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

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_congregational-historical-society-1.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php)

## The Congregational Historical Society.

Meeting in Roby Schools, Manchester.

A meeting of the Congregational Historical Society was held on Tuesday, Oct. 15, in Roby Schools, Piccadilly, Manchester. J. D. McClure, Esq., M.A., LL.D., the President, was in the chair, and there was a large attendance of members and the general public.

The CHAIRMAN in the course of his opening remarks said : May I very respectfully and yet very earnestly urge upon all here present to do their utmost for this Society ? I feel quite certain that if it is to succeed it can only be by personal, by individual effort. We appeal in vain to a large body like the Congregational Union or the churches of the Congregational Union, and it is only here and there that people respond to what may be called a general invitation ; but during the past few months in many directions we have had indications of sympathy and of co-operation, and I feel sure that the work we are attempting to do needs only to be known to secure the assistance of many who hitherto have, from ignorance or other causes, held aloof from us. . . . We are Congregationalists, not by virtue of the little to which we bind ourselves, but by reason of the very great treasure which we are enabled to appropriate. We are denominational because we believe the more we know, and the greater interest that we take in our denomination and its history, the more wide and liberal we shall be in our sympathies and the more effective we shall be in our work in the world. That is the spirit in which I have associated myself with this Society, and I believe it is the spirit in which most members have associated themselves with it ; and I trust that by our co-operation in what is purely a great work, and a work which very much requires to be done, we may seek, not to lay the churches under obligation—I doubt if they would feel it—but rather to lay ourselves under a great obligation which we should endeavour honestly to fulfil. If the future is to be more glorious than the past it is only in so far as we understand the past and try to draw from it those lessons which we hope will make the future what we desire it to be.

The HONORARY SECRETARY then announced that an invitation had been received from the University of Yale, U.S.A., to

send a delegate on the occasion of its bicentenary celebrations. As this was found impossible it was agreed that a cablegram of congratulations be sent from the meeting, and that the Secretary be instructed to write a letter conveying the thanks of the Society to the University, and heartiest wishes for its continued and increasing prosperity.

The Rev. HENRY SHAW, (Urmston), then read a paper which is printed in full on pages 61-78. In the discussion that followed The Revs. T. GASCOIGNE, Dr. JOHN BROWN, and others, took part. The latter referred to the byways of the old squires' papers in which he thought might be found something that was not just as dry as dust, but very interesting in connection with our churches. As to Lancashire, there were Lord Kenyon's papers, which appeared two or three years ago. Lord Kenyon was a descendant of Roger Kenyon. Roger Kenyon married a descendant of Alexander Rigby, who was Clerk of the Peace of this county, and she brought all the papers to Roger Kenyon, who passed them on to the family, and among them is a list of all the clergy who conformed at the time of the great revolution, and what is a more interesting matter still, the list of all the places in 1689 that were registered and recorded for Non-conformist worship.

The Rev. J. PHILLIPS, (Haverfordwest), asked : Have we complete registers of those men who were licensed under the Commonwealth? Have we anything like a complete register? I found a fragment of a paper once, containing a list of men in 1651 who were said to be either registered or licensed, I don't remember exactly which. 1649 or 1651.

Dr. BROWN, in reply, said : It would be a novelty to me to know there were any licences under the Commonwealth. The mode was for anyone to act as minister provided the patron of the living authorised him. There was no authorised procedure until the Bill of 1653. Then there were no Church Courts and no organised Church government, but if a man were certified to be fit to preach, whether he was a Presbyterian or Baptist or Congregationalist, he was inducted in the living. But there were also free Churches, and I don't think the Government took any cognizance of them; I don't think they were registered in any way. The first license was in 1672. The local presbyteries, as the Chairman tells me, may have done it, and that is a very possible thing, but I don't think the Government did.

## Congregationalism in Manchester: its beginnings and development.

THE first historical notice of the association of Manchester with the principles of Church government represented by Congregationalism goes back more than three hundred years to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Church of England, not too securely rooted in the reverence and affection of the people, was assailed, on the one hand, by the adherents of "the older faith," *i.e.*, by the Roman Catholics who attacked not only the Church but the secular authority which established and supported it, and, on the other hand, by the Separatists, who demanded that, as they were loyal to the State and faithful subjects of the Queen, they should be allowed to worship God according to the sanctions of their conscience. To both the Bishops, with sublime impartiality, gave the same answer, *viz.*, fines, imprisonment, and the scaffold.

That easy and ecclesiastical method of settling a controversy and silencing an opponent was not remarkable for its success so far as the Separatists were concerned. The controversy grew keener, and its fire was fanned into a fiercer blaze by the scattering broadcast of the writings of the now famous "Martin Marprelate." The tracts of that unknown writer, who followed the example of Erasmus in using satire and ridicule as lawful and effective weapons of controversy, were printed secretly: and, for the sake of greater security, the printing establishment was moved

from one place to another. From Kingston it was taken to Northamptonshire, and from Northamptonshire it was brought to Manchester, where, in a house in Newton Lane, now Oldham Road, it found refuge for a time. Unfortunately it was discovered by the officers of Henry—"the good Earl of Derby"—and the press was seized, along with the printers and a number of sheets, printed on one side, of the tract called "More Work for the Cooper."

That early association of the Separatists with Manchester may reasonably be regarded as shewing that in those days "Martin" had friends in the district, who were in sympathy with his teaching, and who, if opportunity had been allowed them, might have formed themselves into a Church of Christ on Separatist or Congregational principles.

The next historical notice of Congregationalism in Manchester is associated with the name of the Rev. John Wigan—a man who in his time played many parts. In 1642 he was the minister of the Presbyterian chapel at Gorton, where he advocated unreservedly Congregational principles. Four years later he became the minister of the chapel at Birch, where "he set up the Congregational way": and in 1649 he purchased the Chetham College and the lands pertaining thereto, and, according to Adam Martindale, "made a barn into a chapel where he and many of his persuasion preached doctrines diametrically opposed to the ministers under their very nose." A few years later he became a major in the Parliamentary army, and, as a Congregational minister, along with the church he formed, disappeared from the page of history.

Shortly afterwards the Rev. Henry Newcome came to Manchester, to whom belongs the honour of establishing Congregationalism in this city. He

was a man of great gifts, devout, scholarly, singularly gentle, trustful, loveable, with a heart always open to the skies, yet, withal, a man of strong will, steadfast and immovable in the cause of truth and righteousness. In his guilelessness and simplicity, his manfulness and noble fortitude, he might have been the prototype of that Thomas Newcome, his brave, loving, and unselfish namesake, in the unfolding of whose career and character the genius of Thackeray reached its loftiest height.

He was ordained at Sandbach in 1648, and, after having had charge for a few weeks of the chapel of Alvanley, was appointed to the living of Goostrey, where, he says, "it pleased God I had the unanimous consent of the chapelry." After a ministry of a year and a half at Goostrey he became the rector of Gawsworth, a parish a few miles away. Until he had signed the "Engagement," however, his induction was only provisional; and the acceptance of that document occasioned him great trouble and anxiety. It was only after prolonged consideration that he saw his way to sign it. On Christmas Day, 1650, he gave the required subscription at Chester, and promised to be a "true and faithful servant of the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords." That subscription was "long on his heart as one of his great transgressions," and he never recalled its memory without feelings of reproach and shame. A few years later he made ample atonement for that act of weakness, and when, in 1662, he had to choose between subscription to the articles of the Church and ejection from its ministry, he followed the leading of his conscience with his eyes wide open to all of suffering and hardship it involved.

In May, 1655, he preached in the Collegiate

Church, Manchester, and his sermons so impressed the congregation that, on the death of the Rev. Richard Hollingworth, one of the Fellows, in November he received a letter, signed by several of the most influential members, asking if he were free to accept an invitation to succeed Mr. Hollingworth. Two days later a meeting of the congregation was held, and a unanimous decision arrived at to invite him to Manchester.

Mr. Newcome accepted the invitation, and began his ministry in Manchester in April, 1657. He became at once a recognized leader in the activities of the town, and bore his great popularity with such modesty and simplicity that even the Warden—the Rev. Richard Heyricke—a high-minded man, though of imperious temper and provoking selfwill, worked amicably with him.

The accession of Charles II in 1660 was, however, the beginning of sorrows to Mr. Newcome, ardent Royalist though he was. The old ecclesiastical order was instantly restored; the fellowships of the College were filled by others, and Mr. Newcome was “deprived of maintenance.” But the people held him in such honour and affection that the Fellows were compelled to make arrangements with him. He accepted the arrangement and the miserable pittance they allowed him. Referring to that time he says “The Fellows oft expressed their disgust of me behind my back, and professedly said I should not preach unless I would conform. Yet the Lord kept me on in His work for this year and a quarter. As long as I could have preached anywhere He protected me to preach to my own people.”

But the passing of the Act of Uniformity deprived him of that privilege. That Act, which many, doubtless, accepted conscientiously, fell upon the churches of England like the light of

judgement, sending each to his own place. On the one side, in comfort and security, it placed the faithless and unworthy, and on the other, in pain, peril and uncertainty, those who were the very life-blood of the faith of England—men whose integrity no trial could shatter, and whose honour no temptation could degrade. Of the two chief leaders of the religious life of Manchester, Richard Heyricke, the Warden, and Henry Newcome the preacher, the former conformed, though with sorrow and reluctance. But from that day his iron spirit seemed to be broken, and the strong and selfwilled man, who had been a leader in the movements of the town, moved quietly about, an unnoticed item in its life. The character of his friend, however, never shone with brighter lustre than in that time of darkness and trial. He accepted the alternative of suffering and poverty, preferring to keep his conscience clear and his faith without reproach, rather than to occupy by any sacrifice of principle the position of reward and honour his abilities would speedily have secured.

The Act of Uniformity became law in May, 1662, and, by a malignant purpose, was made to take effect on August 24—the day of St. Bartholomew—the anniversary of the revolting massacre of the Protestants in France ninety years before. On the morning of that memorable Sunday, August 24, Mr. Newcome preached in the Collegiate Church from the words—“In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.” It was his last sermon in the church to which he had been called with enthusiasm a few short years before, and it closed for ever his ministry in the Church of England.

Then began the years of his privation. In 1664 the Conventicle Act became law; and fines, imprisonment, banishment to the steaming planta-

tions of the West Indies, were the rewards of those who met for worship except according to the rites of the Church of England. But the Act, though it crippled the Nonconformists, failed to accomplish utterly its infamous end. Within a year, therefore, it was followed by the Five Mile Act, whose provisions, it was believed, would extinguish the last vestiges of religious liberty, and make it impossible for a Nonconformist clergyman to exist. It imposed a new oath upon him, and those who refused to take the oath were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to approach, except on a journey, within five miles of any corporate town, or within five miles of any place where they had formerly ministered. Under its shameless sanction the Nonconformist minister might be arrested and imprisoned for visiting his children in their homes, or his friends in the time of their distress and bereavement. Where the Conventicle Act failed the Five Mile Act was intended to succeed ! Mr. Newcome was compelled to leave Manchester, and for a time found a refuge at Ellenbrook, with a " trusty disciple," Thomas Topping.

In 1687 the shadow which had rested upon Nonconformists for so many years was uplifted. James II., asserting his " dispensing power " over the authority of Parliament, issued, for sinister reasons, a " Declaration of Indulgence," which enabled the despoiled ministers to meet their congregations, and to join again in the service of the House of God. Mr. Newcome and his friends obtained possession of a vacant house, and on April 20th, 1687, to his " great satisfaction and rejoicing," he preached with " open doors." Soon after they had to enlarge their borders, and on June 12th they hired Thomas Stockton's barn in the Shude Hill Fields, where many of the chief families of the town united with them.

After the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, in the reign of William and Mary, had made the position of Nonconformists more secure, the congregation expressed their desire to erect a sanctuary in which they might more conveniently worship. But the strain of years, and the heavier strain of many anxieties, had told upon their minister, and he shrank from the additional demand upon his strength which an attempt to realize their desire would have imposed upon him. A few years later the desire was expressed again, and so urgently that Mr. Newcome yielded to it. On June 20th, 1693, "part of a parcel of land, commonly called Plungeon's Meadow," was purchased, and on it was built the "great and fair meeting-house," now known as Cross Street Chapel. It was opened on June 24th, 1694, by a sermon by Mr. Newcome on the words "Holiness to the Lord." So, in the words of the old and beautiful song, the Lord had turned again the captivity of Zion, and done great things for them, whereof they were glad; and had fulfilled also the prophecy with which that sweet song of Israel ends, that "he that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

The new sanctuary was no stately and imposing structure, but a plain, square, and homely building, suggestive of the splendours of Gothic architecture only in the sense that the grim and sober Roundhead is suggestive of the gay and dashing Cavalier. Yet, though it was not rich in architectural attractions, it was rich in history, and in the faith and sacrifice it symbolized. It sprang out of fearless loyalty to conscience and fidelity to Jesus Christ: for the men who built it had proved their sincerity by their sufferings, and were ready, if required, to have proved it by their death. That

unadorned and simple meeting-house, part of whose walls is still standing, is more eloquent with meaning than many a decorated and stately temple in whose erection there is represented neither sacrifice nor pain.

But Mr. Newcome's work was well nigh done. Though he preached the first sermon in the new House of God, it was not often that his voice was afterwards heard therein. A year after the opening of it he met his friends for the last time, and, in reference to the duty of that Sabbath day there is the brief and pathetic notice in his diary, "short yet tired." On September 17th, 1695, his pilgrimage quietly reached its end, and the brave and gentle-spirit which had borne such faithful witness for the Master, and so nobly the discipline of the years, passed into the light, and stood in the presence of its God. He was laid to rest, where he desired to be, within the precincts of the church he had built, "in the west aisle not far from the pulpit," and on his tomb were inscribed the words—"Here resteth the body of Henry Newcome, A.M., minister of the gospel in Manchester 38 years. Buried September 20th, 1695. Aged 68 years."

Though Henry Newcome and his friends were Presbyterian in Church polity they were driven by force of circumstances to adopt the Congregational idea. The Presbyterianism of the days of the Commonwealth vanished with the Commonwealth. The last meeting of the Manchester *classis* was held on August 14th, 1660, at which meeting it was resolved to meet again "on the second Tuesday in September next." That second Tuesday came but there was no meeting of the class. The old Presbyterianism in Manchester, as in all England, was in its death-throes. Thirty years later, the churches built by men who had been Presbyterians in their youth represented the Congregational

rather than the Presbyterian idea. The "great and fair meeting-house," erected by Henry Newcome and his friends, was no exception to the rule. Independents and Presbyterians assembled therein for worship, the bitterness of past controversies softened by the healing touch of time, and a truer understanding of each other's thoughts and ways. The name Presbyterian was retained, but nearly all that it represented in church government had disappeared.

Passing over the history of the Cross Street meeting-house for fifty years, we come to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Rev. Joseph Mottershead was the minister of it, with the Rev. John Seddon, M.A., as his assistant. At that time the Presbyterian and Independent churches were passing through a crisis in their theological belief. The Calvinistic conception of the truths of faith, which had exerted so mighty an influence in the previous century, was rapidly losing its authority. The members of the meeting-house did not escape the disturbing influence of the time. Before Mr. Seddon's advent amongst them many must have felt that the doctrines of Calvin were becoming more and more intolerable; under his teaching they rejected them altogether, and boldly adopted the Unitarian view of Jesus Christ and His work. But there were others who stood resolutely in the doctrines accepted by Henry Newcome and the founders of the church, giving the assent of their minds and hearts to the Calvinistic conception of the truth, and seeing only woe and calamity for the world in the disturbances which were shaking their ancient faith. Remain at the meeting-house conscientiously they could not, though to leave it was to tear up their affections by the roots. Where did they find a refuge ?

In 1753 Mr. Caleb Warhurst, a Congregationalist of Bredbury, near Stockport, came to Manchester to conduct evangelistic services, on the invitation of a Mr. Winterbottom. At that time a Mr. Winterbottom was the minister of the Baptist church which worshipped in Cold House Lane. It was probably he, who, seeing the greatness of the opportunity, and knowing how helpful such services would be, invited Mr. Warhurst to Manchester. The venture resulted in the formation of a church of the Congregational order, to whose ministry Mr. Warhurst was ordained in 1756. Of the place where the church met for worship, nothing is definitely known. All that is known is this, that the church grew so steadily in numbers and influence that, in the course of a very few years, a larger building was required. A plot of land, called Hunter's Croft, was obtained in 1761, and upon it the desired meeting-house was built. It was opened for worship in the following year. To the new movement many of the members of the meeting-house in Cross Street gave their support, and in the chapel on Hunter's Croft, afterwards known as Cannon Street Chapel, they formed their home.

Mr. Warhurst's connection with the church was not prolonged. He was frail and delicate, the victim of a disease which slowly wasted his little store of strength, and on November 5th, 1765, after a ministry of only three years and a half in the larger building, his life's work was done. But in spite of his great bodily weakness, with its inevitable mental and moral depression, he wrought well and nobly, and his name should be honoured as that of the man who, under the guidance of God, refounded Congregationalism in Manchester.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy

Priestley, younger brother of Dr. Joseph Priestley, under whose ministry for some years the church prospered greatly. But the later years were troubled and distressful, and in 1784 he retired from the pastoral office.

His successor, the Rev. David Bradberry, of Ramsgate, was a poet of a peculiar order, and a man remarkable for his vanity and selfwill. Against the elders who had been appointed in the time of his predecessor to assist in the spiritual working of the church, he declared open war, and demanded their removal. The strife deepened in bitterness, and in 1787 many of the members of the church, weary of the conflict, severed their connection with it. Out of that secession sprang the church in Mosley Street, which was opened in September, 1788.

The next minister of the Cannon Street Church was the Rev. William Roby, who entered upon his duties in 1795. He was a man of fine character and great ability, wise, gentle, unassuming, whose large and tender sympathies embraced young and old, rich and poor alike, with a will that was inflexible in the cause of righteousness. To him, more than to any other man, the Congregationalists of Manchester are indebted for the expansion given to their principles in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The church at Cannon Street, under his guidance, entered on a new career. In an amazingly short time the shadow of its troubles passed away, and the smitten and desolate church became an active and prosperous Christian society. The success which attended Mr. Roby's endeavours made a larger building necessary, and, in 1807, a new place of worship was opened in Grosvenor Street, to which the church removed by a unanimous resolution of its members. It was intended that the

chapel in Cannon Street should be regularly supplied, and that the income arising from it should, for a time, be devoted to the reduction of a third of the debt upon the new building in Grosvenor Street.

The decision of the church, however, was frustrated by the action of five of its members, who, taking an advantage of a clause in the trust deed which gave power to any three members to prevent a settlement of the property, resolved to constitute themselves into a church and to remain at Cannon Street. Their action led to a painful controversy ; but Mr. Roby and his friends, rather than waste the property in a law-suit, preferred to leave the five members in possession of the chapel in Cannon Street. The new church formed in the old building was blighted from its inception, and, though twenty years later a measure of success was realized under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Bradley, yet it was not until the vicious associations of the beginning were obliterated by the removal, in 1860, of the church to Chorlton Road that it became a centre of gracious influence and the source of many sacred activities.

The great practical development of Congregationalism in Manchester and the neighbourhood which distinguished the early years of this century was mainly the result of Mr. Roby's untiring energy. He was the apostle and pioneer of the movement, and, though he had many self-denying and faithful colleagues—none more earnest and faithful than Mr. Jonathan Lees—it was the force of his example and influence which enlisted their sympathetic activity in the work. One of the first districts to be affected by his evangelistic passion was New Windsor, where Mr. Joule, one of the members of the church, erected a small place of worship at his own expense. Another village

which also early felt the touch of his beneficent hand was Patricroft, where a small chapel was opened in 1800 and a church formed four years later. The church at Sale, which was formed in 1805, owes its existence also to the efforts of Mr. Roby and his friends. The Zion Church, Strétford Road, which dates back to 1812, traces its origin to the persistent endeavours of Mr. Jonathan Lees and the encouragement given by Mr. Roby. With the formation of the church in Chapel Street, which met in the Cloth Hall, Greengate, in 1817, Mr. Roby was closely associated; and the church at Ashley Lane sprang from the work of the Sunday-school teachers of Grosvenor Street, aided by the wise direction of Mr. Lees, and Mr. Roby's unflinching support; while the church at Rusholme Road which was founded in 1825, and whose history has been a very noble one, owes its existence to the efforts of Mr. Roby and Dr. McAll, and the churches at Grosvenor Street and Mosley Street to which they ministered.

Nor were Mr. Roby's sympathies confined to Manchester and the district. Mainly as the result of his persuasive and persistent advocacy, an Itinerant preachers' society was formed in Lancashire, out of which in 1804 sprang the Lancashire Union of Congregational Churches. And in 1803 a seminary for the training of men for ministerial services was opened in Manchester, to which, gladly and without reward, Mr. Roby gave his services as president for five years. From that modest institution, which assembled in the vestry of Mosley Street Chapel, the Lancashire Independent College virtually traces its descent.

To the sacred crusade of Foreign Missions Mr. Roby and his friends gave themselves with such devotedness that the church at Grosvenor Street has links of sacrifice and heroism binding it to

nearly all lands. In the year 1816 Robert Hampson was sent from it to Calcutta, John Ince to Malacca, Samuel Wilson to Greece: and in that same year also there went out one, greater than all, Robert Moffatt, the saint and hero of South Africa. In 1821 Elijah Armitage went out as an artisan missionary to the South Seas, and in 1826 John Cummins and James Cameron went out as missionaries to Madagascar. And besides these there was Samuel Harper, a forgotten hero, who was murdered in the island of Tangatobo. Such a glorious roll of honour few churches can equal. Other churches of our order have freely given of their wealth and service, but perhaps none can shew a record like unto hers, whom we acknowledge with reverence and affection to be the noble and worthy mother of us all.

Early in January, 1830, Mr. Roby's work on this side the light was over. He was a great man, but his chief claim to distinction was, to quote Dr. McAll's words, that he was "greatly good"—a man who lived always in the light of his Master's presence, following Him "to the last gasp with truth and loyalty."

In 1801, when the population of Manchester and Salford was nearly 90,000, there were only two churches of our order in Manchester—the Cannon Street and Mosley Street Churches—and in Salford, or rather in its then distant suburb of New Windsor, the mission room built by Mr. Joule. The accommodation provided by the two churches and the mission room would not have sufficed for more than a thousand worshippers. In 1831, when the population had increased to 224,000, the Congregational churches were—Grosvenor Street; Mosley Street, where the Rev. Dr. McAll was exercising an influence in the town not inferior to that exercised by Mr. Roby; New Windsor, to which the Rev. George

Taylor ministered ; Patricroft ; Sale ; the second church meeting in the old chapel in Cannon Street ; Jackson's Lane, Hulme, of which the Rev. James Gwyther was minister ; Chapel Street, Salford ; Swinton ; Ashley Lane ; Rusholme Road, where the Rev. James Griffin had entered on his beneficent career ; and a mission established at Charlestown by members of the church at New Windsor.

During the next thirty years the development of Congregationalism did not slacken. Hope Church was formed—one of the most distinguished churches of the district, whose name under the leadership of the Revs. J. L. Poore, G. B. Bubier, and R. W. Selbie, became a synonym for noble and devoted service ; and the church at Harpurhey was founded by members of the church at Ashley Lane. Then came Park Chapel, to which the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Bedford, once ministered ; the church at Pendleton ; and the church at Bowdon, to-day under the guidance of Rev. Dr. MacKenna, one of the most influential churches of our order in England. A little later the Longsight, Richmond, and Wilmslow churches were formed, and the church at Mosley Street removed during the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. Halley to its statelier home in Cavendish Street, afterwards the scene of Dr. Parker's brilliant and inspiring ministry. Then followed the churches at Cheetham Hill, Knot Mill, Broughton, Rusholme, Eccles (a graft from Hope), and Cheadle ; and the second church at Cannon Street lost its identity in the new church at Chorlton Road, and became, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Macfadyen, one of the strongest and most beneficent churches in the North of England.

During the next ten years, 1861-1871, churches were formed at Worsley Road, Swinton (another

graft from Hope), Prestwich, Levenshulme, Queen's Park, Openshaw, Stockport Road, Failsworth, Seedley, Burnage, Greenheys, Ancoats, and Cheadle Hulme.

Then the suburban tide began to flow more rapidly ; and the churches established since that time have been situated chiefly in the outer rings of the city. Among them are the churches at Openshaw, (Lees Street), Heaton Moor, Broughton Park, Ashton-on-Mersey, Regent, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Urmston, Gorton, Heaton Park, Withington, Newton Heath, Levenshulme (Zion), Hale and Broadheath (offshoots of the church at Bowdon), Alexandra Park, and Weaste.

To briefly summarize the progress of the last hundred years: In 1801 Congregationalism was represented in the Manchester district by two churches in Manchester and a mission at New Windsor. In 1901 it is represented by 56 churches, four Welsh churches, five mission halls, besides the numerous mission rooms associated with the various churches.

In the endeavour to carry the light of the Cross into heathen lands the Congregational churches of Manchester have had no unworthy share. Amongst the missionaries whom they have sent forth, in addition to those already named, are the Rev. James Edwards (South Africa), Rev. Henry Royle (South Seas), Rev. Joseph Gill (South Africa), Rev. R. G. Hartley (Madagascar), Rev. Mr. Penry (Central Africa), Rev. Dr. S. Macfarlane (New Guinea), Rev. Jonathan Lees (China), Rev. E. Le Mare (India), Dr. Frank Roberts and his sister, Miss Roberts (China), Rev. J. Marriott (Samoa), Rev. T. Beswick (New Guinea), and Dr. Ruth Massey (China).

Into the relation of Congregationalists to

the municipal activities of Manchester, and to the larger political life of the nation since the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, there is now no opportunity to enter. But this brief sketch of the history of Manchester Congregationalism would be very incomplete were no mention made of a few of the most distinguished of its sons. The Armitage family have been associated with our churches for at least a hundred years, and the connection of the Watts family covers almost the same length of time. For the greater part of a century the Lee family have been faithful supporters of our work, and its most distinguished representative, Mr. Henry Lee, with his sons, is with us still; while the Haworth family, whose association with our churches also covers the greater part of a century, are still amongst the most honoured and generous supporters of our endeavours. The names of Mr. Robert Spear, Mr. James Carlton, Mr. John Hewitt, Mr. James Kershaw, M.P., Mr. James and Mr. John Dilworth, Mr. Joseph Thompson, Mr. Samuel Pope, Mr. Samuel Fletcher, Mr. Carver, Mr. William Woodward, Mr. James Sidebottom, Mr. George Wood, Mr. George Hadfield, M.P., were household words in our churches years ago. The Rev. Joseph Whitworth and his son, the late Sir Joseph, were associated with the church at Mosley Street in the days of Dr. McAll, and Mr. John Cassell also, the founder of the great publishing house. To one who was associated with the same church, Mr. John Owens, Manchester is indebted for its famous college. And in honour of one who was a member of that same church in its home both at Mosley Street and at Cavendish Street—Mr. John Rylands—the noble library at Deansgate, with its priceless treasures, has recently been erected by her who bears his name. Nor should we forget that the present Vice-Chancellor

of Owens College—Mr. Alfred Hopkinson—belonged in his earlier years to the church at Rusholme Road, a church to which his father, Mr. Alderman Hopkinson, gave for many years the most loyal and generous support.

HENRY SHAW.

## John Bunyan and Thomas Marsom

IN the admirable first number of the *Transactions* of our new Congregational Historical Society, there is an interesting paper by my friend, the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, on that portion of the "Diary of the Gurney Family" which relates to Thomas Marsom and describes him as a "Fellow-prisoner with John Bunyan." Mr. Horne gives this Diary to shew that in the archives of old Nonconformist families may possibly be found many buried documents of equal interest with the one he sets before us. He is as anxious as any of us, of course, to have only really reliable history, and he will, I am sure, excuse me if I use his paper to shew the need of caution in accepting such documents as the one to which he refers.

I first became acquainted with the passage from the Diary of William Brodie Gurney which Mr. Horne gives us, through a lecture on John Bunyan which the Rev. Charles Birrell of Liverpool delivered in Manchester now some fifty years ago, as one of a series on Puritan and Nonconformist worthies. I was so charmed with the chaste thought and feeling displayed in the lecture that when, in 1874, the Bunyan Statue was unveiled I prevailed upon Mr. Birrell to re-deliver it in Bedford, and it was afterwards printed in the "Book of the Bunyan Festival" along with the address by Dean Stanley. In this lecture the statements given in the Gurney Diary were related as from a letter received by Mr. Birrell from Mr. Gurney

himself. It so happened, however, that as my own personal researches proceeded, I began to have my doubts as to the trustworthiness of the story, and that for reasons I will now proceed to state.

The story is this : The grandfather of William Brodie Gurney married Martha the daughter of Thomas Marsom of Luton in 1730. Her grandfather again, also a Thomas Marsom, though a layman in business, was pastor of the church at Luton, and the Diary (which was not written till 1845) says : "He was in the Ministry 50 years, and suffered in Bedford Jail with John Bunyan and others." Farther on Mr. Gurney goes on to say : "When Bunyan had finished the manuscript of the first part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' he read it to his fellow-sufferers in Bedford Jail, with a view to obtaining their opinion upon it.....At the first reading some of them, among whom was Mr. Marsom, doubted the propriety of printing it. But on reflection he requested leave to read it alone, and examined it, and on this perusal, as he afterwards informed his family, he strongly recommended to Bunyan to print it."

Such is the story ; let us see how it tallies with known facts. I have in my possession a copy of the funeral sermon preached for Thomas Marsom by John Needham of Hitchin, from which we find that he died January, 1726. Now as Bunyan died at the age of sixty, in 1688, Marsom survived him 38 years, and as Bunyan's 12 years' imprisonment terminated in 1672, or 16 years before his death, if Thomas Marsom was in prison with him he must have been a very young prisoner at the time. But we know now that Bunyan was twice in prison, 12 years in the county gaol (1660-1672) for preaching in the county at Samsell, and 6 months (1675-6) in the borough gaol on Bedford

bridge, no doubt for preaching to his own congregation in Bedford town. But as Marsom was an inhabitant of Luton, if he was in prison at all, it must have been in the county gaol at the corner of the Silver Street, not in the small town-prison on Bedford Bridge, he being a county prisoner and not a Bedford townsman. There is no proof, however, that he ever was even in the county gaol. In an official document we have the names of all the prisoners who were released with Bunyan in 1672, and certainly Thomas Marsom's name is not among them. John Needham, in the funeral sermon already mentioned, says that this good man "not only preached the truth of the gospel, but in a day of persecution and trial stood by it," (p. 41), but he explains this by saying that "he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods," and says nothing about his having been in gaol. But this is not all. The story of Bunyan reading his Pilgrim story to his fellow-prisoners, and of Marsom asking leave to read it alone, is, I am afraid, little more than a myth arising from the fact that the story comes to us as one which Mr. Gurney received from his grandmother, who had received it from her grandfather before her. For it is as certain as anything can well be that Bunyan wrote his allegory, not in the county gaol, but in the lock-up on the bridge, which was a very small apartment, capable of holding only two or three prisoners at most, and in which Bunyan was probably alone. If he wrote it in the county gaol, from which he was released in 1672, he must have kept the manuscript by him for six years before giving it to the world, for it certainly was not published till 1678, which was not usually Bunyan's way. My own impression is, as I have mentioned elsewhere, that he did not even finish the first part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in gaol.

There is a curious break in the story which seems almost to suggest that he did not. After describing the parting of Christian and Hopeful from the shepherds on the Delectable Mountains, Bunyan says: "So I awoke from my dream." Then in the next paragraph he adds: "And I slept and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the mountains along the highway towards the city." It is the only break that occurs in the first part of the book. It is not artistically required by the plot of the story, indeed it somewhat interferes with it; and the more probable conclusion is that Bunyan's dream was disturbed by Bunyan's release from his den, and that the remainder of the story, which amounts to nearly a third of the first part, was written after he was set at large. It was not, I think, while he was in prison but after he came out that

"Some said, John, print it; others said, not so: Some said it might do good; others said no."

There is another fact which has some bearing on the question before us. Mr. Urwick, in his careful and painstaking history of "Nonconformity in Hertfordshire," makes clear that till 1694, Thomas Marsom's ecclesiastical relations were with the celebrated Nonconformist church at Kensworth, which is in that county, not in Bedfordshire. Under date 1688 he gives the following extract from the Kensworth church records: "Immediately after the decease of that laborious servant of Christ, Thomas Hayward, the whole church was assembled at Kinsworth (*sic*) to consider their scattered state; and there the church did elect Brother Finch, *Brother Marsom*, and Brother Harden jointly and equally to officiate in the room of Brother Hayward in breaking bread and other administration of ordinances." Again, at the church meeting held May 18th, 1694, the

death "of our dear Brother Finch" was reported, and we find that "after Daniel Finch's death, Brother Marsom, the third brother chosen, led away a large number of members with him and founded the separate church at Luton." So that if ever Thomas Marsom was a prisoner under the Conventicle Act it was more probably in Hertfordshire than Bedfordshire, and therefore in Hertford gaol rather than Bedford.

The matter is not very important, of course, still, doubtful statements affect the historical mind very much as a false note in music strikes the musical ear, and one feels inclined to cry out.

JOHN BROWN.

## Devonshire and the Indulgence of 1672

[The Declaration of Indulgence was issued on March xv. 1672 in pursuance of a policy to which Charles II. was pledged by the (secret) treaty of Dover (May xx. 1670). The King, by his sole authority, suspended all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical affecting either recusants or nonconformists, thus giving religious liberty not only to Dissenters but also to Roman Catholics. The leading men amongst the former class opposed the Declaration (as afterwards they opposed similar ones issued by James II.); for they were unwilling to purchase *religious* liberty by the recognition of an arbitrary power in the King which might destroy their *civil* liberty. Many licenses were issued however; for the relief promised was undoubtedly great. Compelled by his want of funds Charles again met his Parliament on Feby iv. 1673. This body had been prorogued on April ij. 1671, nominally for twelve months only. The Lords supported the Commons in their demand for the withdrawal of the Declaration, and Charles reluctantly yielded and recalled it, March viij. 1673. Parliament followed up this triumph by passing the Test Act, to which the royal assent was given March xxix.]

**O**F the nearly 3,400 licenses issued under the Indulgence granted by Charles II. in 1672 for Nonconformist preachers and places of worship, it appears from the memoranda at the Record Office no less than 116 were for ministers in Devon; of these 3 appear to be duplicates, and 163 for places of meeting in Devon other than the houses of the ministers themselves.

The list is most valuable as it shews at that date what a large number of Nonconformist

ministers and adherents there must have been in Devon.

Only about 7 of the certificates were granted to Baptists, all the rest being to Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Independents.

It is proposed to give first the list of preachers who took out licenses at that time, with some notes respecting them (where any can be gathered) from Calamy, Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial, and other sources, particularly local ones; and afterwards a list of the places licensed for meetings, with notes respecting the owners or occupiers who took out the licenses.

#### ASHWOOD BARTHOLEMEW, AXMINSTER,

ejected from the Rectory of Axminster. Calamy and Palmer say very little about him; but we learn much of him and his troubles from a narrative written by an able and honest chronicler, and contemporary constituent of the Church. It is entitled "Ecclesiastica or a Book of Remembrance, wherein the Rise, Constitution, Rule, Order and discipline of the Church of Christ ordinarily assembled at Wykecroft in the Parish of Axminster is faithfully recorded together with the most remarkable occurrences and signall Providences which have attended the same from the first Foundation thereof. By the order and Appoyntment of the Church."

The writer records how Mr. Ashwood, anticipating the storm which was to fall, gathered together a few choice spirits, about 12 in number, and formed them into a church.

Before Bartholomew's day, 1662, he was apprehended and sent to the common gaol at Exon, but only kept there a few days.

After the ejection Mr. Ashwood gathered the

people together and ministered to them with great difficulty and much persecution.

The "Ecclesiastica," which was published in 1674, records the covenant which Mr. Ashwood and his people from time to time renewed, and specially refers to the Indulgence of 1672 and says:—

"That this Church thought it meet to procure a convenient place for the worship of God and accordingly hired a house at Wykecroft in the parish of Axminster," which continued to be the place of meeting unless persecution prevented.

He died August 26th, 1678, at Chard, and the "Ecclesiastica" gives a full account of his last hours and the grief of the church at his death; it also contains most interesting records of the church down to 1698. Mr. Ashwood was the author of "The Heavenly trade or the best merchandise the only way to live well in impoverishing times," 1679: "The best treatise on the way to be truly rich; a discourse on Ephes 3c 8v," 1681.

ATKINS ROBERT, M.A., EXETER,

of Wadham College, Oxford, ejected from St. John's in the City of Exeter. When he left college he was appointed one of Cromwell's chaplains. On failure of health he removed to Exeter, and became a very popular preacher. In his farewell sermon he said:—"We will do anything for His Majesty but sin. We will hazard anything for him but our souls. We hope we could die for him, but we dare not be damned for him." After his ejection he preached in his own house, and was persecuted in consequence and fined £20; which not being paid he was arrested when in bed with gout and removed to the courtyard of his

house, but no one would carry him into the prison, and friends paid the fine. He died in 1685 aged 59.

Shortly before his ejection, preaching when Bishop Gauden was present, he affirmed, and by 1 Cor. iv., 15 proved, that those ministers who beget converts to Christ may most properly be called *Fathers in God*.

BARTLETT JOHN, BIDEFORD,

was ejected from the vicarage of Fremington near Bideford. He was a great personal friend of John Howe. After his ejection he assisted his father, who was ejected from the living of Bideford, and who ministered as he could in private houses in and about that town.

He was fined twice and imprisoned, and in a letter to his wife gave an account of it. He says, "We came into Exeter yesterday in the afternoon, and were carried up Northgate Street and down along High Street through Westgate, multitudes of rude people gathering about us and flouting us at their pleasure. I bless the Lord I was as cheerful as ever. Oh, how small a matter is it to be reproached by worms, when respected by the Lord. We were carried out to St. Thomas' Parish, and at last brought to the prison and carried in, but stayed not there long, till Mr Greenhill Weeks ordered our removal to an Inn near by, where we were, having a sentinel at our chamber door." He died 1679 aged 44.

BARTLETT WILLIAM, DEVON,

of New Inn Hall, Oxford, father of the last named, was lecturer at Bideford Church, and on the resignation of the living in 1648 was appointed

vicar. He conducted his church on Congregational or Presbyterian lines, for in 1658 a solemn covenant or engagement is entered into and signed by him and by Daniel Slade, ruling elder, Thomas Beale, deacon, then mayor of Bideford, and 50 other members. He was imprisoned once, but another time escaped through someone else being arrested for him. He wrote and published "The model of the Congregational way," "Eyesalve to anoint the Eyes of the Ministers of the Province of London," and "Sovereign Balsam for healing such Professors as Satan hath wounded."

BATTLER JOHN, UFFCULME.

BERRY BEN, EXETER,

was ejected from Mary Tavy or Huxham, and also from Trull in Somerset; possibly from one in 1660 and the other in 1662.

BERRY HENRY, CREDITON near EXETER,

brother to Mr Benjamin Berry before mentioned and Mr John Berry the next referred to. Mr Henry Berry was ejected from Dulverton, Somerset.†

BERRY JOHN, M.A., BARNSTAPLE,

ejected from rectory of East Down. Was Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and of Oriel College; episcopally ordained and presented in 1658 by the Protector Richard Cromwell to East Down. After his ejection was imprisoned at Exeter.

† H. Berry of Dulverton was born at Castlecombe in Somerset; but John B. was a Devonshire man.—Ed.

When liberty was granted he preached at Barnstaple, Ilfracombe, and Puddington, Devon. Was Moderator of the Exeter Assembly, Sept. 8, 1696, and died Dec. 1704. Mr Baxter spoke of him as an able Minister.

BICKLE, RICHARD, BUCKFASTLEIGH,

ejected from the Rectory of Denbury, to which he had come in 1646. He was falsely said to have conformed. His successor in the living of Denbury allowed him £20 a year. On the Indulgence he ministered at Buckfastleigh, and died at Totnes.

BLYTH DR "OWN HOUSE," NORTON,

who Dr Blyth was does not appear; Norton may be Nordon near West Alvington, Kingsbridge. Many ejected ministers and others settled at Kingsbridge, it not being a borough town.

BOWDEN JONATHAN, MIRLIN.\*

BINMORE RICHARD, "OWN HOUSE," WOODLEIGH, ejected from rectory of Woodleigh. Continued there and preached a funeral sermon in the church with consent of incumbent and some neighbouring magistrates. Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, complained to the Justices, and he was committed to Exeter; but being allowed to see the Bishop he let him go saying "he should not enrich him by sending him to jail." He ministered in his own house for which he took out a licence.

\*Is this the same as John Bowden, ejected from Littleham near Bideford? If so, he preached to a dissenting congregation at Bideford till his death, which was about 1700.—ED.

## BURDWOOD JAMES "OWN HOUSE," BIGBURY,

ejected from St. Petrox, Dartmouth. He was of a Devonshire family who had an estate at Preston in West Alvington, near Kingsbridge, which they had owned for many generations. He was educated at Kingsbridge Grammar School (which was a Puritan foundation, or the endowment augmented from Puritan sources,) and at Pembroke College, Oxford. After leaving the university he was minister at Plympton St. Mary, and from thence removed to Dartmouth at the invitation of the magistrates. After his ejection, having a wife and family dependent on him, he started a Latin school in Dartmouth; but the Five Mile Act drove him from thence. He then thought of emigrating to America, and sold his estate, but decided to rent one in Batson in Marlborough. He was there 5 years and preached in his own house; he was much persecuted by a man named Bear, and was fined. He then moved to Hicks Down, Bigbury, and while there the Indulgence of 1672 allowed him to take out a license for his own house, where he preached, though still suffering much persecution. He then returned to Dartmouth and had much kindness shewn by Mr T. Boone, a leading gentleman of the neighbourhood, and his family. Having to leave Dartmouth and give up housekeeping he was entertained with his wife and some of his children by Dr Richard Burthogge, a leading Nonconformist, who resided at Bowden House, Totnes; and Dr Burthogge took out a license for his house for worship; the house still stands, and has a secret chamber in which it is said that the worthy doctor hid the persecuted Nonconformists he entertained.

Afterwards Mr Burdwood returned to Dartmouth, and died there 21 August 1693, aged 67.

He seemed to have suffered acutely in his last illness, which made him the more able to pen the books entitled "Heartsease in Heart's Trouble," and "Helps for faith in Times of Affliction."

EDWARD WINDEATT.

## The Puritans in Devon.

**F**EW counties in England are so rich in memorials of the Puritans of the 17th Century as the county of Devon, where they were very strong, especially in the towns which favoured the Parliamentary party.

As a proof of this no less than 73 ministers in Devon published in 1648 a joint testimony of a decidedly Puritan character. The title page is as follows :—

### THE JOINT - TESTIMONIE OF THE

Ministers of *Devon*, whose names are subscribed ; with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of *London*, unto the truth of Jesus.

With a brief Confutation of the Errors, Heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them.

In pursuance of the solemn League, and Covenant of the three Nations.

*Wee can do nothing against the Truth but for the Truth. 2 Cor. 13. 8.  
It is a faithfull saying ; for if wee bee dead with him, wee shall also live wi h him. If wee suffer, wee shal also raign with him, if wee denie him, hee also wil denie us. 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12.*

L O N D O N.

Printed by *William Du-gard* for *Ralph Smith*, at the Sign of the Bible in Corn-hill, 1648.

The address to their brethren of London is as follows :—

To Our Reverend Brethren, the  
Ministers of Christ in the Province  
of London.

Reverend and beloved !

As witness-bearing to the truth of God in the times of Errors reign, and Heresies insulting hath been a work full of difficulty and danger, so no less sweet and comfortable hath it proved to the Lords servants to bee found faithful. It was our rejoycing to see you in such a time as this lead in this work, and wee judg it our duty to follow after. Wee have trod in your steps, as to the enumeration of the Errors of the present time : And however to point with the finger only and cry, ECCE MŒCHUM, bee a true witness against a notorious adulterer ; yet because it is thought not sufficient to call Error by its own name without proving it, wee have briefly alledged the Testimonies of infallible witnesses against the Errors arraigned, intending onely to hold out so much as may convince the pious, of the just crimination of these opinions, not to satisfy the contentious. Wee have transmitted the work (how weak soever) unto your hands, that it may see the light, and shew the World that wee are Joint-Witnesses with you against Errors, and desire not to bee ashamed of the Testimonie of the Lord, and his reproached Servants. Yours and ours wee commend to the protection of the God of Truth. In whom wee desire to bee found.

Your Faithful Brethren,  
THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Of the 73 who signed the testimony no less than 31 were afterwards ejected for non-conformity, several are known to have died prior to 1662, and others left the country. The 31 who were ejected, and whose names follow, became on their ejection the founders of Nonconformist causes in many parts of Devon, which exist to this day.

Georg Hughes Minister in Plymouth  
Ferdinando Nicolls Minister of Mary Arches Exon.  
Thomas Ford Minister in Exon  
John Bartlet Minister of Mary the More in Exon  
Thomas Downe Minister of Pauls in Exon  
Mark Down Minister of Petrocks in Exon  
Robert Snow Minister of Morehard  
Thomas Trescot Minister of Shobrook  
Nathaniel Durant Pastor of Cheriton

## The Puritans in Devon

Peter Osborne minister of Jacobstow  
 William Trevithick minister of Hatherly  
 Anthony Down minister of North Ham  
 Thomas Bridgman minister of Inwardleigh  
 Richard Bibington minister of Sidberry  
 Ames Short Pastor of Topisham  
 Samuel Fones Pastor of Woodbery  
 Ambrose Clare minister of Poltimore  
 John Serle Pastor of Awliscombe  
 Georg Hammond minister at Mamhead  
 John Hill minister of North Moulton  
 William Yeo Minister of Newton Abbot  
 William Treise minister of the Gospel  
 Humphrey Saunders Pastor of Hollesworthy  
 John Stephens Pastor of East Ogwell  
 Francis Sorton minister of Honiton  
 Richard Bickley minister of Denberry  
 William Baily minister of Stoakflemming  
 Josias Gale minister of West Buckland  
 Christopher Jellinger minister of Brent  
 Thomas Frend minister of Blackanton  
 John Herring minister in Maristow.

EDWARD WINDEATT.

## An Unpublished Letter of Dr. Isaac Watts

THE courtesy of H. Mannering, Esq., has placed in my hands the original fragment of Dr. Watts's Church-Book, from which extracts are given in the last *Transactions*. In it is mounted an autograph letter, apparently unknown to editors and biographers. It is clearly but very minutely written, in 59 lines, on a single page, 8·2 by 7·3 inches. In a few places the paper is worn so as to be illegible. Otherwise it is given here *literatim*, except for the supply of some deficient capitals and punctuation.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

To The Church of Christ Meeting in Bury Street, of which the Holy Spirit hath made me Overseer—

Dearly Beloved in our Lord: Grace mercy and peace . . . be multiplyd to you from God our Father and our Lord Jesus X. It has been a very sore agravation of my long sorrows that I have not bin able to encourage your christian visits, to converse with you singly, to receive your consolations, to relate (?) my own experiences; nor have I bin capable to express my constant concern for your welfare by writing to you together as a church, as I often designed; but you are upon my heart more than ever, whilst God chastises my former want of zeal by silencing me for a season. I bow to his wisdom and holiness and am learning obedience by the things that I suffer, and many lessons of righteousness and grace which I hope hereafter to publish amongst you: as I have been long pleading with him for pardon of my negligence, so I ask you also to forgive: long afflictions are soul-searching providences, and discover the secret of the heart and omission of duties that were unobserved in a day of peace. May the Blessed Spirit reveal to each of us why he continues to contend with us. I cannot reckon up all my obligations to you for your kind supports of me under my tedious and expensive sickness, & for your continued . . . nt prayers for my recovery, which gave me the first

ground of hope that I should be restored, which hope & expectation still remains with me, and (I think) are supported by the word and Spirit of God : it seems at present to be more needfull for you that I abide in the flesh : Phil. 1 : 24, 25, 26, & I trust I shall yet abide for your furtherance & joy of faith, that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Christ Jesus for me, by my coming to you again ; and whilst I am confined as the prisoner of God, I request the continuance of your supplications for patience and sanctification as well as helth (?). I rejoyce also to hear of your union, your love, & your attendance on the worship of the church ; this has been a great comfort to my tho'ts in the time of my affliction and absence, yet I am in pain for your edification, because you have none among you to administer the spiritual & sealing ordinances : And since it is your earnest desire to know my opinion in that affair that lyes before you, I have at several seasons been enabled to write it under these heads. (1) That there were in the primitive churches severall preaching Elders, Bishops, or Overseers. (2) That where their gifts were (?) different, some were called Pastors or Elders for exhortation, to feed the flock, to exhort the saints ; others were called teachers or Elders for doctrine, to instruct their hearers in the principles of christianity, chiefly the younger christians, and to bring in new converts. (3) The Scripture does not determin when or how often one or other should preach or administer holy ordinances, and yet 'tis necessary there should be some rule to decide it, lest ambition and controversy should arise among the Elders in this matter. (4) The scripture makes no distinction or subordination of power betwixt them in the church, but seems to give all Elders an equality of power. (5) Therefore I beleive the church (to which the light of nature and scripture hath given all power in things indifferent that are necessary to be determined) has power to appoint the times seasons and places of their ministrations. (6) It is for the certain advantage of a church to have more Elders than one in it, that they may more frequently [*illegible*] the church, more fully take care of them, & regularly administer all holy ordinances (?) if one or other be sick or absent, and may also better keep the church [*illegible*] young converts to joyn themselves to it. (7) That it is for the advantage of a church to have such a[n] Elder chosen, whose gifts have bin tryd & approved in the church & been own & blessed of God for the good of souls, if (? &) such a one may most likely please & profit. Now with regard to our church in particular (1) It is my opinion that, wither [*sic*] I live or die, if such an Elder be chosen by the universal desire and voice of the church, it will be much for their advantage in all probability. (2) Wither I live or die, if another Elder be chosen with the desire of a few persons and the opposition of a few, and the bare cold consent of the major part, it will not be for the advantage of the church ; and I am sure my worthy brother, Mr Sam. Price, on whom your tho'ts are sett, hath too tender a sense of your spiritual interest, too wise a sense of his own, to accept of such

an imperfect call (?) to fixed office in the church. (3) If another Elder be chosen with a pretty general desire of the church (though not universal,) it will be for the advantage of the church if I live and am restored to your service; and I shall rejoice to have you supply'd with all ordinances in my absence by a man that I most entirely confide in; and at my return shall rejoice to be assisted in all services to the church by one whom I love & esteem highly, and I write as much with an eye to your future benefit as to your present want. (4) If God for my sins shall refuse to employ me again (for I have justly deserved it,) and if he shall deny the long and importunate requests of his people (for he is a great Sovereign,) I trust he will direct and encline your heart (?) to choose and establish one or more Elders among you, which may give universal satisfaction, and especially to such as now may be less satisfied, and may be for your future edification and increase. (5) If my beloved brother Price be chosen as an Elder among you, I hope your diligent and Sincere attendance on his ministrations may give you more abundant sense of his true worth, of the exactness of his discourses, of the seriousness of his spirit, and of the constant blessing of God with him, all which I have observed with much pleasure. Now I have fully delivered my sentiments in this affair, and you see how sincere and hearty I am in it. Yet I will give you two reasons why I did not think fit first to propose it to the church. (1) Because it is the proper business of the church to seek after Elders and officers of its-self, from a sight and sense of their own spiritual interest, both as Christians [*illegible*] body, especially considering the Elder you propose to choose is not to be my deputy [*several words illegible*] the Lord. (2) Because I never [*illegible*] anything of such importance [*several words illegible*] without your own deed, sense, and prospect of your own edification and establishment as a church of Christ: nor would I influence you in this affair unless the judgement of your own minds concur with mine; for as I never had my interest divided from the interest of the church, so I hope I never shall. And now, Brethren dearly beloved, I intreat you by the love of Christ to you, and by the love you bear to Christ our common Lord, that there may be no contention among you. I would be glad to find every affair that belongs to the church determined by as many voices as I trust I have hearty (?) affections among you; however, with freedom let every one speak his sentiments as under the eye of Christ the great Shepherd, without byass or resentment, and with zeal for the churches interest. Let everything that is debated be with great calmness, and so much the more in my absence; each of you believing concerning one another that you sincerely seek the honour of Christ, and the Union and peace (?) of the church, as I believe concerning you all. Let each of you be ready to lay aside his own former opinions or resolutions, as you shall see reason arise, for the common welfare. If there should be quarrels & jangling, reflections & hard speeches, it would be a grief too heavy for me to

bear, & the most effectual way to overwhelm my spirit and delay my return to you ; and as I know you have y<sup>e</sup> utmost tenderness of my peace, you ought to be as tender of each others spirituall advantage and the union and peace of the body, and to indulge no secret wispers [*sic*] or backbitings that may hinder the edification of your brethren by the ministrations of the church. But I will not give myself leave to entertain such suspition concerning you, who have so many years walked together in constant love. I pray heartily that the alwise God and Jesus Christ our Lord may preside in your consultations, direct your hearts, and determine all things for you, that you may be established and edified, & be a joy and blessing to each other ; as you have been, and I trust will be, to

Your most affectionate and afflicted Pastor,

November 4th, 1713.

ISAAC WATTS.

## Early Nonconformist Bibliography

### II.

WE resume our enumeration of the principal works of Early Nonconformists. In the present paper we review the writers of the second period, from the emigration which followed the martyrdom of Penry to the death of King James I.; commencing with the literature of the Exiled Church in Holland.

FRANCIS JOHNSON was born at Richmond, Yorks., about 1562, and graduated at Cambridge. Being expelled from the University and imprisoned for a sermon in favour of Presbyterianism, he retired to Middleberg in Zeeland, and became pastor of a church to which Cartwright and Travers had formerly ministered. Returning to England, he adopted Congregational principles under the influence of Barrowe, and was chosen pastor of the Separatist Church. After another imprisonment he migrated to Amsterdam, whither most of the Church had preceded him, in 1597. There, and at Emden, he ministered till his death in 1618. His works are:—

*A Treatise of the Ministry of the Church of England. Wherein is handled this question, Whether it be to be separated from or joyued unto. Which is discussed in two letters, the one written for it, the other against it. Whereunto is annexed, after the preface, A brief declaration of the ordinary officers of the Church of Christ, And a few positions. Also in the end of the treatise some notes touching the Lordes prayer. Seven questions, etc.* 4to., 8-143pp., 1595. Copies in the Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Libraries, &c. Elder Brewster's copy, with his autograph, is in the Prince Library, Boston, U.S.

*An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England, by Fr. I. an exile of Jesus Christ, etc.* 4to., 28-184pp., 1600. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library.

*An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his treatise concerning the Priestes of the Church of England, made by the Praelates, accepted and ioyned vnto by the people. Which he termeth a Pastorall Calling, by Fr. I. an exile for the testimony of Jesus, etc.* 4to., 36pp., 1600. Annexed to the foregoing.

*An Apologie or Defence of such True Christians as are commonly (but uniuersally) called BROVVNISTS. Against such imputations as are layd*

upon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford, in their Answer to the humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certayne Ceremonies and abuses of the Church. *Fer. vi. 16, Phil. iii. 2.* 4to., 16-118pp. Amsterdam, 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. This is the joint production of F. Johanson and H. Ainsworth. It was reprinted in Dutch, with the title *Apologie der Brownisten legen de Universiteyt van Oxford*, 8vo., Amsterdam 1612; and again, with an introduction, but omitting the opening address to King James, under the title *Behjdenisse des Geloofs, ofte verant-woordinghe van soodanighe Christenen, Welcke doorgaans (docht 'ourecht) Brownisten Gensemtworden, etc.* 16mo. 8-232pp., Amsterdam, 1670.

*An Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White, his Discovery of Brownism, by F. I. Pastor of the exiled English Church at Amsterdam in Holland.* 4to., 92pp., 1605. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

*Certaine Reasons and Arguments proving that it is not lawfull to heare or have any Spirituall communion with the present ministerie of the Church of England.* 4to., 115pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

*A Brief Treatise containing some grounds and reasons against two Errors of the Anabaptists, 1610.* No original copy is known; but there is a Reprint, 16mo., 8-16pp., 1645, in the British Museum.

*A Short Treatise Concerning the Exposition of those Words of Christ, "Tell the Church" etc.* 4to., 4-26pp., 1611. Copies in the British Museum and the Princee Library, Boston.

*A Christian Plea, conteyning three Treatises, (1) touching the Anabaptists, & others mainteyning some like errors with them; (2) touching the Remonstrants or Arminians; (3) touching the Reformed Churches, etc.* 4to., 8-324pp., 1617. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

GEORGE JOHNSON, younger brother of Francis, was born about 1564; and, having graduated at Cambridge, became a schoolmaster in London. In 1593 he was arrested for preaching to a company of Separatists; and after nearly four years' imprisonment was banished. He became a member of the exiled church at Amsterdam, in which he caused painful dissensions, and was ultimately excommunicated. Returning to England he was again arrested, and died in prison at Durham probably in 1605. His only known work is:—

*A Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam. Published for sundry causes declared in the p̄face to the Pastour of the sayd Church. Isa. lvi., 5; Ps. lv., 12, 13, 14; 1 Pet. iii., 15, 16, 17; 3 John 9, 10.* 4to., 1603. The only known copy, in Trinity College, Cambridge, breaks off abruptly at the end of p. 214; and was perhaps never completed.

HENRY JACOB, born in Kent about 1563, was a graduate of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and afterwards rector of Cheriton near Folkestone.

After a controversy with Francis Johnson he found prelacy intolerable, and migrated to Holland. He ministered for some time at Middleberg, and gradually accepted the principles of Congregationalism, probably under the influence of John Robinson at Leyden. Returning to England in 1616 he organized the Church in Southwark, still known as "The Church of the Pilgrim Fathers," which seems to have absorbed that remnant of the "Ancient exiled Church" which still remained in or near London. About 1624 he sailed for Virginia, where he soon afterwards died; but the time, place, and circumstances of his death are unknown. His works are:—

*A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the worke of our redemption. Contrarie to certain errors publiklie preached in London, anno 1597.* 8vo., 1598. A copy is in the British Museum.

*A defence of the Churches and Ministry of England Written in two treatises, against the reasons and obiections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and other of the Separation commonly called Brownists.* 4to., 83pp., Middelberg 1599. With this is bound up

*A Short Treatise concerning the truenes of a pastorall calling in pastors made by prelates.* 4to., 8pp., Middelberg 1599. Copies of these are in the British Museum, Williams's, and several other libraries.

*A Defence of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the Work of our Redemption . . . for answer to the late writings of Mr. Bilson, L. Bp. of Winchester.* 4to., 1600. There is an imperfect copy in the British Museum.

We also find mention of *A Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption, 1604*; but cannot learn anything about it.

*Reasons taken out of God's Word, and the best humane testimonies, prouing a necessitie of reforming our churches in England.* 4to., 83pp., London 1604. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

*A Christian and Modest Offer of a most Indifferent Conference, or Disputation, about the maine and principall Controversies betwixt the Prelats, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England; tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Arch. bb. and Bb., and all their adherents.* 4to., 10-42pp., London 1606. Copies in the Bodleian, Trinity College (Cambridge), and the Congregational Library.

*To the right High and Mightie Prince, James, etc. An humble Supplication for Toleration and libertie to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Christ Jesvs in th' administration of his Churches in lieu of humane constitutions.* 4to., 48pp., 1609. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and Lambeth libraries; the latter with marginal notes by the king. Reprinted in 1859, with the king's annotations.

*A Plain and Clear Exposition of the Second Commandment.* Leyden 1610; a copy is in the British Museum.

*The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's True Visible or*

*Ministerial Church, Also the Unchangeableness of the same by men, viz., in the form and essential Constitution thereof.* 12mo., 118pp., Leyden 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's libraries.

*A Declaration and Plainer Opening of certain points, with a sound confirmation of some other, contained in a treatise intituled "The Divine Beginning etc."* 12mo., 45pp., Middelberg 1611. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

*An Attestation of many Learned, Godly and famous Divines, etc.,--justifying this doctrine, viz.: that the Church government ought to be alwayes with the peoples free consent: Also this, that a true Church vnder the Gospell contayneth no more ordinary Congregations but one, etc. also D. Downames & D. Bilsons chiefe matters in their writings against the same are answered, etc.* 8vo. or 12mo., 8-333-10pp. Geneva(?) 1613. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

*A Confession and Prolestation of the Faith of certain Christians in England, holding it necessary to observe and keep all Christs true substantial Ordinances for his Church visible and Political. Also an Humble Petition to the Kings Majesty for toleration therein.* 16mo., 69pp., 1616. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Libraries. This is evidently the confession of the Southwark Church, after Jacob's return to England.

It seems proper here to notice *Certayne Letters, translated into English, being first written in Latin. Two, by the reverend and learned Mr. Fr. Junius, Divinie Reader at Leyden in Holland. The other, by the exiled English Church, abiding for the present at Amsterdam in Holland. Together with the Confession of Faith prefixed; where upon the said letters were first written.* Esa. 53. I. Printed in the yeare 1602. 4to., 2-58pp. Copies are in the British Museum and the Bodleian. The Latin originals were published in "Praestant. ac Erud. viro- rum Epistolae," 1660; another edition 1704. The "Confession" referred to is that of 1596; see *Transactions* No. 1, p. 57.

HENRY AINSWORTH was by far the most learned, as he was the most voluminous, author connected with the Exiled Church. The facts of his early life are somewhat uncertain; but he was probably born in Norfolk in 1571, and settled in Amsterdam 1594 or-5. By one account he had a principal hand in the settlement of the exiles in that city. He married there in 1607, and died in 1622 or-23. His works are:—

*An Apologie or Defence of such True Christians as are commonly . . . called Brownists &c.,* 1604. The joint work of Ainsworth and Fr. Johnson, see above.

*Certayne Questions concerning* (1) *Silk, or vwool, in the High Priests Ephod.* (2) *Idol temples, commonly called Churches.* (3) *The forme of Prayer, commonly called the Lords prayer.* (4) *Excommunication, etc. Handled between Mr. H[ugh] B[roughton] and Mr. H. A.* 4to., 4-40pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, &c.

*Answer to Mr. Stones Sermon*, 1605. This is mentioned by C. Lawne (see below); but otherwise we can learn nothing about it.

*The Communion of Saints. A Treatise of the fellowship that the Faithful have with God, and his Angels, and one with another; in this present life, etc.* 1607, no copy known; but reprinted in 1611?, 1615, 1628, 1640, 1789, 1844. Most of the reprints are fairly common. A French version, printed at Amsterdam in 1617, is in the Congregational Library.

*Counterpoysou: Considerations touching the poynts in difference between the godly ministers and people of the Church of England, and the seduced brethren of the Separation; Arguments That the best Assemblies of the present Church of England are true visible Churches; That the Preachers in the best assemblies of Engl. are true ministers of Christ; Mr. Bernards book intituled The Separatists Schisme; Mr. Crashawes Questions propounded in his sermon preached at the Crosse; examined and answered by H. A.* 4to., 255pp., 1608. Copies in many public libraries. Reprinted in 1642.

*An Epistle sent unto two daughters of Warwick from H. N., with a Refutation of the errors that are therein.* 4to., 64pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. The "Epistle" here refuted was from Henry Nicholas, leader of the sect called "The Family of Love."

*A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship and Ministerie used in the Christian churches separated from Antichrist; against the challenges, cavils, and contradiction of Mr. Smyth.* 4to., 1609. Copies in the British Museum and Congregational Library.

*An Arrow against Idolatrie; Taken out of the Quiver of the Lord of Hosts.* 16mo., 174pp., 1611. A copy is in the British Museum. Reprinted in 1614, 1624, 1640 (two editions), and 1789. The Congregational Library has the editions of 1614 and 1789.

*The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in prose and metre. With annotations, opening the words and sentences, by conference with other Scriptures.* 4to., Amsterdam 1612. A copy is in the British Museum. There was an edition in 4to. with musical notes, 1617, copies of which are in the Brit. Mus. and Bodleian; also another, same year, in 4to., without the metrical version, in the Congregational Library; likewise editions in folio 1626 and 1639; in Dutch fol. 1690; and a reprint 8vo., Edbg. 1846. In the folio of 1626 the metrical version is omitted.

*An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, who under pretense of answering Chr. Lawnes book hath published an other man's private letter, with Mr. Fr. Johnsons answer thereto.* Amsterdam, 4to., 8-138pp., 1613. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*The Trying out of the Truth: Begynn and prosequvted in certayn Letters or Passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth.* 4to., 190pp., 1615. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's,

and Congregational Library. John Aynsworth was a Roman Catholic.

*Annotations upon the first book of Moses, called Genesis. Wherein, the Hebrew words and sentences, are compared with, and explain'd by the ancient Greek and Chaldee versions; but chiefly, by conference with the holy Scriptures, etc.* 4to., 274pp., 1616; another 4to. edn., 1621. (See below for other editions).

*Annotations Upon the second book of Moses, called Exodus. Wherin, by conferring the holy Scriptures, comparing the Chaldee and Greek versions, and other records of the Hebrewes; Moses his wordes, lawes and ordinances, are explained, etc.* 4to., 242pp., 1617 (See below).

*Annotations upon the Third book of Moses, called Leviticus, etc.* 4to., 276pp., 1618 (See below).

*Annotations upon the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers, etc.* 4to., 312pp., 1619 (See below).

*Annotations upon the fifth Book of Moses called Deuteronomie, etc., with an advertisement to the reader etc.* 4to., 294pp., 1619. The whole of the Annotations on the Pentateuch are frequently bound together, and are in many public libraries. There were collected editions in folio, 1626 and 1639, which are fairly common; also one in Dutch 1690; and a reprint, 8vo., Edinbg., 1846.

*A Reply to a Pretended Christian Plea for the Anti Christian Church of Rome: published by Mr. Francis Johnson a<sup>o</sup> 1617, wherein the weakness of the sayd Plea is manifested.* 4to., 4-184pp., 1620. Copies in the Brit. Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

*Solomon's Song of Songs, in English metre; with Annotations and References to other Scriptures, for the easier vnderstanding of it.* 4to., 1623, of which edition we cannot find any example. Reprinted 4to., 96pp., 1642; and in all the folio editions of the Annotations on the Pentateuch; also 8vo., Edbg., 1846.

*A Seasonable Discourse, or a Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, Intituled, A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning man.* 4to., 1623, but no copy known of the original edition. Reprinted in 1642, 1644, and 1651; copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere. This was a reply to a treatise by J. Murton, see below.

*Certain notes of Mr. Aynsworth's last Sermon on 1 Pet. ii., 4, 5, etc.* Published by S. Stareshore, 8vo., 1630. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

*The Orthodox Foundation of Religion, long since collected by that Judicious and Elegant man, Mr. H. A., for the benefit of his private company: and now divulged for the publique good of all that desire to know that corner stone Christ Jesus crucified, by S[amuel] W[hite].* 4to., 8-78pp., 1641. A copy in the British Museum. Reprinted with Title *The Old Orthodox Foundation of Religion, left for a Patterne to a New Reformation.* 4to., 1653, copies in the Bodleian, Congregational Library, &c.

We come now to those authors in the "Exiled Church" who migrated to Holland from the neighbourhood of Gainsborough and Scrooby, and were most intimately associated with the Pilgrim Fathers.

JOHN SMYTH, commonly called "The Se-baptist." The date and place of his birth are unknown; he matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1571, proceeded B.A. 1575 or-6, Fellow and M.A. 1579. Afterwards he was "preacher to the citie of Lincoln." In 1606 he was pastor of a Separatist Church at Gainsborough; and within a year or little more migrated with them to Amsterdam. Before the end of 1608 he had adopted "Baptist" opinions, and died in August 1612. He wrote :—

*A Palerne of True Prayer*; 4to., 8-182pp., 1605. This is an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, being the substance of discourses formerly preached in Lincoln. The only perfect copy known is in the Congregational Library, which has also a fragment of another copy. A second edition, 8vo., 1626, is in the British Museum and elsewhere.

*Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church*. 16mo., 32pp., 1607. The only known copies are, one at York Minster, and one in the library gathered by Dr. H. M. Dexter, now at Yale College.

*The Differences of the Churches of the Separation. Contayning A description of the Leitorgie and Ministerie of the visible Church Annexed: As a Correction and Supplement to a Little Treatise lately published, bearing title: Principles and Inferences, etc.* 4to., 4-36pp., 1609. Copies at Sion College, the Bodleian, and Harvard College U.S.

*Paralleles, Censure, Observations. Aperteyning: to three several Writings.* (1) *A Lettre written to Mr. Ric. Bernard, by J S*; (2) *A Book intituled, The Separatists Schisme, etc.*; (3) *An Answer made to that book by H. Ainsworth; Wherevnto also are adioyned*; (1) *The said Lettre written to Mr. R B divided into 19 sections*; (2) *Another Lettre written to Mr. A. S.*; (3) *A Third Lettre written to certayne Brethren of the Separation*. 4to., 3-136-12pp., 1609. Copies in the Bodleian, Queen's College, Cambridge, and the Congregational Library (imperfect).

*The Character of the Beast, or the false constitution of the Church discovered in certain passages betwixt Mr. R. Clyfton and John Smyth, concerning the Christian Baptism of new creatures, or newborn babes in Christ, etc., referred to two propositions: (1) that Infants are not to be baptized: (2) that Antichristians converted are to be admitted into the True Church by Baptism*. 1609. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

*A Replie to Mr. R Clyfton's Christian Plea, etc.* 1610. Of this we can learn nothing beyond the bare mention of it in Hanbury's "Historical Memorials," i., 272.

*The Last Book of John Smyth, called the Retraction of his Errours,*

*and the Confirmation of the Truth.* 16mo., 12pp., 1611. The only known original copy is at York Minster. Reprinted in Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth."

RICHARD CLYFFTON, born about 1553, was rector of Babworth, Notts. Having been deprived for Nonconformity, he became pastor of the Separatist Church at Serooby about 1603 or-4, and migrated to Holland with the rest of that company in 1608. He died 1613. His works are :—

*A Plea for Infants and Elder people concerning their Baptisme ; or a Processe of the Passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clyfton.* Amsterdam, 4to., 228pp, 1610. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

*An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by C Lawne and others, against the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam.* 4to., 128pp., 1612. Copies in the Bodleian and the Congregational Library.

JOHN ROBINSON was born 1575 or-6, probably at or near Gainsborough ; matriculated at Cambridge 1592, but whether at Corpus Christi or Emmanuel College is not quite certain—most likely the former. He was Fellow of Corpus 1598, M.A. 1599, resigned his fellowship 1604. He ministered awhile in or near Norwich ; and having been suspended by the bishop for partial Nonconformity, retired to Serooby, where in 1606 he became associated with Clyfton in the oversight of the Separatist Church, and migrated with them to Amsterdam in 1608. The dissensions in the "Exiled Church" induced him and the Serooby company—afterwards the "Pilgrim Fathers"—to remove the following year to Leyden, where he died 1st March, 1625. His writings were edited by Rev. R. Ashton in 3 vols. cr. 8vo., London, 1851. They are :—

*An Answer to a Censorious Epistle,* [by Jos. Hall] 1610. No original copy known, but reprinted by Hall in his reply to it, same year.

*A Iustification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard his invective Intituled ; The Separatists Schisme.* 4to., 483pp., 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries. Reprinted 1639, 4to., 383-5pp., copy in the Bodleian, &c.

*A Letter to Wm. Ames on Christian Fellowship,* written probably in 1611, is printed in C. Lawne's "Prophane Schisme of the Brownists," 1612. See below.

*On Religious Communion Private, and Publique. With the silencing of the clamours rayed by Mr Thomas Helwysse, etc. ; as also, A Survey of the Confession of Fayth of Mr. Smythe's company, etc.* 4to., 4-131pp., 1614. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

*A Manmission to a Manvocation, or answer to a letter inferring publike communion in the parrish assemblies upon private with godly*

persons there. 1615 (Not in the collected edition of Robinson's works). The only known original copy was in the possession of C. Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.; it was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. i., pp. 165-194.

*The Peoples Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie, against Mr John Yates his Monopolie, etc.* Leyden, 16mo., 10-77pp., 1618. A copy in Williams's Library; also in the Prince Library (Boston). A reprint, 1641, is in the British Museum.

*Apologia Fæsta et Necessaria Qværendam Christianorum, æque contumeliosa ac communiter dictorum Brownistarum, sive Barowistarum, etc.* 16mo., 96pp., 1619. This Latin recension is not included in the Collected Works. There are copies in the Bodleian, New College (London), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and Prince Library (Boston).

*A Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synode at Dort: Against John Mvrtton and his Associates, in a Treatise intituled: A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man. With the refutation of their Answer to a Writing touching Baptism.* 4to. 4-203pp., 1624. A copy is in the Bodleian.

*An Appeal on Truths behalfe (concerninge some differerces in the Church at Amsterdam).* 8vo., 1624, again 1630. Copies of both editions are in the Bodleian.

*Observations Divine and Morall. For the Furthering of knowledg, and vertue etc.* 4to., 4-324 2pp., 1625. Only in the Bodleian. Another edition, same year, is entitled *Essayes: or, Observations Divine and Morall, collected out of holy Scriptures, Ancient and Moderne Writers, both divine and humane. As also, out of the great volume of mens manners: Tending to the furtherance of knowledge and vertue.* A copy of this is at Yale College, Conn. A third edition, 1628, has the title *New Essayes or Observations Divine and Morall*; this is in the Congregational Library and elsewhere. Other editions with varying titles are dated 1638, 1642, 1654.

*A Iust and Necessarie Apologie of Certain Christians, no lesse contumeliously then commonlie called Brownists or Barowists, by Mr. I. R. pastor of the Eng. Chh. at Leyden, first pub. in Latin, in his and the Chhs. name over whh. he was set, after tr. into Eng. by himself, and now republished for the speciall and common good of our own Countri-men.* 4to., 72pp., 1625. A copy is in the Bodleian. Reprinted in 1644.

*A Treatise of the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Minislers in the Church of England . . . . Printed according to the copie that was found in his studie after his decease, and now published for the common good. Together with a Letter written by the same Authore, and approved by his church, etc.* 12mo., 18-77pp., 1634. A copy is in the British Museum. A reprint, 4to., 1683, is not very rare.

*An Appendix to M. Perkins his six principles of Christian Religion; annexed to a reprint of the "Just and Necessarie Apologie &c,"* 4to., 1644. A copy is in the Bodleian.

THOMAS HELWYS appears to have come from Basford, Notts. ; joined Smyth's company at Gainsborough, and migrated with them to Holland ; adopted Baptist opinions, but separated from Smyth because of doctrinal divergences ; returned to England about 1614, organized the first 'General' Baptist Church in London, and died about 1620 or 23. His works are :—

*A Short and Plain Prooffe, by the Word and Workes of God, that Gods Decree is not the cause of anye Mans Sinne or Condemnation : and That all Men are redeemed by Christ ; as also That no Infants are condemned.* 8vo., 288pp., 1611. A copy is in the Bodleian.

*A Declaration of the Faith of English people remaining at Amsterdam in Holland* Heb. 11, 6, Rom. 14, 23. 16mo., 44pp., 1611. An original copy is at York Minster ; it was partly reprinted in Crosby's 'History of the English Baptists,' and also among the Baptist Confessions published by the Hanserd Kuollys Society.

*An Advertisement or Admonition unto the Congregacions which men call the New Fryelers, in the Lowe Countreies, etc.* 16mo., 94pp., 1611. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

*A Short Declaration of the Mistery of Iniquity.* 16mo., 212pp., 1612. A copy is in the Bodleian, with autograph inscription by the author.

JEAN DE L'ECLUSE, a Frenchman, was an elder in the exiled church at Amsterdam. In 1612 he published *An Advertisement to every godly reader of Mr. Thomas Brightman his book. Namely, A Revelation of the Apocalypse.* 4to., 16pp. The only known copy is in the Congregational Library. De l'Ecluse also translated Ainsworth's *Communion of Saints* into French. A copy (Amsterdam, 1617) is in the Congregational Library.

It seems proper here to mention a work commenced by HUGH SANFORD of Coombe Flory in Somerset, completed by ROBERT PARKER, and printed at Amsterdam in 1611. The Title is *De Descensu Domini Nostri Jesu Christi ad Inferos, Libri Quattvor* [sic] ; and the dedication "Pastori, Senioribus, Diaconis, Patribus Ecclesiae Anglicanae quae est Amstherodami." 4to., 8-213-11pp. The only copy we have heard of was in the library of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.

The same year, 1611, an anonymous tract of 4pp. 4to. appeared, entitled *A Note of Some Things called into question and controverted in the exiled English Church at Amsterdam.* The only known copy is in the Prince Library, Boston, Mass.

To the same year belongs *Mr Henry Barrowes Platform, which may serve as a Preparative to purge away Prelatisme : with some other parts of Poperie. Made ready to be sent from Miles Micklebound to much-beloved England. Together with some other memorable things, And a familiar Dialogue, in and with the which, all the severall matters contexved in this booke are set forth and interlaced. After the untimely death of the penman of the foresaid Platforme, and his fellow-prisoner ; who*

*being constant witnesses in points apperteyning to the true worship of God, and right government of his Church, sealed up their testimony with their blood: and patiently suffred the stopping of their breath for their love to the Lord. Anno 1593. Printed for the yeare of better hope.* 18mo., 160pp., 1611. A copy is in the British Museum.

CHRISTOPHER LAWNE and some others, having been excluded from the fellowship of the exiled church, became its bitter and even malignant enemies. In 1612 they published *The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists. With the Impictie, Dissensions, Lewd and Abhominable Vices of that impure Sect. Discovered by C. Lawne, I Fowler, C. Saunders, R. Belward. Lately returned from the Companie of M. Johnson, that wicked Brother, into the bosome of the Church of England, their true Mother, etc.* 4to., 8-88pp. Copies are in the Bodleian, York Minster, and a few private libraries.

*Brownisme Turned the In-side Out-ward: being a Paralell betweene the Profession and Praetise of the Brownists religion, by C. L. lately returned from that wicked Separation.* 4to., 34pp., 1613. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

JOHN FOWLER, who was excommunicated with Lawne, is supposed to be the author of *A Shield of Defence against the arrows of Schisme, shot abroad by I. de l'Ecluse in his Advertisement against Brightman; with a Declaration touching a book called the Prophane Schisme, etc.* 4to., 1612. A copy is in the Bodleian.

THOMAS PIGGOTT, or PYGOT, wrote *A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland: being the remainder of Mr. Smith's company. With an Appendix, giving an account of his sickness and death.* 16mo., 50pp., 1612. A copy is at York Minster: and it was reprinted in part by Barclay in his "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth."

JOHN MURTON was associated with Smyth and Helwys in Holland, returned with the latter to England, and succeeded him in his London pastorate. His reputed works are:—

*Objections Answered by way of Dialogue, wherein is proved, By the Law of God, etc., that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegiance by the Oath appointed by Law, etc.* 16mo., 87pp., 1615. Reprinted 1620, 1630, 1652 (with title "Persecution for Religion judg'd and condemned,") same year with omissions, 1827, and by Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846. An original copy is in the Bodleian.

*A Most Humble Supplication of Many of the Kings Majestys Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Civill Obedience by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are Persecuted (only for Differing in Religion) contrarie to Divine and Human Testimonies, etc.* 1620. No original copy known; reprinted 1662, 1827, and by the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.

*A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man, In his Creation, Transgression, and Regeneration. As also an Answer to John Robinson, touching Baptisme.* 16mo., 8-176pp., 1620. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

It would be a task worthy of the Baptist Churches in the New Century to reproduce, as completely as possible, the Whole Works of Smyth, Helwys, and Murton ; most of which are of extreme rarity.

GILES THORPE, a printer, was Deacon and afterwards Elder in Ainsworth's congregation in Amsterdam. In or about 1616 he published *The First Parte of the Hunting of the Foxe, etc.* It is entirely lost, and only known from references by hostile writers such as Lawne and Paget.

The British State-Paper Office contains an important MS., dated 1617, entitled *Seven Artikels which y<sup>e</sup> Church of Leyden sent to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell of England to bee considered of in respekt of their judgments occasioned about their going to Virginia.* This was printed in the "New York Historical Collection," 1856.

JOHN PAGET, minister of the English Reformed (i.e. Presbyterian) Church in Amsterdam, wrote *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists* : 4to., 4-476pp., 1618. Copies are in the British Museum, Bodleian, York Minster, &c. [It is an interesting fact that in 1701 the remnant of the Amsterdam Brownists were united with the church over which Paget had formerly presided.]

WM. BREWSTER, afterwards the honoured Elder of New Plymouth, (born 1566, died 1643), was for a short time in business as a printer in Leyden. The works known to have come from his press, and still extant, (beside Robinson's "Peoples Plea, &c.") are :—

- (i.) T. CARTWRIGHT (see *Trans.* I, p. 46). *Commentarii succincti et Dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis*, 4to., 12pp.—1514 col.—26pp., 1617. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.
- (ii.) WILLIAM AMES (see below). *Guil. Amesi ad Responsum Nic. Grevinchovii Rescriptis contracta, etc.* 16mo., 16-209-14pp., 1617. A copy is in the Bodleian.
- (iii.) *A True, Modest, and Iust Defence of the Petition for Reformation, exhibited to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, containing an Answer to the Confutation published under the names of some of the Universtie of Oxford. Together with a full declaration out of the Scriptures, and practise of the Primitive Church, of the severall points of the said Petition, etc.* 16mo., 52-240pp., 1618. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational, and some private libraries.
- (iv.) A Reprint of R. Harrison's *Little Treatise vpon the first verse of the 122 Psalme* [orig. 1583]. 16mo., 6-82pp., 1618. A copy was in the possession of Dr. H. Martyn Dexter.
- (v.) Reprint of *A Godly Sermon vpon the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. and 8 verses of*

- the 12. chapter of the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romanes. [Ascribed to L. Chaderton, orig. 1584.] 16mo., 62pp., 1618. A copy was in the possession of Dr. H. M. Dexter.
- (vi.) T. CARTWRIGHT'S posthumous work, *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses, and Annotations in the New Testament*, fol., 58-761-1618. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.
- (vii.) T. DIGHTON. *Certain Reasons of a Private Christian, against Conformitie to kneeling in the very act of receiving the Lord's Supper*. 16mo., 18 144pp., 1618. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's libraries.
- (viii.) T. DIGHTON. *The Second Part of a Plain Discourse of an Unlettered Christian. Wherein by Way of demonstration hee sheweth what the reasons bee which he doth ground upon, in refusing conformity to kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper*. 16mo., 16-78pp., 1619; a copy is in Williams's Library.
- (ix.) W. EURING. *An Answer to the Ten Counter Demands, propounded by T. Drakes, etc.* 16mo., 6-38pp., 1619. A copy is in Williams's Library. Little or nothing is known of the author; and nothing—except from this reply—of Drake's book, of which the Title was "*Ten Counter Demands propounded to the Separatists, against their Seven Demands.*"

WILLIAM AMES, commonly called 'The learned Amesius,' born 1576, was persecuted in England on account of his puritanism, and in 1611 fled to Holland in disguise. He had no connection with the "Exiled Church," except his business relations with Brewster. He took part in the Synod of Dort, 1618-19, and was Theological Professor at Franeker from 1622. Ten years later he removed to Rotterdam, where for a short time he shared the pastorate of an Independent Church with the much maligned Hugh Peters: he died, 1633. His works are numerous, and mostly in Latin. Only the following need to be mentioned here:—

*A Manvdiction for Mr Robinson, and such as consent with him in privat communion, to lead them on to publick.* Briefly comprized in a letter written to Mr R. W. Dort. 4to., 10pp., 1614. Copies in the British Museum and Williams's Library.

*A Second Manvdiction for Mr. Robinson. On a confirmation of the former, in an answer to his Manumission.* 4to., 36pp., 1615. A copy in the British Museum.

*A Reply to Dr. Morton's Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies, viz. : The Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, and kneeling at the receiving of the sacramentall elements of Bread and Wine.* 4to., 10-114pp., 1622. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

*A reply to Dr. Morton's Particular Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies, etc.* 4to., 4-71pp., 1623. The only copy of which we have heard is Dr. Dexter's.

*Medulla Theologica.* 16mo., Amsterdam, 1623. Copies of this original edition in the Bodleian and York Minster. At least eight subsequent Latin editions (beside that in *Collected Works*, 5 vols., Amsterdam, 1658); also an English version, entitled *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity drawn from the Holy Scriptures*; 4to., 6-338-30pp., 1642: Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, &c.

*Animadversiones in Synodalia scripta Remonstrantium, quoad Articulum primum, &c.* 8vo., Franeker, 1629. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

*A Fresh Suit Against Humane Ceremonies in Gods Worship. Or a Triplication about Ceremonies, Opposed unto D. Bergesses his Rejoinder, &c.* 4to., 1633. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, and elsewhere.

*Christianæ Catecheses Sciagraphia.* 12mo., 226pp., Franeker, 1635. A copy is in the Bodleian. Another edition, Amsterdam, same year, is in the British Museum, &c. The Congregational Library has both editions.

The historical interest of the Exiled Church declines after the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620; and the death of Robinson and James I. within a month of each other (March (1625) conveniently marks off the Second Period of English Nonconformity. In our third article we shall notice a number of books printed in England within this period, some favourable, and a few hostile, to those Puritan principles which wrought mightily in the next generation; also some of the earliest literary memorials of Puritan New England.

T. G. CRIPPEN

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CORRIGENDA TO BIBLIOGRAPHY IN  
TRANSACTIONS NO. I.

P. 49, ROBERT BROWNE. The oft-repeated statement that he had been domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk is clearly a mistake. The Browne who was associated with the Duke, and was implicated in the Ridolfi plot, was altogether a different person, and is said to have come from Shrewsbury.

P. 52, BARROWE AND GREENWOOD. Dr. Powicke has given strong reasons for assigning the *Petition*, 1590, to Penry or Throckmorton; anyway, not to Barrowe. Both Powicke and Arber think that *M. Some laid open in his coulers*, 1589, notwithstanding the I.G. attached to it, is also the work of Throckmorton.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

With reference to an enquiry in the Notes and Queries in *Transactions No. 1* concerning a statement by Mrs. Gaskell, in her life of Charlotte Brontë, there is a note in the last edition of her life, edited by Mr. Shorter (1900), as follows :

This story was very much resented by the Heckmondwike Non-conformists. Mr. J. J. Stead informs me that the Pastor of the Upper Chapel was elected in 1823 by a unanimous vote, and he remained there till his death in 1862.

The statement is quite untrue ; and although there was at one time an unhappy contention at the *Westgate* Chapel, the account which is given of it is greatly exaggerated and evidently furnished by "an enemy" ; and it is equally untrue of that Chapel "that the Riot Act had to be read at a Church Meeting."

B. D.

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[See Notes and Queries, *Transactions No. 1.*]

According to Barclay (*Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*) Mrs. Attaway was a member of the General Baptist church in Bell Alley, Coleman Street ; of which Thomas Lamb was pastor. From Taylor's *History of the General Baptists* it appears that there were several occasional preachers in this congregation, some of whom were women. Lamb is violently abused by Edwards in the *Gangraena*. His life is given by Brook ; but I cannot learn anything more about Mrs. Attaway. I should place her date about 1645.

\*

Can anyone give any information about Katharine Chidley, who in 1641 wrote a *Justification of the Independent Churches* in reply to Edwards ? Could she be the mother of Samuel Chidley, who in 1651 wrote, "from his mother's house in Soper Lane," a remonstrance against hanging of thieves ? Edwards speaks of her as an *old* woman.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

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SALOPIAN NOTES.—In a copy of the *Life and Writings of.....* Mr. James Owen, Minister of the Gospel in Salop (London: 1709), which

is in the possession of a friend of mine, there are some MS. notes by a former owner, which seem to me worth transcribing for what they possess of local interest. Above the engraved portrait of James Owen is the line "This is not drawn like him." On the title page is the following :

"John Powel 1709 who came to Shrewsbury (not a year after Mr. Owen) from [m] Wellington but stay'd there after his death, Dr. Benion's, and Mr. Talents's, who survived him, and [? labour'd] there and at W.—hampton and Birmingham till 1738. But notwithsta[n]d[ing] the Helps of these able Ministers how little the better and how little longing after that Bright and Blessed World whither such Useful Ministers are gone. And as I am yet spar'd and have yet more time may I fill it up with serving God and my Generation according to his Will; Amen."

On p. vi., after the signature of John Evans "To the reader," he has written:—

"that I heard preach at Shrewsbury, when he was chaplain at Boreatton, and promis'd well y<sup>m</sup> as he perform'd after at London, while he liv'd, or rather y<sup>e</sup> Grace of God in him."

This was Dr. John Evans.

Of James Owen's two brothers he writes : "The eldest brother had a son call'd Jeremiah y<sup>t</sup> I knew brought up by his uncle at Shrewsbury. The 3rd brother and youngest is Charles, long Mr. at Warrington; and preach'd at Birmingham July 1735" (p. 2.)

Again, in p. 5, in connection with the name of Samuel Jones of Brynll[y]warch, this note is given :

"Whose daughter married one of her fathers pupils, Mr. David Jones (son of a freeholder near Chirk castle, an old disciple), who was in his younger years observ'd by his schoolfellows to be very serious, and approv'd himself for many years in Shrewsbury."

These brief fragments may help some local historian of early Independency. They are transcribed letter by letter, any addition being placed in brackets.

H. ELVET LEWIS.

# Congregational Historical Society : List of Members. [p.115]

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Robert Browne  
and his "Treatise of Reformation."

INTRODUCTION.

THE tract, now for the first time printed in England, is that most popularly associated with the name of Robert Browne. It does not, as is commonly supposed, enunciate the theory of Congregational Independency; but it affirms a higher and more comprehensive principle, that of the mutual independence of Church and State. It seems desirable to prefix a short biographical notice of the author; who, besides being loaded with obloquy by opponents, has had the strange fortune of being repudiated by many of his most consistent disciples.

The family of Browne was for many generations among the most prominent in the town of Stamford, whither their ancestor came from Calais about the middle of the fourteenth century. Several of them held the chief magistracy of the borough; one of them founded a hospital—still existing—for decayed tradesmen; another built the church of All Saints; and two served as sheriffs for the county of Rutland. The second of these, Francis Browne, had a brother Edmund, who married Joan Cecil, aunt of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; and each of the brothers had a son Anthony, a fact which has led to some genealogical confusion. Anthony, the son of Francis, had seven children; of whom the third, Robert, was born at Tolethorpe, about two miles from Stamford, at some uncertain date between 1550 and 1556. Of his childhood and early education nothing is known, but in 1570 we find him at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There is no record of his matriculation; and he may have removed from some other college to Corpus when the Puritan Thomas Aldrich was elected Master. He graduated B.A. in 1572, being placed 18th in the list. Strype affirms that in 1571 he was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; and that being cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for some offensive speech, he was supported by the Duke in disregarding the citation, on the ground that the occasion was privileged. But the story is unlikely: Browne's age at the time cannot have exceeded 21, and may have been only 18. Probably the Brown of Strype's narrative was a Shropshire man, who was soon afterwards implicated

in the Ridolfi conspiracy. After leaving Cambridge, Browne was occupied for about three years in teaching children ; first in some public school, and, after being dismissed from that post, for some time privately. Strange to say, neither by himself nor by any reliable authority is the place of his tutorial labour indicated ; but there is some reason to think it was Southwark. During this time he is said to have lectured in Islington, presumably to an irregular assemblage ; this, however, is very uncertain. An outbreak of the plague induced him to give up his school ; and he returned to his father's house, probably in the autumn of 1578. He then went back to the University ; and resided for a while with the family of Rev. Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge, who encouraged him to preach in the village, though without episcopal authorisation. He also preached in Cambridge for about half a year ; but by this time had become convinced that prelatie ordination and license were objectionable, if not actually sinful. He therefore declined a proposal that he should accept a regular pastorate in Cambridge, returned the money that was offered him by way of stipend, and destroyed the bishop's license which had been procured for him. He then began to speak openly against calling and licensing of preachers by bishops, and against the whole parochial system. He was thereupon inhibited by the bishop, and, falling sick, ceased his ministrations in Cambridge ; declaring however, that, but for his infirmity, he would have wholly disregarded the bishop's inhibition.

On the recovery of his health, Browne removed to Norwich ; residing with Robert Harrison, master of a hospital in that city, with whom he had formerly been acquainted in Cambridge. These, and a few others likeminded, constituted themselves into a religious fellowship in which they endeavoured to realise their ideal of an Apostolic Church. Former societies of Lollards, Baptists, &c., had no doubt been *practically Congregational* ; but this Norwich fellowship was *Congregationalist in principle*, and thus the first really Congregational Church known to history. This was in 1580. Browne, and probably others of the fellowship, preached and taught not only in the city, but in several parts of the diocese, especially at Bury St. Edmund's ; and their views found considerable acceptance. Persecution followed as a matter of course, and Browne was more than once imprisoned. On 19th April, 1581, Freak, Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Lord Burghley concerning Browne, who, he says, had been sent out of the diocese, but returned, and was at the time evidently in custody. Two days later Burghley replied, requesting lenient treatment for his kinsman, as one who erred "of zeal rather than of malice." Again in August Freak complained of the disturber, urging Burghley to aid in effectually suppressing him ; and again Burghley intervened on his behalf. But the little company perceived that religious freedom in England was at that time hopeless ; and in the autumn of 1581 they migrated to Middelberg in Zeeland.

Here, within the next few months, the most important part of Browne's life-work was accomplished. In the "Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of All True Christians" he expounded the theory of Congregational Independency; in the "Treatise of Reformation without Taryng for Anie" he set forth the incompetence of the magistrate either to reform or control the church; in the "Treatise upon the 23rd of Matthew" he dealt with anti-reforming authorities in a style scarcely less trenchant than that of Martin Marprelate. The works were published separately, but the two latter were evidently designed to be prefixed to the first in a single volume. They were all printed at Middelberg in 1582, and found appreciative readers in England. In June of the following year a Royal Proclamation commanded the destruction of all copies of "the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels"; and earlier in the same month Elias Thacker and John Copping were hanged at Bury St. Edmund's for distributing them. Certainly their offence was aggravated by their avowal that "they believed all things in those books to be good and godly"; and that they "acknowledged Her Majesty chief ruler civil, and no further." Church and State had long contended for the mastery, and Becker, More, Fisher, and others, had laid down their lives in the cause of ecclesiastical domination; but the "Brownists," Thacker and Copping, may fairly be claimed as the first English martyrs for religious liberty.

Some time before this Browne had married Alice Allen, from Yorkshire. Nothing is known of her, beyond a hint that she was to some extent the cause or occasion of the unhappy dissension which broke out among the exiles at Middelberg. However, there were differences of judgement and personal alienations, perhaps the inevitable result of an attempt to realise an ideal Christian society without regarding the infirmities of human nature. In consequence the society broke up; Harrison and some of the members joined the English church of which the Puritan Cartwright was pastor, while Browne and a few others took ship for Scotland. Cartwright had written a letter urging that they should strive for further reformation of the Church from within, rather than incur the responsibility of separation; to which Browne published a reply, insisting that in the State Church godly discipline was impossible; but it is thought that this "Answer to Master Cartwright" was not issued till the following year.

Browne arrived at Dundee towards the end of 1583, and, after visiting Andrew Melville at St. Andrew's, took up his abode in Edinburgh in January, 1584. He at once began to circulate his books, and was promptly summoned before the Kirk Session. As he declared that neither himself nor his comrades were subject to the discipline of the Scottish Kirk, he was committed to prison. After a short time he was released, and seems to have travelled somewhat widely in Scotland; but was in London in July. The events of the next sixteen months are obscure. Within that space of time he had evidently published

his autobiographical “True and Short Declaration,” and another tract of which the title is lost, but of which extracts are preserved in Bancroft’s sermon at Paul’s Cross, 9th February, 1588. It seems clear that he had striven, in and about London, to proclaim the faith that was in him, especially as to a purer discipline than is possible in the English or any other State Church; that his health was impaired; that he was arrested by the Bishop of London; and that he endured a lengthened imprisonment. Burghley once more intervened in his favour, and in October, 1585, he was committed to the friendly custody of his father at Tolethorpe. After about four months the elder Browne was unwilling to be responsible for his son’s good (*i.e.*, submissive) behaviour; and asked leave for him to reside in Stamford, where he would be more directly under Burghley’s supervision. This was granted; but in the spring of 1586 he seems to have gone to Northampton, where he resumed the teaching of his unpopular doctrines. Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, cited him to answer for this renewed offence; and Browne, refusing to appear, was formally excommunicated for contempt.

It has been seriously alleged that this excommunication reclaimed Browne from his “Schism”! As if *any* spiritual censure from an Erastian prelate could have the slightest moral influence on the author of the “Treatise of Reformation” and the “Book which Sheweth, &c.” But when it is remembered that in those days a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* left its victim only the option of submission or perpetual imprisonment, we need not pass too severe a judgement on a husband and father who, after seven years’ conflict with authorities ecclesiastical and civil, desisted from what might seem a hopeless battle.

The date of Browne’s submission is uncertain: but in November, 1586, he was appointed Master of St. Olave’s Grammar School, Southwark. This school had been founded in 1560, and constituted a Free Grammar School in 1571. The terms of his appointment were sufficiently humiliating; he was required to sign an engagement not only to conform to the doctrine of the Established Church, communicate at convenient times, and accompany the children to sermons and lectures; but also to teach none but the regulation catechism, keep no conventicles, and have no conference with suspected or disorderly persons. He does not appear to have observed the spirit of these conditions very closely. He certainly wrote an “Answer to Stephen Bredwell his first booke against Brownists,” which first book was only published in 1586; and he seems to have attended a “conventicle” as late as 1588.

But indeed by this time he began to shew signs of that mental infirmity which beclouded his later years. He had become irascible and impatient of contradiction; and his antagonist Bredwell, who evidently knew him, and was a physician, wrote in 1588 “Browne is sound, his brain is sick.” Yet he regularly attended to his tutorial duties, was indeed an educational enthusiast, and about this time wrote a book

—never printed, and now totally lost— which must have been a kind of Circle of the Sciences. By his own account it seems to have been tinged with that strange conceit afterwards known as Hutchinsonianism, the notion that the germs of all sciences are contained in Holy Scripture. In a strange letter to Burghley, undated, but endorsed 1590, he complains of the neglect of this treatise, and asks permission to read public lectures. The letter is among the Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum, and was printed by Strype; it is evidently the effusion of a disordered mind. But the disorder thus far only amounted to eccentricity; and in June, 1589, Burghley sent him to the Bishop of Peterborough with a letter, asking the bishop “to receive him again into the Ministry, as a means and help for ecclesiastical preferment.” It is noticeable that Browne is thus recognized as a disabled clergyman; yet there is no proof that he had ever been episcopally ordained, and a strong presumption to the contrary.

In the autumn of 1591 he resigned his Mastership, and was presented by Burghley to the rectory of Achurch with Taorpe, a small Northamptonshire village of which the population can scarcely have exceeded a hundred, but which afforded a comfortable income. Here six of his children were born; and here he ministered, with some intermissions, for not less than forty years.

Though thus in some sense reconciled to the Established Order, it is pretty certain—indeed it was openly said in his lifetime—that Browne retained his own opinion about the true conception of the Church. He would not admit that the term was rightly applied to a parish assembly, or to the ecclesiastical department of the State. He expressed his views on the matter in a bad pun: “There was no Established Church in the kingdom but his, and that was A-Church.” As to the scandalous stories that were told of him, they seem to be mere exaggeration either of quite harmless incidents, or of such as proceeded (as Dexter has clearly shewn) from intermittent insanity. He was a great lover of music, played well on the lute, and his eldest son Timothy (probably born at Middelberg) used to play a bass viol in church. This would seem to the rigid Puritan Baillie quite enough to mark him as “an open profaner of the Sabbath.” More serious is the charge that he was “a common beater of his poor old wife,” but as Alice Browne died in 1610, seven years after the birth of her youngest child, she cannot have been *very* old—probably between 50 and 55. A lady well known to the present writer had unclouded happiness in her married life, until her husband, suddenly and without cause, gave her a severe beating. A few days after he was taken to a lunatic asylum, where he died without ever regaining his reason. A similar incident in the case of Browne might well give rise to the current story. Fuller’s assertion that “In my time he had a wife with whom he never lived, &c.,” is almost certainly untrue; Fuller was but two years old when Mrs. Browne died, and there is no indication of a second marriage.

During his whole incumbency—with one long intermission—Browne

kept the parish register with scrupulous care. There are upwards of 500 entries, mostly in his very clear handwriting. Yet, here and there, his mental disorder is betrayed by odd remarks, sometimes irrelevant, sometimes spiteful. And for nearly nine years, September 1617 to June 1626, the entries are in other hands; the most natural explanation of which is that he was secluded or incapable. The latest appearance of his handwriting is dated 2nd June, 1631; and the last sad scene was not long delayed. A constable called on him respecting a debt; an altercation ensued, in course of which he struck the man. For this he was brought before a magistrate, who was convinced by his strange behaviour that he was not fit to be at large. There was then no county lunatic asylum, so he was committed to Northampton jail. The distance is above twenty miles; and the old man, being both feeble and very corpulent, was conveyed thither in a cart, a feather bed being provided for his comfort. He never left the jail, but died there at some uncertain date before November, 1633. The place of his burial is doubtful, but an old tradition specifies a large uninscribed stone at the entrance of the chancel at Achurch.

Browne had three sons—two of whom were married; and four daughters, who all died young. It is probable, though not certain, that he had one or two other children born between 1585 and 1591. Four of his grandchildren were married, and lived at Achurch, Uppingham, St. Saviour's, and Dartford respectively; and it is quite possible that, in one or other of these neighbourhoods, his posterity may still survive.

Historians who ought to have known better have joined in the chorus of reproach against Browne: apparently because he accepted the retreat provided by the friendship of Burghley, instead of courting the martyr's death with Barrowe and Penry. One has even spoken of “the ample legacy of his shame”! There is shame, indeed, but it rests on those who persecuted him to madness: while for him there is the lasting honour of having first enunciated the principle of “A FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE”; a principle which, universally repudiated in his lifetime, is to-day accepted by four-fifths of English-speaking Christendom.

A TREATISE OF REFORMATION WITHOUT TARYING FOR ANIE, AND OF  
THE WICKEDNESSE OF THOSE PREACHERS WHICH WILL NOT  
REFORME TILL THE MAGISTRATE COMMAUNDE  
OR COMPELL THEM.

{ MIDDELBURGH, 1582.

BY ROBERT BROWNE.

**S**EEING in this Booke wee shewe the state of Christians, and  
haue laboured also in good conscience to liue as Christians, It is  
maruailed & often talked of among manie, why we should be so  
reuilid and troubled of manie, & also leaue our countrie.  
*Forsooth* (say the enimies) *there is some hiddē thing in them more thē  
plainly appeareth: for they beare cull will to their Princes Queene  
ELIZABETH and to their countrie, yea they forsake the church of God, &  
cōdemne the same, and are cōdemned of all, and they also discredit &  
bring into cōtēpt the Preachers of the Ghospel.* To aunswere them, we  
say, That they are the men which trouble Israel, and seeke euill to the  
Prince, and not we. And that they forsake and condemne the Church  
and not we. First concerning our faithfulnessse to our Prince and  
Countrie, and what our iudgement is of the ciuil authoritie, we  
aunswere as appeareth in this Treatise. For their other accusations  
and slaunders of forsaking and condemning the Church, &c. if our  
doings will not stoppe their mouthes, nor this booke which followeth  
of the state of Christians, we purpose by the grace of God, to shewe in  
an other booke, which shall hereafter come forth, whether we or they  
be the rebellious children and a false seede. But for the Magistrate,  
howe farre by their authoritie or without it, the Church must be builded  
and reformation made, and whether anie open wickednesse must be  
tollerated in the Church because of them, let this be our aunswere.  
For chieffie in this point they haue wrought vs great trouble, and dis-  
mayed manie weakelings from imbraeing the trueth. We say there-  
fore, and often haue taught, concerning our Soueraigne Queene  
Elizabeth, that neither the Pope, nor other Popeling, is to haue anie  
authoritie either ouer her, or ouer the Church of God, and that the  
Pope of Rome is Antichrist, whose kingdome ought vtterlie to be taken

away. Agayne we say, that her Authoritie is ciuill, and that power she hath as highest under God within her Dominions, and that ouer all persons and causes. By that she may put to death all that deserue it by Lawe, either of the Church or common Wealth, and none may resiste Her or the Magistrates vnder her by force or wicked speeches, when they execute the lawes. Seeing we graunt and holde thus much, howe doe they charge vs as euill willers to the Queene? Surelie, for that wee holde all those Preachers and teachers accursed, which will not doe the duties of Pastors and teachers till the Magistrates doe force them thereto. They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House [Hag. 1.], they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliamētes to do it. They want the ciuill sworde forsooth, and the Magistrates doe hinder the Lordes building and kingdome, and keepe away his gouernement. Are they not ashamed thus to slaunders the Magistrate? They haue runne their owne swordes vppon the Wall and broken them, and nowe woulde they snatche vnto them the Magistrates sworde. In deede can the Lordes spirituall gouernement be no waye executed but by the ciuill sworde, or is this the iudgement that is written [Psal. 149.], Such honour shall be to all his Saintes? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaines, and the Nobles with Fetters of Iron, by the highe actes of GOD in their mouthes, and a two edged sworde in their handes? Those bandes and chaines, which is the spirituall power of the Church, they haue broken from them selues, and yet woulde they haue Magistrates bounde with them, to beginne Discipline. They would make the Magistrates more than Goddes, and yet also worse then beastes. For they teache that a lawefull Pastour must giue ouer his charge at their discharging, and when they withholde the Church gouernement, it ought for to cease, though the Church goe to ruine thereby. Beholde nowe, doeth not the Lordes kingdome giue place vnto theirs? And doe they not pull downe the heade Christe Iesus [Col. 1. 18], to sett vppe the hande of the Magistrate? yea and more than this, for they firste proclaime the names and tytlēs of wicked Bishoppes and popishe officers, and the Lordes name after: Seeing also the Bishoppes must discharge the lawfull Preachers, and stoppe their mouthes, though the Lorde God haue giuen them a charge for to speake, and not to keepe silence. The Lorde hath exalted Christe Iesus [Phil. 2], and giuen him a name aboue euerie name, that all things should bowe and serue vnto him, and yet haue they exalted the power of wicked Bishoppes aboue him. Beholde a great and moste wholesome riuier, and yet their pudle water is preferred before it. Except the Magistrates will goe into the tempest and raine, and bee weather beaten with the haile of Gods wrath, they muste keepe vnder the roafe of Christes gouernement. They must bee vnder a Pastoral charge: They must obeye to the Scepter of Christe, if they bee Christians. Howe then should the Pastor, which hath the ouersight of the Magistrate, if hee bee of his flocke, bee so ouerseene of the Magistrate, as to leaue his flocke, when the Magistrate shall uniuertie

and wrongfullie discharge him. Yet these Preachers and teachers will not onelie doo so, but euen holding their charge and keeping with it, will not guide and reforme it aright, because the Magistrates doo forbidde them forsooth. But they slaunder the Magistrate, and because they dare not charge them as forbidding them their dueties, they haue gotten this shift, that they doo but tarie for the Magistrates authoritie, and then they will guide and reforme as they ought. Beholde, is not all this one thing, seeing they lift vppe the throne of the Magistrates, to thrust out the kingdome of Christe? For his gouernment or Discipline is wanting (saye they) but wee keepe it not awaye. And who then? For moste of them dare not charge the Magistrates, but onelie closelie, and with manie flattering, that they might still be exalted by the Magistrates. They leaue their owne burthen, and criout that it is not caried by faulte of the Magistrate. So they make them enimies, because they saye they withholde the Church gouernment: euen enimies doo they make them to the Lordes kingdome and righteousnesse: and why then do they not wage that spirituall battell against them, whiche is to cut them of from the Church? For the Scepter and kingdome of Christ is not of this worlde, to fight with dint of sworde, but it is a right Scepter, which subdueth the people vnder vs, and Nations vnder our feete. [Psal. 47., Psal. 45.] Hee iudgeth the wicked, and by the rebuke of his worde, he filleth all places with the slaine, and smiteth the Heades ouer great countries. [Psal. 110.]

Now then if the Magistrates be enimies vnto the Lords kingdome, why are not these men better warriars to vpholde the same? For they giue vp the weapons of their warfare into the enimies handes, and then say, they can not doo withall. By their weapons I meane those whereof Paule doeth speake, [2 Cor. 10.] that they are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe holdes, and so fourth: These weapons haue they giuen from thē, for they haue not the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen to binde and lose, [Mat. 18., Iohn 20] and to retaine or pronounce remitted the sinnes of men, seeing they graunt much open wickednesse incurable among them, and also auouche that it must needes be suffered. Yea they haue giuen vp these keyes to the Magistrates or to the Spirituall Courtes, and therefore haue no right to call them selues the Church of God, or lawfull Pastors thereof. Christ is at the right hande of God, gone vp into heauen saieth Peter [1. Pet. 3.] to whom the angels and powers and might are subiecte, howe then shoulde his kingdome tarie for the Magistrate, except they thinke that they are better able to vpholde it then he. Yea we must presse vnto his kingdome not taryng for anie, as it is written in Luke [Luke 16.], & againe in Matthew [Mat. 11.], the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it vnto them by force. In the throug which is made to escape a burning, would they tarie for the Magistrate to make them a waye, and should they not rather if they could, make a way for the Magistrate? They see that the kingdome of God is with strife (?) and great labor, and yet they will haue it with ease and the

ciuill sworde must get it them. Ierusalem (saith the Prophete) [Dan. 9.] and the streetes and Wall thereof, shall be built euen in a troublous time, and to tarie till it be built without troubles, is to looke for a conquest without going to battell, and for an ende and rewarde of our laboures which would neuer take paines. My kingdome, saith Christe, is not of this world, and they would shift in both Bishoppes and Magistrates into his spirituall throne to make it of this worlde; yea to stay the Church gouernement on them, is not onely to shift but to thrust them before Christ. Yet vnder him in his spirituall kingdome are [1. Cor. 12.] first Apostles, secondlie Prophetes, thirdlie, teachers &c. Also helpers and spirituall guides: But they put the Magistrates first, which in a common wealth in deede are first, and aboue the Preachers, yet haue they no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onely as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians. Therefore hath God made these teachers fooles, and these spirituall professors as madde men. For woe unto you, ye Priestlie preachers and Doctours hypoerites, which are a snare to the people, and fill vp their measure of iniquitie, while ye pretende the Magistrates authoritie. For will anie man else giue ouer his calling, or abridge the full execution thereof, when the Magistrates forbid them, will they cease the teaching or due guiding of their householdes and charge for their dischargings, and should the labourers in Gods spirituall husbandrie giue ouer and cease. For it is Gods husbandrie [1. Cor. 3.] and not theirs, the Church is his building and not theirs. They are but members thereof if they be Christians, and are not anie way to stay the building, neither is it to tarie or wait vpon them. But these wicked preachers eate vp and spoyle the Lords haruest them selues, and then set open the gapp, as though the Magistrates brake in like wild bores, and spoiled the haruest. They say, beholde we haue a Christian Prince, and a mother in Israel: but can they be Christians, when they make them to refuse, or withstand the gouernement of Christ in his Church, or will not be subiect vnto it. If they therefore refuse and withstaude, howe should they be taried for? If they be with them, there is no taryng: and if they be against them, they are no Christians, and therefore also there can be no taryng. For the worthie may not tarie for the vnworthie, but rather forsake them, as it is writtē [Actes 2.], Saue your selues from this frowarde generation: and cast not pearles before Swine, nor holy things vnto dogges [Matth. 8]: and rebuke not a skorne sayeth the wise man [Prouerb. 9.], least he hate thee: and inquire who is worthie, sayeth Christ [Mat. 10.]. He that will be saued, must not tarie for this man or that: and he that putteth his hande to the plowe, and then looketh backe, is not fitt for the kingdome of God [Luke 9.]. Therefore woe vnto you ye blinde guides, which cast away all by taryng for the Magistrates. The Lorde will remember this iniquitie, and visite this sinne vpon you. Ye will not haue the kingdome of God, to go forward by his spirit, but by an armie & strength for sooth [Zacha. 4.]: ye will not haue it as Leauen hidde in three peckes of

meale, till it leauen all [Matt. 13.], but at once ye will haue all aloft, by ciuill power and authoritie : you are offended at the basenesse and small beginnings, and because of the troubles in beginning reformation; you will doe nothing. Therefore shall Christ be that rocke of offence vnto you, and ye shall stumble and fall, and shall be broken, and shall be snared, and shal be taken. You wil be deliuered from the yoke of Antichrist, to the which you doo willinglie giue your neckes, by bowe, and by sworde, and by battell, by horses and by horssemen [Hosea 2.], that is, by ciuill power and pompe of Magistrates : by their Proclamations and Parliametes : and the kingdome of God must come with obseruation [Luke 17.], that men may say, Loe the Parliament, or loe the Bishoppes decrees : but the kingdome of God shoulde be within you. The inwarde obedience to the outwarde preaching and gouernement of the Church, with newnes of life, that is the Lordes kingdome. This ye despise. Therefore shall ye desire to see the kingdome of God, and shall not see it, and to enioye one day of the Sonne of man, and ye shall not enioye it. For ye set aloft mans authoritie aboue Gods, and the Preacher must hang on his sleeue for the discharge of his calling. In the 32. of Iob, doth not Elihu holde his authoritie, and durst not account of mannes authorising, though learned, wise and aged, yea the Elders or Fathers of the Church, neither would he spare either Iob or them, or submitte him selfe to them in respecte of his calling. I will receiue no mans person, saith he, and I will vse no title (or preface) before man, for I knowe not to vse tytles, If I vse them a little, he would take me awaye that made me. But these men name them selues, some the Bishoppes Chaplaines, some my Lordes Chaplaines, and some the Queenes Chaplaines, and call them their Masters, to whom their calling and ministerie must serue at commandement. Thus the Lordes spirituall message must be beautified with these tytles of men, (*The right Honorable my Lorde. &c. who is my very good Lorde and Maister.*) Yet Christe him selfe saith [Mat. 11.], that the Preachers nowe in his kingdome, haue greater authoritie than Iohn Baptist, and Iohn Baptist greater then the Prophetes before him. Therefore if Ieremie was set ouer the Nations & ouer the Kingdomes, to plucke vp and to roote out, and to destroye and throwe downe, to builde and to plante [Ierem. 1.], Then haue we also an authoritie against which if the Kings and Nations doo sett them selues, we maye not be afraide of their faces, nor leaue our calling for them. How long therefore will these men take the inheritance from the right heire, and giue it unto the seruaunt? For the spirituall power of Christe and his Church, and the Keyes of binding and losing, they take from Christe, and giue to the Magistrate. The Magistrates haue the ciuill sworde, and least they should strike them therewith, they giue them the Ecclesiastical also. Hoe say they, If we were Prophetes, or if we were Apostles, then shoulde we preache though the Magistrate forbidde us, but wee are but bare Pastors or Preachers, and therefore we must feare their frowning and threates, and keepe silence thereat. But let

them speake, Had not the Magistrates, as full and the same power ouer Apostles, as ouer other Pastoures, or were Apostles more exempted from their obedience to Magistrates, then other Preachers? For let enerie soule be subject to the higher powers, saieith the scriptures [Rom. 13.]. Therefore as they coulde not displace, nor discharge Apostles from their office & calling, no more can they doo lawfull Pastours and Preachers: for whether it be right in the sight of God, to obeye men rather then God, let all men iudge [Actes 4.]. But to this they aunswere, that Peter saied this, being an Apostle: But in deede muste Apostles onelie followe their calling, though menne doo discharge them, and may not other doe it likewise? For as God hath distributed to enerie man the gifte (saieith the Scripture) [1. Cor. 7.] as the Lorde hath called enerie one, so let him walke, and so ordained Paule in all the churches. If then the Magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and change it for an other, they ought not to obeye him, for they haue not the gifte, and God hath called them this way rather then that. Yet if the Magistrate call one of a lower calling to an higher, to the which he is fitt and prepared, he ought to obeye, for God hath calleth [*sic*] him thereto. And in all thinges wee must firste looke, what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. For we are bought for a price, saieith Paule, [1. Cor. 7.] and we may not be seruauntes to the vnlawfull cōmaundings of men. And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull and what is profitable, what they may doo and what is expedient [1. Cor. 6.], and in no case bee brought vnder the power of anie thing, as Paule teacheth vs [1. Cor. 19.]. What soeuer doth most edifie, that must we chuse, and auoide the contrarie: and what soeuer is most expedient, that must be done, and so we must applie our selues all vnto all, that notwithstanding we holde our libertie. For if either Magistrate or other would take that from vs, wee must not giue place by yeelding vnto them, no, not for an houre [Galat. 2.], and this libertie is the free vse of our callings and giuftes, as we see most agreeing to the worde of God, and expedient for his glorie. Therefore the Magistrates commaundement, must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So thē it is an abuse of my giufte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe vnto me, if I preache not, for necessitie is laied vpon me, and if I doe it unwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me [1. Cor. 9.]. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me, but God by consent and ratifying of the Church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. In deede if God take it away for my wickednesse and euill deserte, he may remoue me from the Church, and withhold me from preaching: but if God doo it not, and his worde doeth approue me, as most meete for that calling, I am to preache still, except I be shut vp in prison, or otherwise with violence withheld from my charge. For the

Magistrate so vsing me cannot be a Christian, but forsaketh the Church: and howe then should my office in the Church depende on him which is none of the Church? And the welfare of the Church must be more regarded and sought, then the welfare of whole Kingdomes and Countreies, as it is written [Isa. 43.]: Because thou wast precious in my sight, and thou wast honourable and I loued thee, therefore will I giue man for thee, and people for thy sake. And againe he saith, I gaue Egypt for thy ransome, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. The Lorde shall therefore iudge these men, and cut them of both heade & tayle, braunch and rushe in one day. The auncient and the honorable men, which take on them to put downe the Lordes authoritie, and to stoppe the monthes of his messengers, they be the heade, and the wicked teachers which exalte men aboue God, they are the tayle. They are afrayde of the face of the Magistrate, & do flatter and currie fauour with them, and they would haue vs also to doo the like. But ye the Lords faithfull seruantes trusse vppon your loines as Ieremie [Iere. 1.], which in your charges haue greater authoritie than Ieremie, as we proued before. Arise and speak vnto them, all that I commaunde you, sayeth the Lorde. For I, beholde I haue made you as defenced cities, and yrou pillers, & walles of brasse, against the whole lande, against the Kings and against the Princes, against the Priestes and against the people. For they shall fight against you, but they shall not preuayle, for I am with you to deliuer you euen to the ende of the worlde. Therefore yee vanishe in vanity yee wicked Preachers: for knowe ye not, that they which haue their full and sufficient authoritie and calling, are not to tarie for a further authorising. And hath not euerie lawfull Pastor or Preacher his full authoritie? Are they not to teach the whole will of God, and guide accordinglie, and haue they not then their whole authoritie? For herein was Paule free from the bloode of all menne [Actes 20.], because he had kept nothing backe, but hadde shewed them all the counsell of God. But (say they) Paule taught them in deede the whole counsell of God, and so maye wee, but we may not gouerne: we may tell the Magistrates, that gouernement is wanting, but we may not take vppon us, to be reformers. In deede, did not Paule both in worde and deede testifie his faithfulness, did he not in practise as well as in wordes, fulfill his calling? For (sayeth he) you knowe my maner of life: and addeth further, that in seruing the Lorde, he kept backe nothing that was profitable. [Act. 20. 18, 19, 20.] Howe then shoulde hee keepe backe the gouernement of the Church, whiche is all in all. And in the 35. verse, he setteth himselfe for example, for I haue sheweth you all thinges, saith hee, how that so labouring, ye ought to supporte the weake. Noting that hee sheweth in worde and example, not that onelie, but all thinges else, for due guiding of the Church. And therefore let them not flee to their odde distiction of ordinarie ond [and] extraordinarie, as though Paule might guide the Church without taryng for the Magistrate and wee may not. For Paule set downe him selfe for an

example: and in the 28. verse, and in the 31. he applieth all vnto them, that they shoulde followe him, that they shoulde watche night and daye in teaching and guiding the flocke as he did. Yea they must not onelie preache, but teache them the practise. They muste obserue and doo all thinges which Christ hath commaunded. [Matth. 28.] And the Lorde did not onelie shewe them the Tabernacle, but badde them make it [Exod. 25.]. But these menne will not make it at all, because they will tarie for the Magistrate. Christe is before vs and his Apostles: as Moses a figure of Christe was before them, and yet we must tarie for the Magistrates. And for what Magistrates? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? Muste wee not in all thinges looke duellie to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accountes vnto God for them which are out of our charge. For we must take heede to our selues, sayeth the Scripture [Act. 20.], and to all the flocke whereof the holie Ghoste hath made vs ouerseers. But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernement thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge. Shal not these men be hurled out of their place and charge, whiche thus doo mocke with the Lord, and dallie with their charges? Yea the Lord shall take them away with a swifte destruction, and menne shall clappe their hands at them and hisse them out of their places. Euerie Preacher must runne to the Queene and to the Counsaill forsooth, as though they were of their charge, and the Magistrates must plant & reforme al Churches at once. If they be of their flockes, why should they tarie for thē? vnlesse they will haue the sheepe to force the sheepehearde vnto his dutie. In deede the Magistrate may force him, but it is his shame to tarie till he be forced. Be ashamed therefore ye foolish shepheardes, and laye not a burthen on the Magistrates, as though they should do that in building the Lordes kingdome, which the Apostles and Prophetes coulde not doo. They could not force Religion [Song 8.], as ye woulde haue the Magistrate to do, and it was forbidden the Apostles to preache to the vnworthie, or to force a planting or gouernement of the Church [Mat. 10.]. The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strēgth [Zach. 4., Hosea 2.], as be the kingdomes of this worlde. Neither durst Moses, nor anie of the good Kings of Iuda force the people by lawe or by power to receiue the church gouernement, but after they receiued it, if then they fell away, and sought not the Lorde, they might put them to death. For the couenaunte was firste made, as it is written [2. Chro. 15], they made a couenant to seeke the Lord God of their fathers, with all their harte, and with all their soule. And then followe the next wordes which are to be vnderstoode of thē which made the couenaunt, for of them which so sware vnto the Lorde, whosoer did not seeke the Lorde God of Israel, should be slaine, whether he were small or great man or woman. And therefore did the whole congregation of Israel gather them together, to warre against the children of

Reuben and Gad, because they seemed to forsake the couenant [Ioshu. 22]. Yet woulde not Hezekiah fight against Israel, though they laughed him to skorne and mocked at his doings [2. Chro. 30.], for they had not receiued the couenaunt, but their forefathers, and they were nowe called to the couenaunt againe, which the Lorde had disannulled with their forefathers: as it is written [2. Chro. 15.], that for a long season Israel had bin without the true God, and without Prieste to teache, and without lawe. Nowe therefore let the wise vnderstande these things, and the Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and euill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie which ascende vp and sit in the Magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the roume, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abhominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his Church, which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdom and gouernement. This shall appeare afterwarde: In the meane time let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte. They shall come vnto Zion and inquire the way to Ierusalem [Ierem. 50.], not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: yea as the hee goates shall they be before the floeke, for the haste they haue vnto Zion, and they them selues shall call for the couenaunt, saying, Come and let vs cleaue faste vnto the Lorde in a perpetuall couenaunt that shall neuer be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome: as it is written againe [Ierem. 51.], Remember the Lorde a farre of, and let Ierusalem come into your mindes, for they see the fierce wrath of the Lorde, where the Lordes kingdome is not, and they flee from the same going and weeping as they goe, as the Prophete saith [Iere. 51.], because he hath bin angrie so long. But nowe they haue escaped his displeasure, they goe on and stande not still till they appeare before the Lorde in Zion [Psal. 84.]. Yea and the Lords people shall come willinglie in the day of his assembles, euen his armies in holie beautie [Psal. 110]. Yet the frowarde wilbe frowardestill, for (say they) Moses and the kinges of Iuda did reforme the Church, and they were taried for, therefore we also must tarie for our Magistrates. Beholde nowe howe the shame of their faces doeth testifie against them, which dare against their consciences, make our Magistrates prophetes with Moses, yea high Priestes as he was and figures of Christ, as both he was and the Kings of Iuda also. How boldelie also dare they peruert the trueth, affirming that some which ought to reforme, did it not, because they would tarie for Moses or for the Kinges of Iuda. For did Zacharie (say they) or the Prophet Haggai, builde of them selues, and not rather call on the ciuill Magistrates and tarie for them? But they knowe not (as men that are willinglie ignoraunt) that their building of

the Temple stode in outward furniture of timber, stone, cariage, and therefore had neede of the helpe of Zerubabel the Prince: but our spirituall prouision, as the giuftes, callings, and graces of the Church neede not anie worldlie preparation in such outward ceremonies. Therefore we aunswere, that Zerubabel being a figure of Christ, as appeareth in Zacharie the 4. he was to be chiefe in the worke. Neither were they in that worke as ciuill Magistrates now a dayes, but as Spirituall guides, representing Christe and his spirituall kingdome. Neither did Haggai or Zacharie tarie for the Magistrates, but went before them, for in the name of God they commaunded them to builde, and the text sayeth further [Ezra 5.], that they ioyned with them and helped them. So that neither by worde nor deede they taried and were behinde: yea when the King (whose subiects they were) commaunded them to cease, they refused to giue over the building. This appeareth in Ezra 4. 23. and in Ezra 5. 1. And before also [Hag. 1. 2., Hag. 2. 15.], because they ceased and lingered the building, for that the Magistrates were against them, they were sharpelie reponed of Haggai, and it was a most grieuous curse vnto them. Yet dare these menne laye sinne vpon the Prophetes, as taryng & lingering for the Magistrates. And wherefore? Forsooth they did not hewe timber, and carie stones first of all to further the worke. But in deede, were they not firste when they commaunded and the other obeyed, and when they ioyned with them & helped them? For otherwise might Salomon also not to be saied to builde the Temple, but to tarie for others, because he him selfe brought not the stones, neither hewed them, but commaunded others (as the text sayeth) [1. Kin. 5. 17] and they obeyed and brought great stones, and costlie stones to make the foundation of the house. But if Zacharie or Haggai had taried, it proueth not that we must tarie for our Magistrates. For both Iehoshua the high Prieste, and Zerubbabel the Prince, were figures of the high priesthoode and pryncedome of Christe, and also had an ecclesiastical gouernement ouer the Church, which our Magistrates haue not. And further also, euerie lawfull Preacher at this time hath that authoritic of building Gods Church equall with Zerubbabel and Iehoshuah, or rather superior, for they are compared with them, as the 11. of the Reuelation, and the 4. of Zacharie will testifie, and in the 11. of Mattheue, and the 3. to the Corinthes the seconde Epistle, they are preferred afore them. We knowe that Moses might reforme, and iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuill, and as ciuill Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spirituall Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outward Iustice, to maintain the right welfare and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & ciuill forcing of mē. And therefore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is. concerning the outward prouision and outward iustice,

they are to look to it, but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proved before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therefore tarie for the Magistrates: For if they be christiās thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit thē selves to the church gouernemēt. For he is a christian which is redeemed by Christ vnto holines & happines for euer & professeth the same by submitting him self to his lawes & gouernmēt. And if they be not christians, should the welfare of the church or the saluatiō of mens soules, hang on their courtesie? But they aske how we proue that Moses and the kings of Iudah & the Iudges before thē, were figures of Christ. They know it true, & dare not denie it, & yet to quarrel & trifle with the trueth, they must haue it proued. Yea they charge vs as Anabaptistes & denying Magistrates, because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates aboute Christ Jesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters. For the Scepter shal not depart frō Iuda, saith the Scripture [Gene. 49.] nor a law giuer frō betwene his feete, vntil Shiloe come. By these wordes Iacob did prophesie, that one should take the spiritual kingdome & be Lord thereof, namelie Christ Iesus, and euer more one of the tribe of Iuda & house of Daud, should foreshew the same as in figure, & sit also in the throne of iudgemēt, to declare it more liuelie, and that the throne of Daud and the raigne of his children did so signifie, the Scripture declareth, as it is written [Isa. 16.], In mercie shall the throne be established, & he shal sit vpon it in stedfastnes in the Tabernacle of Daud, iudging and seeking iudgement and hastening iustice. And again it is written [Psal. 45.], In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be, whom thou shalt make Princes throughout all the earth. And this is spoken of the posteritie of Salomon, which as figures of Christ, were Lords of the world, though their dominio in worldly wise was not so large. For all that Psalm is to magnifie the kingdome of Christ which is his church, which was prefigured by Salomon & his posteritie, and by the mariage of Salomon, which shadowed the church & the childrē thereof. And againe it is writtē [Isa. 9.], that Christ shall sit vpō the throne of his father Daud, and vpon his kingdome, to order it & to stablish it with iudgement and with iustice for euer. Wherefore was it called the throne of Daud & his kingdome, but because in a cōtinual course it shadowe out the kingdome of Christ till his cōming. Therefore also are Daud, Salomon, Iehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Iosiah, and others, set downe in the Scripture as figures. Yea and the euill kings of Inda, though not in their wickednesse, yet in that authoritie and calling whiche they shoulde haue rightlie vsed were figures.

For they all had their entrance at the East gate of the Temple, at the which the people might worshippe, but not goe in [Ezek. 46.]: they might pray for the people, and by their sacrifices attonement might be made: as it is writtē [Psal. 20.], Let him remember all thine offerings, and turne thy burnt offerings into Ashes. And againe, Saue Lorde, let

the King heare vs in the daye that we call. Yea all those Kings were to looke to the Temple, to the building and restoring thereof when it was decayed, as did Iehoash, Iosiah, Hezekiah, and others.

Let them looke the 4. of Zacharie, the thirde of Hosea, and 5. verse, the 33 of Ieremie, and manie other places, especiallie in the Psalmes, and they shall finde Dauid and his children after him, in the throne of iudgement to foreshewe the comming of Christ. And if the high Priestes and Kings of Iudah in their spiritual ministration were glorious [Zacha. 4.], because they figured Christ Iesus, & for the glorie of their office were cōpared to two Oliue trees, and two golden Candlestickes [Reuela. 11.], Then also must their ministration be glorious, to whom God shall giue power in these latter dayes to be his witnesses. For they also stande before the God of the earth, as it is written Reuel. 11. And if anie man, whether Magistrate or other, would hurt them, the fire of their message proceedeth out of their monthes, and denoureth their enimies. Therefore is their authoritie of God and not of man, and much lesse doeth it depende on man, or on the Magistrate. For vpon what man did the authoritie of Moses depende? yet Paule affirmeth [2. Cor. 3.], that the ministration of the spirite committed to all faithfull teachers at this time, exceedeth in glorie the ministration by Moses and the Prophetes before time. Yea the Church hath more authoritie concerning Church gouernement then Magistrates, as it is written [Isa. 45.], They shall followe thee, and shal goe in Chaines: they shall fall downe before thee, and make supplication vnto thee. For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power aboue all persones, yet they come vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble them selues in vnfaigned repentaunce, when they haue openlie and grieuouslie trespassed. They are in deede to keepe their Royal dignitie, yet keeping that they are to abase them selues vnto God before the face of the Church. For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saith the Prophete [Isa. 60.]: and that kingdome and nation which will not also serue his Church (for so is the text) shall perishe, and the Nation shall be vtterlie destroyed. And the daughters of Tyrus, saith the Psalmist [Psal. 47.], with the riche of the people, shall do homage before thy face with presentes. And further it is writtē in Isai: Euerie tounge that shal rise against thee in iudgement, shalt thou condemne, this is the heritage of the Lords seruantes, and their righteousnes is of me, saith the Lorde [Isa. 54.]. But all this would the adueraries shift of, with this aunswere, that concerning outwarde policie we must tarie for the Magistrate: See howe they grope for the wall, as menne without eyes. For when wee speake of spirituall power and authoritie in the Church, doo we speake of ciuile policie, trowe ye? So then they condemne them selues least we should doo it, that the spirituall power and Ecclesiasticall reformation, must proceede without taryng, but to redress things ciuile, the ciuile Magistrate must meddle, and none is to take his authoritie from him. For we knowe that wheu Magistrates haue bin most of all against the

Church and the authoritie thereof, the Church hath most flourished. Woe to you therefore ye blinde Preachers and hypocrites: for ye spreade a vaile of darkenes vpon the people, and bring vpon them a cursed couering, because by your policie you hide them vnder the power of Antichrist, and keepe from their eyes the kingdome of Christe. The Lordes kingdome must waite on your policie forsooth, and his Church muste bee framed to your ciuill state, to supplie the wantes thereof: and so will ye change the Lordes gouernement, and put your deuises instead thereof: but his shalbe alwayes the same, when yours shall change with your wittes, his lawes shall alwayes abyde whē yours shal turne in your hoodes, his hath the same offices, but yours haue newe and renewed offices [Ex. 25. 29, 40., Mat. 28. 20., 1 Tim. 6. 13.]. Goe to therefore, and the outwarde power and ciuil forcings, let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner: by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill lawe written: by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outward onelie. But these handsome Prelates, would haue the Mase and the Scepter in their handes, and then hauing safetie and assurance by a lawe on their sides, they would make a goodlie reformation.

Beholde the Lorde hath seene this their villanie, and he hath made them despised and vile in the sight of the people. They haue refused knowledge, and the Lorde hath refused them, they shall beare no more the name of his message.

*Of their wicked aunswere, that they can not remedie things, and therefore they will tolerate.*

Beholde, the Lorde hath cast dunge on their faces, euen the dunge of their solemne feastes [Mala. 2.], as of their Christmasse, and Easter, and Whitsuntide, and of all their traditions, receyued from Baal. For in their solemue meetings, then doeth their iniquitie most woefullie appeare. And they haue said plainlie (as in the days of Malachie) [Mala. 1.] the table of the Lorde is not to be regarded. For though hogges and Dogges come thereto, yet who can redresse it: or why should the Communion be counted polluted vnto vs? Thus they pollute my name saith the Lorde, and yet they say Wherein haue we polluted thy name? In that ye suffer such wickednesse amongst you, saith the Lorde, and say also that it is sufferable, and can no way be remedied. O goodlie teachers, which eate vp the sinne of the people, and deuouresse soules whyle they wil tolerate forsooth: For by tolleration, they make vnlawfull things lawfull: and by a protestation they iustifie all iniquitie. In deede they be euill say they, but yee must beare with them, for there is no remedie. So not onelie they practise and vse them them selues, and drawe on others by their wicked example, but also commaunde and teache all men the like, yea hate and persecute all those which stande not with them. O notable Protestantes, which both witness euil & do the same. Darkenes hath certainlie couered vs, and grosse

darkenesse hath filled vs, that we could not hitherto espie this great follie. For no wickednesse is tollerable, except for the hardnes of mennes hartes, we yeelde them vp to their wickednesse. For the Lordes way sayeth the Scripture [Isa. 35.], is holy, and no polluted shall passe by it. And againe it is written [Isa. 60.], That the Lordes people (he speaketh of the Church) shal be all righteous, that is, no open wickednesse shal so shew it selfe in the Church, that it shoulde be incurable. For either the parties which offende, shalbe separate, or else they shalbe reclaimed by due admonition. And therefore the Church is called the house of the liuing God, the pillar and grounde of trueth [1. Tim. 3.]. For by the due order therein, Religion and holinesse is vphelde, and all heresies, euill maners, and wicked examples put away. If then anie open wickednesse must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those which are none of the church: as it is written [1. Cor. 5.], What haue I to doo to iudge them which are without, doe yee not iudge them which are within? for God iudgeth them which are without. Knowe ye not (saith the Scripture) that a little leauen leaueneth the whole lumpe. Howe then shall we suffer but a little wickednesse, whiche indeede is not little if it can not be remedied. Yea Paule [1. Cor. 7.] would not bee brought into bondage of the least thing that is, and it is horrible iniquitie to be seruantes to men, that is, when we are bought for so great a price to glorifie God as his free men, that we should be made seruantes to menne to suffer their wickednesse. Goe to therefore yee tolerating Preachers, this you get by your tolerating, to haue no name amonge the righteous, nor to be of the bodie of the Church. For Ierusalem is called a citie of trueth, and the mountaine of the Lorde, the holie mountaine [Zacha. 8.]. But ye are vnholie, in that ye saye, some pollutions can not bee clensed awaye, but muste needes be suffered among you. And this is a certaine trueth, that where anie open disorder is incurable, there is not the Lords Zion, to the which he is turned to dwell therein: that is, they are not the Lordes Church, ouer whom he doeth raigne to shewe his kingdome and gouernement. For the Lordes kingdome is not as mannes, and his rule in his Church is not the rule of man. Man is not able to reforme al things, and in the common wealthes manie thinges are suffered. But in the Church, though hypocrites which are called the tares, can not bee rooted out, yet no open disorder shall so spreade it selfe, that it can not be remedied. Else should not the Church be called the pillar and ground of trueth, the Lordes resting place, his holie habitation, his kingdome and glorious renoune. Therefore doth Paule call [1. Cor. 5.] that part of church gouernement, which is to separate the vngodlie, the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. For thereby are the Kings bounde with chaines, and the Nobles with fetters of yron [Psal. 149.], that they may execute vpon them, the iudgement that is written, Such honor bee to all his Saintes. And in deede this is a great honour we haue, as Paule sayeth [2. Cor. 10.], that though we walke in the fleshe, yet we warre not after the fleshe. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe

houldes, casting downe the imaginations, and euerie high thing, that is exalted against the knowledge of God, & bringing into captiuitie euerie thought to the obedience of Christ. So then there is nothing which the Lorde will not breake, if it be against his glorie, neither anie wickednes which the gouernement of his Churche is not able to put downe. For the Scepter of Christ is a right Scepter [Psal. 45.], hee will keepe in awe his people in this life, and put aparte from the vnrulie: he shall be Iudge among the Heathen, and fill all with dead bodies, and smite the heades ouer great Countries [Psal. 110.], and after this life he hath made readie the last vengeance against all disobedience, when the obedience of his people is fulfilled. Howe then dare these menne teache vs, that anie euill thing is tolerable in the Church, as though the church gouernement could not remedie it: yea and so tolerable, that all men should be brought into bondage thereby: yea into so foolishe bondage that they should protest a thing to be euill, and so thinke they are excused to practise the same.

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