaken as to his being pastor of this church, being misled by the fact that in 1630 he did have something to do with it. The critical reconstruction of the chronology will be roughly:—

- 1621 Founded by Hubbard, taken to Ireland. Query, 1611?  
Returned to London, helped by Hancock
- 1630 Helped by Canne who takes some members to Holland  
[to join his Ancient Church, perhaps adding the London  
members of that to this church by 1633].
- 1632 [The London remnant of the Ancient Church in prison,  
along with Lathorp's church including Sam How]
- 1633 Samuel How pastor. Covenant renewed.  
Church meets usually in Coleman Street.
- 1640 How dies.
- 1640-1 Arrested in Southwark, tolerated by the Lords.
- 1641 Stephen More pastor.
- 1643? John Webb, Thomas Gunn and Thos. Mabbatt found  
Baptist churches.
- 1648 Covenant renewed.  
Worship in Whitehall and St. James

- 1663 Old Mr. Webb joins  
 1672 Stephen More qualifies to preach at the house of Barnabas  
 Bloxom, Winchester Yard, Southwark, on 2 May.  
 1685 More dies in the Marshalsea prison.  
 Church meets usually in Southwark  
 1697 Daniel Parker pastor  
 1698 Richard Robbins co-pastor  
 1699 Valentine Lindsey succeeds both  
 1705 Dissolution

\*Numb: 23.

An Account of A Church that usually met in Southwark near St Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, & partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y<sup>e</sup> Reign of K. James 1, to their Dissolution in 1705.

taken out of their Church Book, &c.

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This Church I find was constituted in Gospell Order about y<sup>e</sup> year 1621. The first Pastor thereof was one Mr Hubbard, a learned man of Episcopal Ordination, who having left the Church of England, took his Ministry from this Church, & with them went into Ireland, & there died. They returned again to England, & chose Mr John Canne, (famous for filling up a Bible with Marginal Notes to this day much valued) to be their Pastor, who attended that service for some time, and then with some of the Members left the Church, and went to Amsterdam, & there continued with the English Church many years, and tho' he came into England afterwards, yet he returned to Amsterdam, and there died. During which time they continued without a Pastor, and then chose Mr Sam: How, who served in this Ministration about 7 years and died in peace very much lamented. In his time they were persecuted beyond measure by the Clergy and Bishops

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\* Marks the pagination in the Gould manuscript.

Courts, and he dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, They with a Constables guard secured the parish ground at Shoreditch to prevent his being buried there so that he was buried at Anis a Cleer, and several of his Members according to their desire was buried there likewise. He wrote that little Book so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of the Spirits teachings, and was very famous for his vindication of the Doctrines of Separation, and both he and his People were much harrassed for it by their Enemies, and were forced to meet together in feilds and woods to avoid them.

They afterwards chose one Mr Stephen More to be their Pastor. He was a Deacon of their Church excellently gifted for the work of the ministry, a man of good reputation and possessed of an Estate. In his time their Case was altered for the better, and they who used to be avoided, and who were hardly reckoned among men, but look'd on as a kind of Wild Creatures, and greatly persecuted, met with some respite of peace. Indeed once on a Lords day when they were met together, they were taken, and by Sr John Ludhall committed to the Clink Prison \*and some of them had before the house of Lords as aforementioned. But after that I find little interruption given them.

A Brief Account of this Church of Christ, from the begining: Togeather w<sup>th</sup> ye Progressions down to this present Year. 1699

According to ye best Account from Ancient Members therein, & such Notices as in Old Books we find: That about ye year 1621 was this Church constituted in Gospel Order, & carried on by one Mr Hubbert; who in that time of Trouble then all did pass to Ireland,

where he for some time continued with them & dyed.<sup>1</sup> He was a Man brought up in Learning, & was formerly, an ordained Man of the Church of England, but renounc'd it, & took his Ministry from that Church.<sup>2</sup> This one thing is remarkable of him, That on his Death-bed he said, He thought there was some Spell in his first Ordination, Seing that tho he knew y<sup>t</sup> Some of y<sup>e</sup> Members had as good gifts as himselfe & more Grace Yet could not get over this, but think of himselfe about them & thought this did arise from y<sup>e</sup> Impressions in his mind made at that Ordination.<sup>3</sup> This Church returned into England, & kept close their Co<sup>m</sup>union here about London, where one M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Hancock, a member of this Church, preaching to them as a Brother for some Months.<sup>4</sup> After w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church called M<sup>r</sup> John Can,<sup>5</sup> (who was since famous for filling up a

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hubbard is to be distinguished from the Hubert or Hubberd of the Jacob-Jessey church, who was a haberdasher and was alive as late as 15 October 1635 when he got into trouble with the High Commission. Our present man is expressly said to have been a clergyman. Since the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, the Deputies were busy planting it with Englishmen, and from the Irish State Papers, volume 233, page 58, we find that in 1613 Dyrrikke Hubbard tried for a twenty-one years' monopoly of salt. Our Mr. Hubbard is said by Neal to have settled at Carrickfergus in 1611; History II. 93. This appears to show that old Mr. Webb's information was wrongly dated about ten years. The family was of Suffolk origin, but one member settled in London during the reign of James, as the census shows. Compare also Samuel Herbert referred to below in 1662.

<sup>2</sup> This renunciation of Episcopal orders was by no means unusual. Several Puritans in Holland did the same, founding the Independent churches there. But the most interesting case is that of John Smith, who soon saw that not only the Orders, but the Baptism of the Antichristian church must be renounced.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hubbard only avowed what many others felt and acted up to. In Holland William Bridge, M.A., from St. George's in Norwich, renounced his orders and ordained Samuel Ward, B.D., who had also renounced; then Ward at once ordained Bridge. These were the people whose friends scoffed at Smith for baptizing himself and Helwys! But Bridge, Ward and their friends hardly saw their way to acknowledge Canne the printer, though he had presumably been ordained by his church. And Alexander Forbes, in his "Anatomy of Independency" keenly criticised them for their illogical position and their complaints that they were called Brownists.

<sup>4</sup> In 1611, Lawne stated on page 56 of his "Profane Schism" that John Hancock would have a Separation by himself in Amsterdam, distinct from Smith and Helwys and Busher. In 1646 John Hancock was the publisher of the Baptist Confession, second edition.

<sup>5</sup> We have shown in the Introduction that there must be some error here. From this point this MS. was used by Neal at II. 316, confounding this church with Lathorp's, which he distinguished from Jessey's.

Bible w<sup>th</sup> Marginal Notes, to this day, much Vallued)<sup>6</sup> whom y<sup>e</sup> Church called & Chose their Pastor, who attended that Service for Some Time, & then w<sup>th</sup> Some of y<sup>e</sup> Members left y<sup>e</sup> Church & went to Amsterdam, & there continued w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English Church many Years; And tho he came into England after yet returned & there dyed. All wch time y<sup>e</sup> Church planted by Mr Hubbard, w<sup>th</sup> Such other as Joyned w<sup>th</sup> them continued serving the Lord w<sup>th</sup> Singleness of heart; & in process of time had y<sup>e</sup> Oportunity of enjoying as a Member. Sam: How.<sup>7</sup>

At wch time, they Solemly renewed & confirmed their antient League & Covenant one w<sup>th</sup> another,<sup>8</sup> & then

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<sup>6</sup> The work of Canne on the Bible is in danger of being forgotten. He was practically the inventor of the system of marginal references, now so generally adopted. Tindale had continued the mediæval custom of marginal annotations, and these had been kept up by all rival translators, as by the Douay Catholic priests, and the Genevan Puritan divines. King James had seen that the party tone of these notes hindered the general circulation, and revived the order of Henry VIII., that to his second Authorized Version there should be no notes. The translators did place a very few marginal references, but otherwise obeyed. But with the dissolution of royal authority, the way was open for editors to experiment, and in 1642 John Canne added the familiar notes of the Genevan Bible and the longer Annotations of Junius on the Revelation (a book specially interesting to him) to the text of the Royal Version, publishing a folio edition in Amsterdam. Next he issued at Amsterdam a quarto edition with a series of references on the principle that Scripture was the best interpreter of Scripture. In 1647 it was repeated in London, two volumes octavo. In 1653 he obtained copyright for his selection of references during seven years. And though Charles would take no notice of this, he put out editions in 1662 and 1664, the latter without the Apocrypha, as behoved a good Baptist. After his death many editions appeared, and his selection was the basis of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible. Not till Dr. Moulton in our own day offered a new selection to the University Presses, was Canne's work in any sense superseded.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel How was a member of the Jacob church under Lathorp in 1629, therefore 1630 is the earliest possible date for his joining here. As he was pastor about seven years, and died about 1640, we get 1633 as the probable date of the renewal of the covenant and his election as pastor. Probably this followed very soon after his joining as a member, and the imprisonment of Jacob's church together with the Ancient church in 1632 seems to show when he passed from one to the other.

<sup>8</sup> In the early days of royal charters, it was often thought wise to get a new king to renew and confirm the charter of his predecessors. The phrase here however shows that old Mr. Webb had in mind the Solemn League and Covenant signed so extensively in Scotland and England; an idea borrowed by the Puritans from the Old Testament. The renewal, as distinct from the original making, of a covenant, might find precedent from Joshua in his old age; Samuel after the relief of Jabesh-Gilead, Josiah after the Book of the Covenant had been found under the foundation-stone of Solomon's temple. Many English Baptist churches retain this old custom, and the Wesleyans have made it an annual practice.

did freely Elect, Choose, & Ordain y<sup>e</sup> Said Saml How to be their Pastor, who faithfully & painfully served in this Ministration \*about the Space of Seven Years, till, according to y<sup>e</sup> will of God he fell asleep [& died in Peace]<sup>9</sup> in a troublesome Day, being much lamented.<sup>10</sup>

Before I go further take these remarks on this Saml How who lived about 1634 or 35, w<sup>ch</sup> was a time of great trouble by the Bpps Courts in King Charles y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> time, in many Vexatious Conditions by Pursevants &c,<sup>11</sup> & Excomunications; & This Servant of Christ dyed under this Punishment, & therefore they would not let him have y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they call Christian Burial, but w<sup>th</sup> a Constables gaurd secured y<sup>e</sup> Parish ground at Shoreditch against them, who very quietly was buried at Anis-a Cleer; where several Members desired & when dead was buried by him.<sup>12</sup> This is y<sup>t</sup> How so much talked of in latter Years who wrote y<sup>e</sup> little Boock so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of y<sup>e</sup> Spirits Teaching &c. And as farr as I can find by them y<sup>t</sup> were of y<sup>e</sup> Church at y<sup>t</sup> time (for I know many of them) he was famous for y<sup>e</sup> Vindication of y<sup>e</sup> Doctrines of Seperation, & were for it much harrassed up & down in Fields & Woods; but God was w<sup>th</sup> them, & they cheerfully passed along.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> These brackets and the words they contain are in the manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> The latest date for a troublesome day was 1640. By November the Long Parliament met, and Laud was soon in the Tower, his officials in full flight.

<sup>11</sup> The pursuivants had a direct interest in capturing conventicles. On 2 July 1640 three messengers of the High Commission put in their plea for a share of the fines, and it was granted. John Wragg and John Vesey are mentioned in the Jessey Records, but Thomas Thrasher seems not to have been fortunate enough to catch them. Male twice caught Lathorp's members.

<sup>12</sup> Agnes la Claire was an old saint or dame, after whom a well in Shoreditch was named. We have two testimonies that the actual burial was in the highway, as was the case with suicides, who also were excommunicated. A year earlier, Samuel Eaton had been buried in Bunhill Fields by a large concourse of 200 people; that was a burial ground not under the supervision of any parish clergyman, and practically given up to Separatists, so that Laud was asked to look into the matter on 31 August 1639. Evidently many members resented the indignity to How's remains, and sought to redeem the place from its shameful associations, even as the Cross was altered in connotation.

<sup>13</sup> Except for the one sermon, nothing of his has been discovered in print.

After these things, some considerable time after,<sup>14</sup> finding y<sup>e</sup> want of a Pastor, & desireing y<sup>e</sup> Groth of y<sup>e</sup> Church, & their Edification, they chose out among themselves, & pitched upon Stephen More, a gifted Brother, & a Deacon to y<sup>e</sup> Church, & did freely Elect, Choose & Ordain him unto that Office about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1641. He was a Cityzen of Good Worth, & possessed of some Estate, & lived in good Reputation, yet did he willingly comply w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> Providences of God in all their Afflictions & Sufferings to Serve our Lord Jesus, & purchased to himselfe a good degree & great boldness in his Work &c.<sup>15</sup>

In his time Knowlidg did break out & y<sup>e</sup> Light of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel began to shine, in so much that these People, w<sup>ch</sup> were in former times so represented to y<sup>e</sup> World as such y<sup>t</sup> were to be avoided, that they were hardly reckoned amongst Men, as I have heard some of them say, they thought we were some kind of Wild Creatures; & they were persecuted so, at that \*time by y<sup>e</sup> Clergy & Bishops Courts as is almost Incredible; Yet it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to carry them through & own them: And this one Case was remarkable; That in y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> Difference between y<sup>e</sup> King & Parliament; This Church meeting on a Lords Day in Deadmans Place, in Southwark, they were taken & by Sr John Lenthall y<sup>e</sup> Marshal of y<sup>e</sup> Kings Bench committed to the Clink Prison, next morning were carried by order to y<sup>e</sup> House of Lords, † setting in Parliament, about 5 or 6 men, & great were y<sup>e</sup> Expectations of y<sup>e</sup> Town w<sup>t</sup> would be y<sup>e</sup> Issue of it. They were strictly examined by y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As. More was ordained about 1641, the interval cannot really have been considerable.

<sup>15</sup> On 7 February, 1636-7, Edward Penton, "a sanctified brother, and hath been already at New England," was arrested for vending scandalous books. He confessed that about a month before Christmas, he saw in the house of Stephen Moor, a packer of stuffs in Philpot Lane, one of these. It is in this way that More came first to the notice of the authorities. It will be noted that he is not mentioned as being arrested in January 1640-1. Indeed, this paragraph is too early, and should come after that incident.

† Se : Numb 20 of this Collec : [side-note in MS.]



Lords of their Principles, and y<sup>e</sup> Lords were civil to them, & asked where they mett y<sup>e</sup> next Day, who said Some of them would come & hear him : And accordingly, either 3 or 4 of the Lords did come : And in those it was a continued Meeting from y<sup>e</sup> time they began till they had filled up all y<sup>e</sup> Ordinances, two Sermons, & y<sup>e</sup> liberty of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren in Prophecys, & breaking of Bread, & Contribution to y<sup>e</sup> poor : wherein y<sup>e</sup> Lords were liberal ; y<sup>e</sup> Subject matter of y<sup>e</sup> Sermons were y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> of Matt : All Power is given to me &c. The design was to show y<sup>e</sup> Kingly Power & Authority of Christ in his Church, & they said, I mean y<sup>e</sup> Lords, we will come again y<sup>e</sup> next Day. But did not there being at that time so great a Crowd, they'd not venture.<sup>16</sup> After these things I find little interruption

<sup>16</sup> This case was a turning point in the history of uniformity and toleration. Extracts from the Lords' Journals were published in 1841 by Hanbury, and in 1849 by Stovel, since which times no one need refer to Fuller, still less to Neal. When the matter was first brought to the Lords' notice, they ordered on Saturday 16 January that the Divine Service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this realm, and that . . . the parsons, vicars and curates in several parishes shall forbear to introduce any sites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land. In other words, the first result was a smart rebuke of the innovations introduced by Laud, which were recognized as driving many parishioners into Separatism. Dr. Featley, the J.P. for Surrey, the High Commission agent, would feel this a very unkind cut. But the king had to be grateful for small mercies now, and actually sent thanks on Monday the 18th for the Lords' course. They then brought in the six chief men, who denied the facts alleged, while the four constables and churchwardens swore to them. The Lords therefore simply admonished the men to go to their own parish churches, re-assuring them as to the character of the services by reading the order made on Saturday, and warning that future absence would be dealt with according to law.

This leniency distinctly encouraged sectaries, and next day some people in the New Prison sent up a petition to the Lords against Justice Gibbs, who had incited a mob to break into a house in Whitechapel where they also had been quietly worshipping on Sunday, and had committed them to jail. The Lords let them out on bail, and ordered them and Gibbs to come in person. On Thursday, Gibbs gave another version, and said that he had imprisoned them because they declined to receive the communion at their parish church. Whereupon the Lords washed their hands of this case also, and ordered that the law should take its usual course.

Old Mr. Webb tells the sequel, having very likely gathered it from Fuller's Church History, book II, page 172, where Stinton also found it, and copied as number 20 of this collection. On Sunday 24 January, three or four Lords actually attended the conventicle; hearing a sermon on the Kingly Power and Authority of Christ, they satisfied themselves that the men were politically harmless. Indeed Lord Brooke was so impressed that he wrote a plea for toleration, which probably was as effectual then with the powers that were, as was Milton's finer literary plea, the Areopagitica, to secure freedom of the press.

given to this People, & they continued their meeting Peacably. The great cry of y<sup>e</sup> People was for Reformation, & in Some time y<sup>e</sup> Hiererchy of England begun to be nipped, & in a few Years was thrown down, & y<sup>e</sup> better part of y<sup>e</sup> Clergy sat in Assembly at Westminster w<sup>th</sup> a great design to establish Presbytery.<sup>17</sup> But God inlightned some of them to stand up for y<sup>e</sup> liberty of Gods People; the Lord stirred up y<sup>e</sup> hearts of Several, as Tho: Goodwin, Phil: Nye, Jer: Burrows, W<sup>m</sup> Bridg & others, who did labour, & from Scripture shew y<sup>t</sup> in Gospell Days there was no National Church, but Congregational, w<sup>ch</sup> is no other but Independent, as y<sup>e</sup> Word than was, & so called to this Day, w<sup>ch</sup> was no \*other save in some small Matter, y<sup>e</sup> same y<sup>t</sup> was witnessed to by this poor Church aboue said, as may appear to any y<sup>t</sup> read in Burrow & Greenwood & Penry in y<sup>e</sup> Days of Queen Elizabeth, some of w<sup>ch</sup> Sealed y<sup>e</sup> Truth w<sup>th</sup> their Blood, as also John Robisson in his Justification of Seperation, also Hery Ainsworth, a great & eminent man in y<sup>t</sup> age, & divers others since.<sup>18</sup>

This was a Comfortable Day for those Saccloth Worshipers, & a time of Encouragement, only y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian Party could not speak well of them, & therefore when they could not carry it for that Intrest, did on a time Remonstrate to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, & brought y<sup>e</sup> City Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council to joyn them, in w<sup>ch</sup> they did express their greivence among

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<sup>17</sup> Chronology is not a strong point with old Mr. Webb. The visit of the Lords was in January 1640-1, when Laud was already powerless; before the year was out the majority in the Commons were supporting a bill to abolish Episcopacy, root and branch, while twelve bishops were impeached as traitors; early in 1642 all bishops were deprived of their seats in Parliament. Their actual power was gone when this incident occurred, their disfranchisement was accomplished next year, yet old Mr. Webb says that in some time they were nipped, and in a few years were thrown down. By June 1643 the Assembly of divines had met.

<sup>18</sup> The remark is quite just, that the new terms Independent and Congregational stood for nothing materially different from the doctrines of this church, or of Robinson, or of Penry, or of Barrow and Greenwood and Ainsworth. The last three were officers of the Ancient church, some of whose members had possibly passed on into this. Old Mr. Webb was better informed as to them, than as to Robert Brown.

others, that some effectual way be found out to suppress Brownism. That was than y<sup>e</sup> Name of Christs Servants, & to this Day it is a reproach to that People. I find y<sup>e</sup> Occation of this Name was, because there was a man of that Name, I think, an Elder, that afterwards renounced at Pauls Cross, after w<sup>ch</sup> he dispaired & hanged himselfe. They might as well have called y<sup>e</sup> Disciples of Christ, Judasses, for one of them fell.—

But notwithstanding, y<sup>e</sup> Churches & this Church grew, & no place was to good for their encouragement to meet in.† thus farr I find some footsteps of y<sup>e</sup> Providence of God to this Church, To about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1648 & onwards. In these Matters also I find y<sup>e</sup> Church not without their Troubles within by Schism, & some Excommunicated.<sup>19</sup> And do find y<sup>t</sup> in this Year 1648, there was a renewing of their Covenant In these words following w<sup>ch</sup> I think meet to transcrib, viz.

Memorandum. That we whose Names are Subscribed In consideration & sence of our many fould Sins & Miscariages in our personal & publick Relation, & our exceeding unworthy management of y<sup>e</sup> Scepter of Jesus Christ comitted to us as His Church & People, much to his Dishonour & our own Grief of Spirit; & for y<sup>e</sup> gaining Ability for y<sup>e</sup> future, \*to reforme ye Evils amongst Us, did address ourselves to y<sup>e</sup> Lord by Prayer And did in y<sup>e</sup> Presence of him & each other, according to y<sup>e</sup> measure of Grace afford'd renew & declare our visible Relation & Interest to & in him & each other, as a Church & Spouse of Christ Jesus, w<sup>th</sup> our Resolutions to Persevere accordingly as God shall afford Ability.

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<sup>19</sup> Between 1641 and 1644 the Baptist movement was reaching its climax in (1) the restriction to immersion, (2) the restriction of the Lord's Supper to the baptized. Three of the six leaders taken before the House of Lords adopted these opinions, and evidently tried to convince all the church. Failing, they left, Gunne founding one church, John Webb the shoe-maker joining Kilcop who had been baptized in January 1641-2. The Jessey Records let us see how a Mixed-Communion Baptist viewed such proceedings; this paper gives the language of a Mixed-Communion Pædobaptist.

† Whitehall, St. James [side-note in MS.]

Signed ye 23 <sup>d</sup> May, 1648.	Stephen More, Pastor
	Peter Row
Hen. Wallis	Charles Goodfellow
Rich. Prudnel, Deacon	Griffith Jenkins
Benajh. Pratt	Gideon Rogers
Daniel Hitchings	John Freeman
Jn <sup>c</sup> Powell	John Groom
	Henry Quintin

In the behalfe of the Rest<sup>20</sup>

And accordingly God did bless their endeavours, & carried them thro many Temptations on ye right & on the left as they passed along: of whom I find but few things till such time as some now liveing, were actually acquainted w<sup>th</sup> them, w<sup>ch</sup> was graciously brought about by our Lord, by a Series of the Providence of God; viz: The Year after King Charles II. returned to England & brought ye Bishops again. They soon erected ye Old State of things, & establish'd Episcopacy, & by an Act of Parliament provided for Uniformity, w<sup>ch</sup> was to take place ye 29<sup>th</sup> June 1662. & whosoever would not thereto conform, to be turned out: And also to punish ye Meetings otherwise than ye Law directed, so y<sup>t</sup> I w<sup>ch</sup> write this† w<sup>th</sup> some others that could not comply were at a great Loss, & to get into any meeting was not only dangerous, but very difficult, nor could we get in anywhere for some time, nor had we any knowldg more or less of this Church: for we were brought up to hear ye best of Teachers, as we thought, to be found: But I remember we 3 or 4 were disposed to espouse

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<sup>20</sup> Nicholas Tyne, Richard Sturges, and John Ellis, all before the House in 1640-1, are not in this list, nor are they known in Baptist circles. It is an indication how rapidly membership changed in those days that the lists of 1641 and 1648 have not a single name in common. Similar rapid changes occurred in the Jacob-Jessey church, both during the period 1633-1643 when we are well informed, between 1643 and 1653 when we have no details, even between the lists of 1653 and 1654, and between 1653 and 1669 when also information is lacking.

† Suppos'd to be old Mr. Webb [side-note in MS.]

Independency, and then we had time to bemoan our Selves for not giving up our Selves somewhere, but it was then to late: for all those things lay dormant by reason of y<sup>e</sup> Violence used in prosecuting y<sup>e</sup> Law: But to y<sup>e</sup> \*Glory of God. I now relate w<sup>t</sup> effect these things wrought on Some. It so fell out that two Friends that came out of y<sup>e</sup> Country to London, & haveing Some of their Country Men & Friends coming to vissit them on y<sup>e</sup> Lords Day, they all bemoaned themselves because they could find no meeting: Saith one to y<sup>e</sup> rest let us go to Saml Herbert, & he we believe doth know So away came they immediately, He was glad to se his Country Men, but when he understood their desire was not able to answer it: for unto that time he had never had that oportunity for himSelfe. But he made this Motion y<sup>t</sup> they would walk in y<sup>e</sup> fields & so conferr together w<sup>t</sup> to do. And at last it came to this. That if they would go back w<sup>th</sup> this Friend he would give them Liberty further to conferr,† & this was most readily agreed, & after a great deal of Straining Courtisy who should perform y<sup>e</sup> work of Prayer there was a man that could not read nor write, but such a Spirit of Prayer went forth as was exterordinary, which when done y<sup>e</sup> friend in whose house we were, said pray let us meet again next Day, & we will prove y<sup>e</sup> Lord whether we may not be encouraged to go further. w<sup>ch</sup> being come about we had y<sup>e</sup> same Company where it was concluded that we might help our Selves So to work we went & found that encouragement by reason whereof we did continue it; & grew till near about 30 men & so kept a Comfortable meeting w<sup>ch</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God much refreshed Us; & sometimes we gatt help from others, & so came, at last, to be acquainted w<sup>th</sup> a Preacher, that was turned out of Prison, from y<sup>e</sup> White Lyon, Southwark, & hereing him

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† In his house I suppose. [side-note in MS.]

accidentally, we desired his help, at last he came one pt of ye Lords day to us his Name was Mr Stephen More, & was as befor said the Pastor of this Church, but we knew it not, & after we came to be acquainted wth him, we then told him how we were convinced that we were not in Order, & that we wanted Instruction in them Principles,† & desired he would in his Labours among us bend his Studys for us: who was faithfull, painfull, & made it his business to lead us in ye whole Counsell of God in this matter, & proved very satisfactory to us; After this we came to understand there was a Church he was Pastor to, & then we encouraged them to come also, for they at this time were but few. We thought good to fall in with & joyn ourselves to them:\* And so we came together wth much Joy, & Comfort. So here we began upon ye Knowlidg of ye State & Condition of this Church from ye time expressed downwards. Only I think meet to hint ye reason why I write this last matter; wch is to shew to us & to all his People how he will make his Providences serve his own: for thus it did work on us, for wch we have ever sence been under high obligation to bless God, that hath done this great thing for us: That to this Day hath been ye Sence of every of us to rejoyce in the Lot God gave us & to express yt ye Lott of our Place & Stated Comunion hath pleased us well. Oh! that we may walk in all well pleasing to our blessed Lord & King. Thus was this house of ye Lord raised up & Comforted even in Troubleous times when others were at a Stand This Church grew most & had ye enjoyment of Christ & comunion one wth another, & almost without interruption: & I cannot remember, yt all yt Severe time of Sufferings we ever lost one Day. We were so hid & delivered yt when hunted from one Place we had another to repair to, & I think not aboue 3 times taken:

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† relating to Church Fellowship [side-note in MS.]

& when So God delivered us: But as for Seizing our Goods we had our Share; & God helped Such very comfortably to take y<sup>e</sup> Spoiling of their Goods, & at last to endure Prison some Weeks, where also was many Comfortable meetings, & there that is, in y<sup>e</sup> Marshalsey, our Dear & beloved Brother & Pastor finished his Testamony, died & was honourably buried in y<sup>e</sup> Park, Southwark. & a poor desolate Church left behind him, tho yet it was Gods good pleasure to take care of them, & carry them thro all their Discouragements, to live on this provision his Majesty hath ben pleased to meet out for their Table. For God hath blessed Pulse & water to his Children, & their Countenance hath looked well. Thus they continued about 12 Years, at w<sup>ch</sup> time God Stirred up their hearts to look out among themselves a Brother who had many Years walked as an Example in y<sup>e</sup> Church; Our Beloved Brother Parker who continued some Months a Pastor: In his time y<sup>e</sup> Providence of God bro<sup>t</sup> an oportunity in our hands for an Increase to our Number, w<sup>ch</sup> was very small at that time, but was Sufficient to answer y<sup>e</sup> rule of y<sup>e</sup> Word, \* & in a measure to answer y<sup>e</sup> end of Com<sup>u</sup>nion w<sup>ch</sup> we w<sup>th</sup> comfort lived in y<sup>e</sup> Enjoyment of. The Oportunity we had was thus. There was a Church† whose Foundation was fixed on y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of Baptism, & as they generally are.<sup>21</sup> In about 3 Years time y<sup>e</sup> Pastor of it was Convinced that y<sup>e</sup> Ground of Comunion in y<sup>e</sup>

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† The Baptists church in White St. Southwarke [side-note in MS.]

<sup>21</sup> The church at Collier's Rents, White Street, Southwark, was founded in 1695 with Richard Robbins as pastor, according to the data of old Mr. Webb in 1699. Wilson knew that the building in Sheer's Alley was put up by Benjamin Keach. This agrees with the fact that in 1697, the General Association of General Baptists complained to the Particular Baptist Association of London as to the conduct of Keach and Robbins jointly for some years past. It is not surprising that Keach and Robbins, both originally General Baptists who were trained that baptism must be followed by laying on of hands, found trouble spring up here on this point in 1698. But Robbins went further than Keach, and adopted Mixed Communion, so that he and his friends could join with old Mr. Webb's church. The Strict Baptists kept the meeting house, and by 1704 we find Richard Parkes as their pastor at the London P.B. Association. Wilson has traced their history till their dissolution in 1765.

Church was only ye Grace of God in ye heart, tho such might be of Differing minds about Baptism & some other Principles as laying on of hands & some other matters: Hereupon there followed a great Breach, & ye Greater Part wth ye Pastor came off as a Church; The other party likewise would be the Church, & Controversy was about it. But we concluded ye former was the Church. And this being ye Principle† of this Old Church, they proposed to joyn themselves wth us, wch when we had debated on, we agreed to joyn together as One intire Church: in wch for a while we had two Pastors. The aboue named, Daniel Parker, & ye Pastor yt came wth them from White Street, (for yt was ye Place of their meeting) whose name was Mr Rich: Robins, a young man & much followed & admired, who had Accuteness of Parts & Gifts & therein did excell Many:—— Thus we continued for about 11 months according to ye for Said Agreement as neer as we could. But we were not in a Capacity to answer ye Expectation of Mr Robins, who could not be satisfied wth such Provision for his Subsistance as he desired, therefore grew dissatisfyed &c. And we much greived that notwithstanding all our endeavours to help him they were Ineffectual; & he being a Young man had but a small share in those great Qualifications belonging to his office, only as aforesaid Eminent in Preaching, tho' in yt also we did not all run with, in ye hight of his Principles‡ but do weigh them. Under these Circumstances it pleased God to remove Mr Gammon, by Death who was Pastor of a Church at White Chappell, wch were of ye same Principles wth us as to ye Foundation of Church Communion.<sup>22</sup> They

† viz, Mixt Communion [side-note in MS.]

‡ he was reconed an Antinomian [side-note in MS.]

<sup>22</sup> This church met in Boar's Head Yard, off Petticoat Lane, according to Wilson, who thought that till 1690 the pastor was a Mr. Hilton. Old Mr. Webb supplies the next name, Gammon, with the information that the church was Mixed Communion, which fact



being left made themselves acquainted w<sup>th</sup> our Bro<sup>r</sup> Robbins, & desired his help, the w<sup>ch</sup> we readily complied with, & from this, they, \*having considered, did resolve to send Messengers to us, & accordingly did, to make a Motion to us to joyn to or with them; The w<sup>ch</sup> we took time to consider of: & accordingly Set a day apart, beging y<sup>e</sup> Lord to lead us, w<sup>ch</sup> having performed as y<sup>e</sup> Lord was pleased to help us, we came to State our Present work, w<sup>ch</sup> was reduced to two Questions, viz. Whether we should dismiss our Bro<sup>r</sup> Robins from his Pastoral office, & Membership, or whether we should meet y<sup>e</sup> about Said Church in order to a Union. The former was imediatly & Unanimously agreed to; y<sup>e</sup> Old Members resolveing in y<sup>e</sup> Strenght of Christ to mentaine their Church State: And according hereto; Bro. Robins had his dismissal given him by Wrighting, & to be recomended to such Church as he should desire Co<sup>m</sup>union with: The week following were Messengers sent to us from White Chappel to desire our Commendations of our Said Bro<sup>r</sup> might be to them w<sup>ch</sup> was his desire. The Answer returned was that he was a Member in full Co<sup>m</sup>union w<sup>th</sup> Us. thus they received him (& as we hear did afterwards Choose & Set apart to be their Pastor) here is y<sup>e</sup> Issue of y<sup>e</sup> matter as to this Bro<sup>r</sup>. And whereas it was agreed that such of y<sup>e</sup> Members as would go with him, should, giveing Reasons first, have their Liberty, directing such to give in a list of their Names, w<sup>ch</sup> they did, & afterwards y<sup>e</sup> like was brought by Messengers from y<sup>t</sup> Church to w<sup>ch</sup> we agreed & signed; w<sup>ch</sup> Number was

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explains why Baptist annals have ignored the place. Now Robbins with forty members from his old church and this Southwark church reinforced it in 1699. In 1700 he with Keach and Adams—all three ex-General Baptists—signed an appeal on behalf of James Marham of Lynn. On 11 January 1701-2 his funeral sermon was preached by John Noble, minister of the P.B. church at Tallowchandlers' Hall. His church apparently fused with an Independent church under John Humphrey, another Antinomian, who came and occupied the building. The remnant of its history under these auspices is told by Wilson. But he was evidently ignorant that it was to this church John Bunyan preached his last sermon in July 1688, published on 19 August with a title implying that Gamman was already pastor.

near 40 Persons. From this Account it follows by Demonstration, how God hath been pleased to Secure to this Church her Indisputable State, nor Questioned by any; & by our Lord hath been owned with an Eminent Power & Presence of his helping hand among Us, altho' we most unworthy thereof, & therefore Cry Grace, Grace.

It remains now only for me to give a Reason why I have thus wrote, & to remark a few things upon y<sup>e</sup> whole.

First. It's not to make an Argument of a true Church from its Antiquity, y<sup>e</sup> great boast of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Rome, of w<sup>ch</sup> read 2 Thess. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7, espically from being supported by y<sup>e</sup> Power & Authority of Kings, Princes & Wise, Grave & honourable Men of this World.

\*Secondly. However, tho' in this Sence, there be no Argument for y<sup>e</sup> Poor, Church of whom I have thus wrote; It must be a great thing to consider of, for a poor, afflicted, persecuted People, snubb'd & rediculed, punished & persecuted, & always by y<sup>e</sup> Sons of Ordination, falsly represented & brought into contempt as dangerous Persons & of no Account & reproached by calling the eminent Servants of God in y<sup>e</sup> Days past: Billy y<sup>e</sup> Bellows Mender, Tom y<sup>e</sup> Taylor, Simon y<sup>e</sup> Cobler, Tinker, & I know not what names: I say notwithstanding all this, & such like treatment in y<sup>e</sup> World, Yet that he should mentain this People from y<sup>e</sup> time aforsaid, is very much to be taken notice & should be for Incouragement to Us in our Present State & Condition; w<sup>ch</sup> is farr better than it has been w<sup>th</sup> them at some other times.

Thirdly, that it might enable & stirr us up to follow our noble Predecessors & elder Brethren, in looking after y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God only, & the Edification & Continuance of y<sup>e</sup> Church. It was observed concerning a Bro<sup>r</sup> of this People formerly, by name M<sup>r</sup> Hancock, who tho' a man of full Employment, & kept fairs as at

Bristol &c, Yet never forgat y<sup>e</sup> Church whether abroad or at home, striving for y<sup>e</sup> Increase of it. Let us do likewise; have our Brethren been Zealous to keep up y<sup>e</sup> Church all their Days, & shall not we do so likewise all our Days, & so be an Example to them y<sup>t</sup> shall follow us, that if it be y<sup>e</sup> good pleasure of our Lord & King, our Law-giver & Judg, to carry his Children & those y<sup>t</sup> Submitt themselves to y<sup>e</sup> Scepter of Christ among us from age to age, & y<sup>e</sup> Ages to come, even till he come y<sup>t</sup> shall come: And let this Church always say & pray, Come Lord Jesus, Amen, for he hath said he will come.

Thus farr y<sup>e</sup> Narrative written in their Church Book. After M<sup>r</sup> Robins w<sup>th</sup> about 40 of y<sup>e</sup> Members had left them they proceeded in y<sup>e</sup> same Year 1699 to y<sup>e</sup> election of another Elder. The Persons nominated were Valentine Lindsey, Edward Scape, & Samll Herbert. The Choise fell on M<sup>r</sup> Linsey, who after some time for consideration, accepted of that office, & was set apart according to their<sup>23</sup> form on y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> of Jany 1699-1700. \*He continued to preach y<sup>e</sup> Word & Administer y<sup>e</sup> Sacraments to them for about 5 Years. But tho' he was a man of an Unblamable Conversation & Compitent Gifts for y<sup>e</sup> Ministry, Yet it did not pleas God to give much success to his Labours. Whereupon he growing in Years & Infirmitys, & y<sup>e</sup> Congregation declining in Number & ability to support y<sup>e</sup> Charges, they did agree to dissolve there Church State; & went Some to one Church, & some to another, in y<sup>e</sup> Year 1705.

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23 This word shows another writer, probably Shinton.

## Baptist Literature till 1688.

*(Continued from Vol. I., page 120).*

THEOPHILUS BRABOURNE, clergyman of Norwich. It is extremely improbable that Brabourne ever adopted Baptist principles. The Seventh-Day Baptists claim him as one of their founders; but this is really due to his advocacy of their remarkable tenet as to the Saturday; as to which a few words may be useful. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans had begun to apply the term Sabbath to the Lord's Day. Within twenty years this resulted in the Old Testament and Pharisaic customs of the Sabbath being advocated for the Sunday. In 1595 a book on this topic was published by Dr. Nicholas Bound, of Norton in Suffolk, and despite the arguments of Thomas Rogers to prove that the Jewish Law was abrogated, and that the Sabbath was distinct from the Lord's Day, such an impression was made, that the archbishop and the chief justice suppressed the book. Under James it was republished, and the controversy caused by the king's declaration in favour of athletic sports after service on Sunday is well known. Rogers also republished, and his points were so far appreciated that Brabourne presently made a new departure, declaring that the Commandments were still binding, that the fourth was to be taken literally, and that the Seventh day, Saturday, was to be regarded as the Christian Sabbath. This book he dedicated to King Charles, and it made a sensation both at court and in Puritan circles. He followed with a second book on the same lines three years later, and enlarged this for a second edition the year after.

When Laud came to power, Brabourne was doubly dealt with; Bishop White discussed the matter with him, and was ordered by Charles to publish a treatise on the Sabbath day, to which Brabourne promptly issued a brief answer; the High Commission took him in hand and compelled him to retract, but when he was out of immediate danger he explained away his retraction. Charles then cut the knot by republishing his father's declaration and enjoining that it be announced by authority how praiseworthy were wakes and Sunday recreations. Brabourne subsided into silence for about seventeen years, and made no attempt to re-occupy his pulpit at Norwich. He apparently was out of harmony with all the changes of the time, for his next

utterance, about the time when the Lord Protector installed Tryers, was on the change of church discipline. But this promptly involved him in fresh controversies, especially with John Collinges who had supplanted him; and having taken up the pen, he returned to the Sabbath topic.

A third time he dealt with it, provoked by two fresh publications: but the imminence of the return of Charles led him into other fields, and he closed his literary career with three pleas for a settlement of religion by king and parliament, bishops to be placed under due limitations. It will be seen that his opinions almost precluded him from joining any ordinary party. His relations with Baptists are obscure, and only four tangible facts are evident. In 1632 he opposed those Anabaptists who were anti-Sabbatarians; this can hardly apply to any except the friends of Helwys and Murton, the General Baptists, who are known at Lincoln and London then, and are supposed to have been also at Colchester; it is however possible that he had in view the foreign Anabaptists at Norwich; in either case there is no indication that he sympathized with them on other points. Next he opposed by name Mr. Stinnet, in 1632. The first Stennett known in Baptist circles is Edward, who lived at Wallingford Castle in 1686, but is said to have opposed the royalists in the civil wars. It is possible then that this is the man, or at least, one of the family; and it is no small testimony to Brabourne, that he convinced Stennett, for this family became the mainstay of the Calvinistic Sabbatarian Baptists. But this is no evidence that Brabourne was influenced by him in return, so as to become a Baptist. Then in 1659 he wrote against Jeremiah Ives, a well-known Baptist, replying to him along with a Pedobaptist, on his familiar Sabbath topic: no conclusion seems to be derivable from this fact. Lastly, whereas he advocated the lawfulness of taking oaths of alligiance and supremacy, he was opposed by a Baptist, Henry Adis, who in the same book opposes Tombes, Ives and Denne. Thus whereas he four times came into contact with Baptists, it was never on the question of baptism, and whatever the topic under discussion, he always opposed Baptists.

The impression made by these cases is confirmed by his answer to Cawdry. In this he keeps to the issue of Saturday versus Sunday; but in the course of the argument he once turns triumphantly on his opponent, and says that surely he will not become an Anabaptist! evidently regarding this as something contemptible. And later on he shows that one of Cawdry's arguments would oblige him to baptize infants always on the eighth day, never on any other; the whole tone of the passage shows that the baptism of infants was regarded as natural. We may therefore conclude that Brabourne was a Pedobaptist; but as his works are the classics of the Seventh-Day Baptists, they are here enumerated.

- 1628 A Discourse upon the Sabbath Day.  
British Museum.
- 1632 A Defence of that most ancient and sacred ordinance of God's, the Sabbath Day . . . Undertaken against all Anti-Sabbatharians, both of Protestants, Papists, Antinomians, and Anabaptists; and by name and especially against these X Ministers, M. Greenwood, M. Hutchinson, M. Furnace, M. Benton, M. Gallard, M. Yates, M. Chappel, M. Stinnet, M. Johnson, and M. Wade. The second edition corrected and amended, with a supply of many things formerly omitted.  
Other editions 1631 and 1660.
- [1636?] A briefe answer to a late treatise of the Sabbath-Day [published in 1635 by his late diocesan, whose reply to this in 1637 is in the British Museum].
- [1653?] The Change of Church Dicipline.
- 1654 The Second Part of the Change of Church Dicipline, which contains a vindication of the authority and supremacy of all Christian kings . . . against the usurpation of the Pope . . . and of the Disciplinarian Ministers of Presbyterians, Independents and Brownists, &c . . . Also a reply to Mr. Colins, his Answer to Mr. Brabournes First Part.  
British Museum. Bodleian Library.
- 1654 The Second Vindication of my first Book of the change of Discipline; being a reply to Mr. Collings his second Answer to it.
- 1654 A Dispute between Mr. Collings and T. Brabourne touching the Sabbath Day.
- 1654 An Answer to M. Cawdry's two books of the Sabbath lately come forth, &c.  
Doctor Williams' Library. 116 pages, duodecimo.
- 1659 Answers to two books on the Sabbath: the one by Mr. Ives, entitled Saturday no Sabbath Day: the other by Mr. Warren, the Jews' Sabbath antiquated.
- 1660 God Save the King and prosper him and his Parliament: or, a justification by the Word of God of the King's gracious proffer for Liberty of Conscience made to his Parliament and subjects before he came into England, in matters disputable.  
British Museum.
- 1661 Of the Lawfulness of the oath of Allegiance to the King and of the other oath to his Supremacy. Written for the benefit of quakers &c.  
British Museum.

- 1661 The humble Petition of Theophilus Brabourne to the Honourable Parliament, as all magistrates in the kingdom doe in their office, so that Bishops may be required in their Office to own the Kings Supremacy.  
British Museum.

JOHN BUNYAN. This period covers his life time: reprints of his works will not be enumerated. But for the sake of completeness, three volumes are mentioned which were published soon after 1689: the folio in which appeared several small works issued for the first time; another unpublished work, with an attempt at a bibliography; and some paraphrases.

- 1656 Some Gospel Truths Opened according to the Scriptures. Or, the Divine and Humane Nature of Christ Jesus . . . plainly demonstrated and proved . . . by that unworthy servant of Christ, John Bunyan of Bedford, by the Grace of God, preacher of the Gospel of His dear Son.  
pp. 216. duodecimo. British Museum. Rylands Library.
- 1657 A Vindication of the Book called Some Gospel-Truths opened according to the Scriptures; and the opposition made against it by Edward Burrough, etc. quarto.
- 1658 A Few Sighs from Hell, or, The Groans of a Damned Soul. pp 251.  
British Museum.
- 1659 The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded: pp. 389.  
British Museum.
- [1662] A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Buyyan . . . in November, 1660 . . . Written by himself and never before published [till 1765]. octavo.  
British Museum.
- 1661 Profitable Meditations, fitted to Man's different condition, In a conference between Christ and a sinner. In nine particulars. Verse. quarto.  
British Museum.
- 1663 I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also.
- 1663 Christian Behaviour; or the fruits of true Christianity. Shewing the ground from whence they flow, in their Godlike order in the duty of relations. . . With a word of Direction for all backsliders. pp. 140. duodecimo.  
British Museum.
- [1664?] One Thing is Needful: or, Serious Meditations on the Four Last Things. Third edition, 1683.  
British Museum.

- [1665?] Ebal and Gerizim; or, the Blessing and the Curse [in rhyme]. Fourth edition the first extant?
- [1665?] Prison Meditations [in rhyme]. Fourth edition; the first extant?
- 1665 The Holy City, or New Jerusalem: wherein its goodly Lights, Walls, Gates, Angels are expounded; also the length and breadth, together with the golden measuring Reed, explained; and the glory of all unfolded. duodecimo. British Musuem.
- [1665] The Resurrection of the Dead and eternal judgment: or, the truth of the resurrection of the bodies both of good and bad at the last day . . . proved by God's Word. octavo. British Museum.
- 1666 Grace Abounding to the chief of sinners: or, a brief and faithful revelation of the exceeding mercy of God in Christ to his poor servant, John Bunyan . . . Whereunto is added a brief relation of his call to the work of the ministry &c. pp. 94. British Museum. See also 1679.
- 1672 A defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ; showing that true Gospel holiness flows from thence; or, Mr. Fowler's pretended "Design of Christianity" proved to be nothing more then to trample under foot the Blood of the Son of God. quarto. Published by Francis Smith at sixteenpence.
- 1672 A Confession of Faith and Reason of my Practice; or, with who, and who not, I can hold Church Fellowship, or the Communion of Saints, etc. duodecimo.
- 1673 Differences in Judgment about Water-Baptism, no Bar to Communion; or, To Communicate with Saints, as Saints, proved lawful. pp. 122. Angus Library. British Museum.
- 1673 The Barren Fig-Tree: or, The Doom and Downfal of the Fruitless Professor. Shewing, That the Day of Grace may be past with him long before his life is ended. The Signs also by which such miserable mortals may be known, duodecimo. John Charles Foster.
- 1674 Peaceable Principles and True; or, a brief answer to Mr. Danver's and Mr. Paul's Books against my Confession of Faith etc. duodecimo.
- [1674?] Reprobation Asserted: or, the Doctrine of Eternal Election and Reprobation promiscuously handled in eleven chapters etc. quarto. British Museum.



- 1675 Light for them that sit in Darkness, or A Discourse of Jesus Christ; and that he undertook to accomplish, by Himself, the eternal Redemption of Sinners. Published by Francis Smith at a shilling.  
Bodleian Library. Bedford Collection.
- 1675 Instruction for the Ignorant: being a Salve to cure that great want of Knowledge which so much reigns both in Young and Old, prepared and presented to them in a plain and easy dialogue fitted to the capacity of the weakest. octavo.  
Bodleian Library.
- 1676 A Discourse of the Grace of God; shewing 1. What it is to be saved. 2. What it is to be saved by Grace, &c. duodecimo. Published by Francis Smith at sixpence.
- 1676 The strait Gate, or great difficulty of going to Heaven: plainly proving by Scripture, that not only the rude and profane, but many great Professors, will come short of that Kingdom. duodecimo. Published by Francis Smith at sixpence.  
Bodleian Library. Cambridge University.
- 1678 Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ; or, a discourse upon the sixth of John, 37 vers., &c.  
British Museum.
- 1678 The Pilgrim's Progress from this world, to that which is to come: delivered under the similitude of a Dream. Wherein is discovered, the manner of his setting out, his dangerous journey; and safe arrival at the Desired Country. pp. 232. Published by Ponder at eighteenpence. [The second edition, 1678, has additions, and more are in the third edition, 1679.] Angus Library 2. Bodleian 2, 3. Congregational 2. Museum 1, 2, 3. Rylands 1.
- 1679 Grace abounding to the chief of sinners; or a brief and faithful Relation of the exceeding Mercy of God in Christ to his poor Servant, John Bunyan; wherein is his manner of Conversion, trouble for his Sin, Temptations, how he despaired of God's Mercy, and how the Lord at length, through Christ did deliver him. All written by his own hand; and now published for the support of the weak. duodecimo. Third edition corrected and much enlarged.
- 1680 A Treatise of the Fear of God; Shewing what it is, and how distinguished from that which is not so. Also whence it comes. Who has it. What are the Effects. And what the Priviledges of those that have it in their hearts. duodecimo. British Museum.

- 1680 The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, presented to the world in a familiar dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive. duodecimo.  
British Museum. Bunyan Collection.
- 1682 The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World; or The losing and taking again of the Town of Mansoul. octavo.  
British Museum. Rylands Library.
- 1683 The Greatness of the Soul, and the unspeakableness of the loss thereof: with the Causes of the losing it. First preached at Pinners' Hall; and now enlarged, and published for good. duodecimo. Angus Library.  
British Museum. Bunyan Collection.
- 1683 A Case of Conscience Resolved—viz., Whether where a Church of Christ is situate, it is the duty of the Women of that Congregation ordinarily, and by appointment to separate themselves from their brethren, and so to assemble together to perform some parts of Divine Worship, as Prayer, etc., without their men. quarto.
- 1684 A caution to stir up to watch against sin. Single sheet folio.  
[A poem whose first verse is not Bunyan's].  
British Museum.
- 1684 Seasonable Counsel; or Advice to Sufferers. duodecimo.  
British Museum. Bunyan Collection.
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- 1692 The works of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan . . . Together with a large alphabetical table containing the contents of the whole. vol. 1. [no more issued] folio.  
British Museum.
- 1698 The Heavenly Footman: or, a description of the man that gets to Heaven . . . To which is added a catalogue of all Mr. Bunyan's books etc. pp. 72. octavo.  
British Museum. Bunyan Collection.
- 1700 Scriptural Poems. Being several portions of scripture digested into English verse, etc. octavo.

# The Official Records of the Society of Friends.

I have been interested in reading a note in the last issue of the "Transactions of the B.H.S.", respecting the publication of the "Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England," 1654-1728. As, in all probability, the readers of the "Transactions" do not know of the existence of similar Minutes connected with the Society of Friends, I venture to send a brief account of these.

Quakerism, as a religious organization, arose about the middle of the seventeenth century. Meetings for the transaction of Church business, such as the care of the poor, supply of the needs of travelling preachers, etc., were early instituted, were at first held in different parts of the county (as e.g. at Swannington, 1654; in Bedfordshire, 1658; at Skipton, 1660, see "The Journal of George Fox," and "Journal of the Friends Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 56-63). The official records of some of these Meetings are still extant.

After 1660, probably in 1661, the Governing body of the Friends in Great Britain, known as "London Yearly Meeting," met at Devonshire House, London, and from 1688 to the present time this Meeting has been held annually without a break. The place of Meeting has been in London with the exception of the years 1905 and 1908, when the Y.M. assembled in Leeds and Birmingham respectively.

The Minutes of the Y.M. are continuous from 1672 and are contained in thirty-one folio volumes, totalling over 16,700 pages of manuscript, and preserved in one of the strong rooms at Devonshire House. These Minutes deal with a great variety of subjects and record correspondence with Friends in all parts of the world. They preserve the names of many Friends present.

There are also in existence in London and many parts of the country other long runs of Minutes of subordinate Meetings. The longest known to me is that of "Southwark Monthly Meeting," which extends in unbroken succession from 1666, a period of two hundred and forty three years.

There has never been any attempt to print this mass of historical material, or even an abstract of it.

Some thousands of original letters are also preserved at Devonshire House, many of them written during the early years of Quaker history.

Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Librarian, Devonshire House,  
Bishopsgate, London E.C.

## Notes.

### **Lymington.**

The History of the Baptist Church, Lymington, Hants, from 1688 to 1909. Compiled from various documents, by the Rev. Thomas Douglas, Pastor; 1s. 6d.; 2s.; 2s. 6d.

This shapely quarto of 124 pages is an excellent example of how a busy pastor may set forth the story of his community. For the early days, Commonwealth tracts, bishop's reports, royal licences, parish records have been consulted; and they enable a picture to be drawn of Thomas Collier evangelising in the west, and scattering Baptist seed by 1646, which had flowered by 1672 and was yielding a good harvest in the times of William and Mary. Then the valuable Whitchurch papers have been examined, and the minutes of Association for 1698 have been printed in full, with extracts from those of 1701. But the church records before 1769 seem to have preserved nothing of any interest. With 1809 the church entered on a new era, having the ministry of several men whose work made them well known. In this sketch no narrow view is taken, and the career both before and after their residence at Lymington is given; while no pains have been spared to obtain portraits of the men, and of the buildings due to their labours, and at least in footnotes to dilate on their families and converts. The scale of the book naturally expands as the author speaks of events within his knowledge, and thus a very good picture is given of the existing activities. A table at the beginning sums up the pastorates. The one feature which the historical scholar will baulk at is the Introduction, explicitly claiming Baptist continuity from apostolic days. Better than this, or anything of the kind, which demands other gifts than painstaking local research, would be a longer sketch of work in the county, or a summary of external events in the town affecting the church.

### **Biggleswade.**

History of the Old Meeting Baptist Church, Biggleswade, by the Rev. C. H. Chaplin, Pastor. 1s.

Fifty pages of letterpress, with a few portraits, contain many interesting local notices. Three pages at the start give an idea of the

town, and its great fire of 1785 which proved a turning point in the story of the church. Lists of Baptist and Independent causes in the county, also of the pastors at Biggleswade, give the reader an idea of the outline before he reads the continuous story. This is naturally based on the church book, many extracts from which are given verbatim. But as the extant book dates from after the fire, the tradition had grown up that the church originated only in 1771; whereas the author found that it was flourishing in 1715, with a congregation of 300, and he also found traces of Baptist work in the neighbourhood—as far back as 1654. Unfortunately these discoveries come to hand rather late, and he had not the courage to cancel three or four pages and rewrite them. The result is that for the period before 1785, the information is scattered about, retractions and corrections perplex the reader. But for the later period there is a very graphic account.

### **Bromsgrove.**

The Puritan Vicars of Bromsgrove, and the rise of Local Nonconformity in the 17th century. By James Ford, F.R.Hist.S., Baptist Minister. 3d.

In this brochure of twenty pages, Mr. Ford deals with the interesting period 1624-1662. He has examined State papers and accounts, and interpreted their bare records so as to set before us a sturdy vicar, upholding Puritanism in a county predominantly royalist, and indocinating the town till it became a stronghold of Nonconformity, when his son-in-law and successor quitted the Establishment. A second chapter shows the still sturdier dissenters, who disdained all alliance with the State. Brief notice is given of the neighbouring churches, including Bewdley, from which came the Baptist impulse which resulted in a Bromsgrove church by 1666. Two thoughtful lectures, such as these, might be prepared and given in many towns.

### **Query.—Hodges, Benjamin or Nathaniel?**

The anonymous "Impartial History of Michael Servetus," 1724, has usually been ascribed to Sir Benjamin Hodges, sometimes to Sir Nathaniel Hodges. Nathaniel Hodges was a some time Baptist minister, who received knighthood, and (according to his epitaph in Stepney Churchyard) died on 27 August, 1727, aged 52. Who was Sir Benjamin Hodges?

A. G.

**Cambridge.**

When Dr. Rippon was collecting material for his Baptist Register, he applied to the old and important church on St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge, then under the care of Robert Hall. The reply of the latter on 16 February 1801 shows that history was a study which did not interest the preacher:—

Dear Sir, I thank you for the baptist register you were so kind as to send me. With respect to my sending the church book I do not apprehend it would quite meet the wishes of our friends.

With respect to the sketches of the History of Churches it does not strike me to be of any particular utility. The records of particular churches are made for the benefit of that church, nor do I perceive any benefit resulting from their being exposed to public inspection. You are pleased to request me to draw up the history of our church for your register but such an undertaking would be utterly inconsistent with my other avocations and designs.

I am yours &c.,

R. HALL.

**Grundisburgh.**

Mr. Samuel Thompson of Beckenham has reprinted the life of his ancestor, who founded this little Suffolk church; also Mr. Bland's account of the centenary meeting and historical sketch in 1898. The extraordinary riots at Wickham Market show that religious liberty was not understood in the days of the French Revolution. The story of how from an obscure village, seven Baptist churches were formed in twenty-seven years, may inspire other country pastors to undertake Home Mission work.

## Index.

The alphabetical lists at pages 38 and 250, relating to the periods 1659-1662, 1616-1678, are not repeated; nor the geographical list arranged by counties in pages 156-178, relating to the licences of 1672. Every other Baptist is indexed, and every prominent Pedobaptist, with the places involved, and the leading topics.

- Adams, Richard, 1662-1690, 203ff.  
 Adis, Henry, of London, 1648, 116.  
 Alcester, Midland Association, 1707, 183.  
 Alcinton, John, of Alcester, 1710, 183.  
 Allen, William, of London, 1653, 117.  
 Amsterdam and the Anabaptists, 1611-1694, 107ff.  
 Ancient Church of 1592, 210.  
 Anderson, of Bristol, 1826, 85.  
 Andrew, John, of Porton, 1690, 60.  
 Archer, Henry, 1642, 117.  
 Arnesby, Leicestershire, 159, 187ff.  
 Askley, William, of Battle, 1780, 45.  
 Bampfield, Francis, M.A., 1662-1683, 38, 117, 171.  
 Baptism: by parish ministers invalid, 225; for believers, 231; immersion, 232; of infants unauthorised, 240; qualifications of administrator, 244.  
 Baptist Magazine and Missionary Accounts, 142.  
 Barber, Edward, of London, 1641, 118.  
 Barnes, John, Midland Association, 1710, 183.  
 Barren Figtree, edition of 1673, 92.  
 Bartholomew's Day, 1645 and 1662, 24.  
 Battle, Sussex, 1776, 42ff.  
 Belcher, John, of Oxon, 1662, 150ff; 1694, 105.  
 Berwick powder-magazine, 1661, 149.  
 Blackburn, Lancashire, Sketch of churches, 191.  
 Blackmore, Samuel, of Kington, 1836, 91.  
 Blackwood, Christopher, M.A., of Dublin, 119.  
 Blake, Robert, of Porton, 1655, 56.  
 Bland, Francis, of Soham, 1812, 52.  
 Blood, Colonel Thomas, 1662, 151ff.  
 Blundell, Thomas, of Arnesby, 1793, 186.  
 Bocher, Joan, of Kent, 1539, 108.  
 Bodle, Abraham, of Battle, 1780, 45.  
 Bonham, Josiah, 1674, 120.  
 Bowen, John, of New York, 1800, 69.  
 Boyce, Gilbert, of Coningsby, 1737, 1771, 179, 129.  
 Bradley, Samuel, 1660, 120.  
 Bridgenorth, Salop, 1710, 183.  
 Bristol; College, 84; Post Office, 149.  
 Britten, William, 1654, 120.  
 Bromsgrove, Worcester; 1666, 100ff; 1710, 183; 1717, 196.  
 Brown, James, of Oxford, 1673, 120.  
 Bundy, Edward, of Porton, 1655, 56.  
 Bunyan, John, of Bedford; 1672, 165ff; 1673, 92ff.  
 Burls and the Missionary Society, 1815, 143.  
 Busher, Leonard, of Amsterdam, 1611-1642, 107ff.  
 Butler, William, of Sutton, 1778, 184.  
 Camelford, Gabriel, of Furness Fells, 125.



- Canne, John, of Amsterdam and London, 225.
- Carey, Felix, of Burmah; 1812, 22; 1815, 142ff.
- Carey, Jabez, of Amboyna, 1814, 77ff.
- Carey, William, D.D., of Serampore; 1787, 183; 1812, 21ff; 1814, 77ff; 1815, 142ff.
- Carey, William, junior, of Cutwa, 1812, 21ff.
- Cave, Israel, of Wisbech, 1653, 178.
- Caxton Post Office, Cambridge, 1660, 149.
- Chamberlain, John Page, of India; 1802, 74ff; 1815, 143.
- Clarendon Code, 1662, 150.
- Claridge, Richard, M.A., of Peopleton, 1691, 105, 125.
- Coleman, Henry, of Kilby and Tur Langton, 1689, 159, 184.
- Collier, Thomas, of Wilts, 1645-1690, 65ff, 121ff.
- Collier, William, of New York, 1801, 73.
- Commercial Street, Whitechapel, 189.
- Coningsby, Lincolnshire, 1771, 129.
- Cooper, John Thomas, of Wisbech, 1837, 180.
- Copping, William, of Sandhurst, 1780, 45.
- Covenants: Jacob in 1616, 209; Lathrop in 1630, 225; Knowles disuses in 1645, 239; Bromsgrove in 1672, 102; Sutton-in-the-Elms in 1709, 184.
- Coventry Particular Baptist Church, 1710, 185.
- Cranbrook, Kent, 1771, 129.
- Crisp, of Bristol, 1826, 85.
- Crosby, Thomas, of Southwark, 1718-1740, 193, 197ff.
- Crosley, David, of Barnoldswick, 1692, 106; of Cripplegate, 1704, 194.
- Danvers, Colonel Henry, of Aldgate, 1661, 149.
- Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643, 237ff.
- Dike, Daniel, M.A., of Bishopsgate, 1672, 166; 1690, 203.
- Dobell, Daniel, of Cranbrook, 1771, 129.
- Eaton, Samuel, of St. Giles, 1632-1639, 220.
- Eckells, John, of Bromsgrove, 1666, 100ff.
- Edmonds, Thomas, of Sutton-in-the-Elms, 1786, 184.
- Evans, Benjamin, of Sutton-in-the-Elms, 1800, 184.
- Feet-washing dying out by 1771, 133.
- Fisher, Samuel, M.A., 1649, 31; 1662, 150.
- Fisher, William, of Wisbech, 1732, 179.
- Fisher, of Wisbech Particular Baptists, 1794, 180.
- Foster, John, on Serampore, 1836, 88.
- Fox, Consolation, of Abingdon, 1669, 167.
- Fox, William Johnson, of Finsbury, 1824, 54.
- Freeston, Joseph, of Wisbech, 1784, 179.
- Fuller, Andrew; 1791, 48ff; 1801, 72; 1815, 142ff.
- Fuller, Joseph, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Gano, Stephen, of Providence, R.I., 1802, 75.
- General Redemption, 5.
- Gestsel, Samuel, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Gifford, Andrew, of Bristol, 1672, 176; 1679, 59.
- Gilbert, Robert, of Sutton, 1740, 184.
- Gisborne, John, of Soham, 1803, 52.
- Gladman, Major, 1654, 148; 1664, 152.
- Glasgow, Mary, of Carter Lane, 1801, 71.
- Gould, George, of Norwich, 199ff.
- Gower, Thomas, 1642, 235; 1662, 151.
- Grantham, Benjamin, of Wisbech, 1695, 178.
- Great Alie Street, Goodman's Fields, 190.
- Greening, John, of Stow, 1710, 183.
- Griffith, John, of Dunning's Alley, 1662, 150.
- Gunn, Thomas, 1644, 236.
- Gutteridge, Joseph, 145.
- Hacket, William, of Arnesby, 1750, 185.
- Halford, John, of Lutterworth, about 1700, 181.
- Hall, Robert, of Arnesby, 1753, 186; 1791, 48.

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# Contents.

	PAGE
Prefatory Note ... .. .	I
Early Welsh Baptist Doctrines, set forth in a Manuscript ascribed to Vavasor Powell ... .. .	3
Letter of Dr. Carey to William Carey junior ... .. .	21
Baptists and Bartholomew's Day ... .. .	24
William Vidler, Baptist and Universalist ... .. .	42
Porton Baptist Church, 1655-1685... .. .	56
Editorial Notes ... .. .	61
Officers and Members ... .. .	63
May a Minister take State Pay? ... .. .	65
Letters to Dr. Rippon from New York ... .. .	69
Instructions to a Missionary ... .. .	77
First Impressions of Bristol ... .. .	84
The Serampore Mission ... .. .	88
An Unrecorded First Edition of Bunyan ... .. .	92
A Seventeenth Century Baptist Church: Bromsgröve ... .. .	100
Leonard Busher, Dutchman ... .. .	107
Baptist Literature till 1688 ... .. .	114
Notes and Queries ... .. .	121
Preserve our History ... .. .	126
Original Sin, Feetwashing, and the New Connexion ... .. .	129
Dr. Carey and the Baptist Magazine ... .. .	142
Printing Ryland's Funeral Sermon ... .. .	145
Militant Baptists, 1660-1672 ... .. .	148
The Baptist Licenses of 1672 ... .. .	156
Old Wisbech Records ... .. .	178
Sutton-in-the-Elms and Arnesby ... .. .	181
Books on English Baptist Church History ... .. .	187
Notes ... .. .	189
Benjamin Stinton and His Baptist Friends ... .. .	193
Stinton's Historical Researches ... .. .	197
Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church, 1616-1641 ... .. .	203
Rise of Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644 ... .. .	226
Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643 ... .. .	237
Story of the Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678 ... .. .	246
Members of the Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678 ... .. .	250
Index... .. .	257

## Short Notes.

Ancient Churches	61
Baptists and Jews in East London	189
Blackburn Churches	191
Camelford, Gabriel, of Furness Fells	125
Chesterton Lollards of 1457	62
Claridge, Richard, of Peopleton	125
Collier, Thomas, of North Bradley, Wilts.	121
Early Statistics	123
General Baptist Minutes	192
Great Alie Street	190
Little Alie Street	190
Records of 1665-1672	62, 125
Marriages before 1754	122
Oldest Baptist Church	189
Palmer, Anthony, of Bourton	124
Zoar, Great Alie Street	191

## Contributors, Ancient and Modern.

The President: Principal Gould, M.A.	1
Bowen, John, 1800	69
Burrage, Champlin, M.A.	3
Butt-Thompson, F. W.	42
Carey, William, D.D., 1812 and 1814	21, 77
Collier, Thomas, 1656	65
Dobel, Daniel, 1771	129
Ford, James, F.R.Hist.S.	100
Foster, John, 1836	88
Foster, John Charles	92
Fuller, Andrew, 1815	142
Hall, Robert, 1825	145
Jessey, Henry, M.A., 1645?	203, 226, 237
Powell, Vavasor, 1665?	3
Robinson, William, 1826	84
Tucker, Arthur	56
Whitley, W. T.	24, 107, 148, 156, 193, 197, 246

- Hall, Robert, M.A., of Cambridge, 1825, 145.
- Hardcastle, Thomas, of Swan Alley, 1664, 31; 1669, 247.
- Harrison, Thomas, of Sevenoaks, 1752, 134.
- Hawkins, of Weymouth, 1826, 86.
- Hazelden, Thomas, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Helwys, Thomas, of Spitalfields, 1612, 209.
- Higgins, John, of Alcester, 1710, 184.
- Hill, Daniel, of Arnesby, 1750, 184.
- Historical Materials: Various, 1656, 182, 123; Bishops' returns, 1665-1676, 62; Licences of 1672, 156; Stennett and Stinton, 1704-1719, 194; Printed histories, 1731-1906, 187.
- Hobson, Paul, 1644, 235; 1661, 149ff.
- Hobson, Thomas, of Coventry, 1662, 150.
- Holder, Thomas, of Leominster, 1710, 183.
- Ivimey, Joseph, of Eagle Street, 1815, 144.
- Jacob, Henry, 1598-1624, 206.
- James, John, of Bullstake Alley, 1661, 150.
- James, John, of Hintham, 1669, 160.
- Jarrom, Joseph, of Wisbech, 1802, 180.
- Jefferis, John, of Bridgnorth, 1710, 183.
- Jemmett, of Dover, 1666, 153.
- Jennings, Jonathan, of Aldersgate, 1662, 150, 153; 1672, 167.
- Jessey, Henry, M.A., of Swan Alley, 1637, 204ff; 1662, 35.
- Jones, Captain J., of Muggleswick, 1663, 151ff.
- Joplin, John, of Durham, 1662, 151.
- Judson, Adoniram, of Burmah, 1812, 22.
- Keach, Benjamin, of Aylesbury, 1666, 153; of Southwark, 1697, 193.
- Kiffin, William, 1643, 226ff; Alderman and Major, 1669, 153; 1672, 163.
- Knowles, Hanserd, of Jessey's church, 1643, 237ff.
- Lathorp, John, 1625-1634, 213ff.
- Literature till 1688, 114.
- Little Alie Street, Goodman's Fields, 190.
- Locking, Nathaniel, of Wisbech, 1723, 179.
- London Baptists, 1633, 226; 1672, 166; 1704, 193.
- Long, Thomas, of Porton, 1679, 59.
- Marriage Law of 1754, 122.
- Marsden, Jeremy, 1662, 36; 1663, 151.
- Middleton of Lewes, 1793, 50.
- Militant Baptists, 1660-1672, 148ff.
- Millard, Thomas, of Bristol, 1679, 59.
- Missions; India, 1802, 76; Amboyna, 1814, 77; Serampore, 1836, 90.
- Morecock family, of Chatham, 1665, 152; 1660-1672, 173.
- Morley, of Sutton-in-the-Elms, 1765, 181.
- Morris, Francis, of Wisbech, 1706, 178.
- Morris, Thomas, of Lutterworth, 1650, 181.
- Muggleswick, Durham, 1662, 151.
- Murton, John, 1608, 113; 1615, 209.
- New Connexion of General Baptists, 1771, 129.
- Newbury Post Office, 1660, 149.
- Newcomen, Thomas, of Dartmouth, 1700, 105.
- New York Association, 1800, 69.
- Northiam, Sussex, about 1790, 47.
- Oates, Samuel, of Bell Alley, 1662, 36, 151.
- Oates, Titus, "D.D." 36, 155.
- Okey, Colonel, 1661, 149.
- Original Sin, 1670, 5; 1771, 129.
- Overton, Colonel Robert, 1654, 148; 1663, 151.
- Palmer, Anthony, M.A., of Bourton, 1658, 124.
- Pearce, Samuel, of Arnesby, 1790, 186.
- Peart, William, of Bromsgrove, 1710, 183.
- Pen, Henry, of Porton, 1655, 56.
- Pen, Walter, of Porton, 1679, 59.
- Pendarves, John, B.A., of Abingdon, 1656, 30, 68.
- Perrott, Robert and Thomas, 1662; 150, 154.
- Pilgrim, Richard, 1662, 150.
- Place, Henry, of Wisbech, 1695, 178.
- Pooley, Christopher, of Nortolk, 1661, 150.
- Porton, Hampshire, 1655-1685, 56.

- Potter, Humphrey, of Bromsgrove, 1700, 105; 1710, 183.
- Proud, John, of Wisbech, 1756, 179.
- Purdy, Thomas, of Rye, 1780, 44.
- Ramsey, Huntingdon, 1700, 185.
- Ratlin, of Kilby, 1700, 185.
- Rede, Colonel John, 1755, 56ff; 1672, 154.
- Rede, John, of Porton, 1679, 59; of Devizes, 1723, 58.
- Registration of ministers and buildings, 175.
- Reynoldson, Robert, of Wisbech, 1737, 180.
- Rice, Luther of America, 1812, 22.
- Rippon, John, of Southwark, 1800, 69.
- Robinson, William, 1826, 84.
- Rye, Sussex, 1780, 44.
- Ryland, John, of Northampton, 1791, 48; of Bristol, 1825, 145.
- Sabbatarianism, 1636, 222.
- Sawrey, Roger, of Broughton Tower, 1664, 152.
- Sedgfield, John, of Tottlebank, 1725, 157.
- Selms, Ann, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Serampore, Correspondence, 1812, 21; 1814, 77; 1836, 88.
- Sharman family of Wisbech, 1710ff, 178.
- Sharman, Nathan, of Arnesby, 1790, 186.
- Sharp, of Kilby, 1780, 185.
- Sheldon, Archbishop, 155, 175.
- Smith, Edmund, of Wisbech, 1653, 178; 1672, 163.
- Smith, James, of Stow, 1710, 183.
- Smith, John, of Amsterdam, 1608-1615, 107, 109, 207ff.
- Smith, W. Lepard, 1825, 145.
- Snoad, , of New York, 1801, 73.
- Stanford, , of New York, 1800, 70.
- Stanger family, 1688-1797, 182.
- Statistics of 1665-1882, 123.
- Stennett, Joseph, of Pinners' Hall, 1704, 194ff.
- Stinton, Benjamin, of Horsleydown, 1697-1719, 193ff.
- Stokes, of Worcester, 1836, 88.
- Stokesley, Yorkshire, 1662, 151.
- Stow-on-the-Wold, 1710, 183.
- Strange, Nathaniel, 1656, 68.
- Sutton-in-the-Elms, Leicestershire, 1650-1800, 181.
- Taverner, Samuel, of Deal and Dover, 1664, 152; 1672, 173.
- Taylor, Dan, of Mile End, 1801, 52; 1803, 180.
- Thompson, Josiah, of Unicorn Yard, 1773, 124.
- Thompson, William, of Boston, 1763, 130, 140.
- Tillam, Thomas, 1660, 149.
- Tombes, John, B.D., of Bewdley, 1666, 100; 1672, 36.
- Townsend, Thomas, of Sutton, 1650, 181.
- Uniformity Acts, 1549-1662, 24ff.
- Vidler, William, of Battle, 1758-1816, 42ff.
- Virginia and the Puritans, 1611-1624, 212.
- Walker, Neil, of Wisbech, 1831, 180.
- Webb, John, shoemaker, 1644, 236.
- Webb, Thomas, of Porton, 1655, 56.
- Weller, Mary, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Wigan, John, of Manchester, 1654, 148; 1664, 152.
- Williams, John , of New York, 1800, 70.
- Willis, Joseph, of Worcester, 1710, 183.
- Willmot, Dan, of Hooknorton, 1710, 183.
- Willson, John, of Norwich, 1669, 1669, 163; of Mundham, 1672, 164.
- Winckles, Benjamin, of Kilby, 1689, 184.
- Wisbech, Cambridge, 52, 162, 178ff.
- Wood, Daniel, of Battle, 1780, 45.
- Woodman, Isaac, of Sutton, 1765, 181.
- Worcester, 1710, 183.
- Wright, of Kilby, 1700, 185.
- Wright, Richard, of Wisbech, 1801-1805, 52, 179.