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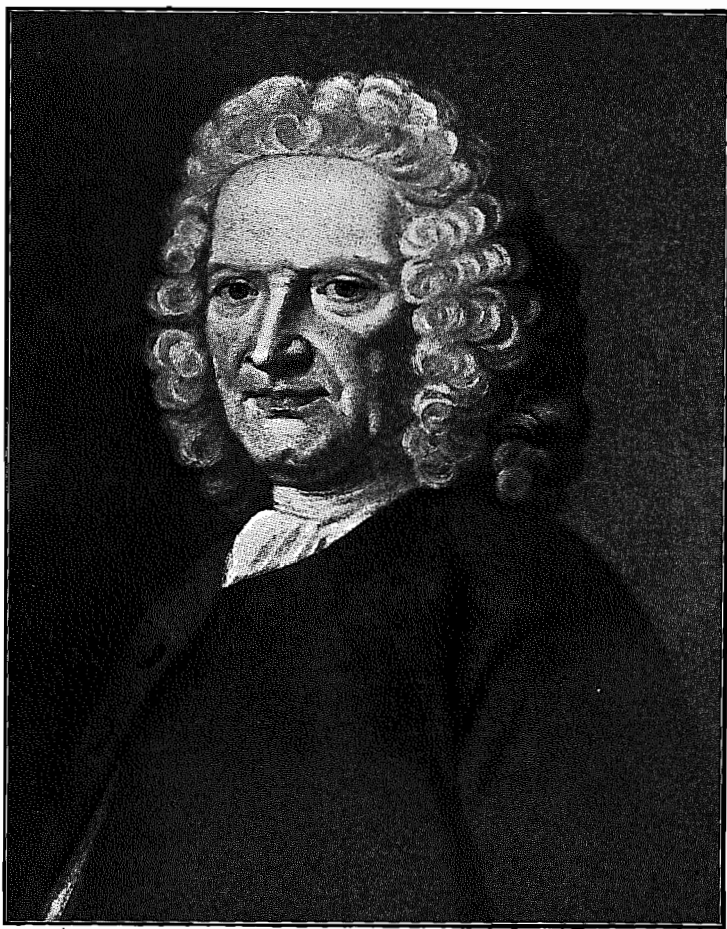
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**JOHN WARD, LL.D.**

**1679-1758.**

**PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AT GRESHAM COLLEGE,  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,  
TRUSTEE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.**

*From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery.  
Photographed by Emery Walker, Limited.*

# Transactions

of the

## Baptist Historical Society.

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John Ward, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

**J**OHN WARD, the founder of the Trust which preserves his name, was born in London in or about the year 1679, and remained a Londoner all his lifetime. He was the son of a Baptist minister, also named John, who lived to the age of 81, dying in 1717. His epitaph, composed by his son, describes him as one who "had suffered much for the sake of integrity and religion, and borne it with a valiant and lofty spirit." The mother, Constancy Rayner, was known as a woman "of extraordinary piety and excellence of temper." Out of a family of fourteen children only two survived their father, John and Abigail, the sister keeping house for the brother, and dying some years before him. The Wards seem to have had a close association with the village of Tysoe in Warwickshire. John Ward, the father, was buried there: and a tablet fixed against a pillar in the Parish Church still bears the names of Thomas Ward, who died in 1710, his wife Abigail, and their son and daughter, Isaiah and Abigail. Thomas must have been brother to the older John, for we find Isaiah in correspondence with the younger John, and addressed by him as cousin.

From his boyhood the subject of this notice was known as a lover of learning. His Latin letters, copies of which have been preserved, begin with some written to his cousin at Tysoe when he was eighteen, and though the style is rather stilted, the writer is master of the language. The substance of the letters is interesting. Isaiah has written words of friendly admonition to John, who was very much his junior, begging him, while still strong and well, to set his heart on things unseen and eternal. Soon after, John fell ill, and in his illness his cousin's warning came to mind, "aegre," for he had neglected it. Illness he found a bad time for religious exercise. But in the happy days of convalescence he wrote, with a real desire to become a servant of Christ: and presently, on the eve of a visit to Tysoe, he wrote again, as one "prepared to yield willingly to the Will of God, who best knows how to turn all things to our good." The glimpse is of more value, because in the later correspondence there is so little reference to the subject of personal religion.

At the time of writing those letters, Ward was a clerk in the Navy Office, having received his early education at a private school. He remained in the Office till 1710; but his evenings were devoted to study, under the direction of a certain John Ker, M.D., who kept an academy at Highgate, and afterwards in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell. He became an excellent classical scholar, with a special taste for Greek and Roman antiquities. Then, finding himself qualified to take his place as a teacher of others, he quitted his business life, and set up a school for boys in Tenter Alley, Moorfields, preferring, as he said, "to converse with boys on the subjects of literature rather than transact the ordinary affairs of life among men." A letter dated twenty-five years later to a schoolmaster who asked advice shows some of the

principles on which he worked in his own academy. "A proper discipline is necessary, managed with authority rather than severity." "The great thing is to make them understand what they are about." "I am inclined to apply this maxim to the case, Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora." One hint has a gleam of humour: "Obliging them to speak Latin or be silent has the advantage of preventing much noise in school, which is of equal service to children and master." The school gained a high reputation: eminent names are found among the pupils, and some of them won honours at the Northern Universities. The name of John Ward became known, and his learning appreciated. As early as 1712 he was admitted a member of a Society, chiefly composed of lawyers and divines, who met to discuss questions of Civil and International Law. His way was thus opened to positions of still higher importance, and in 1720 he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College. In 1725 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; later, he served on its Council and became one of its vice-presidents. In 1735 the Society of Antiquaries also made him a Fellow. In 1751 the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Perhaps the best proof of the estimation in which he was held is in the fact that, when the British Museum was projected a few years before his death, Dr. Ward's name appears among the list of original trustees. He must have proved a treasure to his colleagues, of whom not a few were distinguished rather by their rank than by their learning. In a manuscript volume of their proceedings preserved among his papers he is constantly in evidence. His handwriting, small and cramped, but clearly legible, may frequently be traced. His friend, Dr. Birch, mentions that "he was singularly useful in settling the rules and forming the new

institution by his assiduous attendance, advice, and assistance." His whole career was one of extraordinary industry. Besides his regular duties as Professor and the preparation of his own books, he was the trusted referee of a large literary circle, rich himself in learning and experience, and generous in sharing his treasures with others. He lived to the ripe age of 79, steadily at work to the end.

To such a man life in London during those eventful years must have been full of interest. The City still lay enclosed within its walls and gates, ill paved, ill lighted, and unvexed by sanitary rules: but on every side were marks of progress and prosperity. Splendid buildings were rising. Ward was still a boy when the new St. Paul's was completed; he witnessed the opening of the Bank of England and the Mansion House, and the British Museum was in building when he died. If he was too young to understand the excitement of the citizens over the flight of James II. and the landing of William, he would join in their satisfaction at the Hanoverian succession; he would see Marlborough returned victorious from Blenheim and Ramillies; and, as an old man, he would watch with alarm the advance of the Pretender and his Highland host, and rejoice in their retreat and final overthrow. In more peaceful days there was no lack of sensations in the City. Ward was just entering on his duties at Gresham College when the South Sea Bubble burst, and the crowds of ruined speculators must have been seen passing the very doors. Not far away, in Spitalfields, the French Protestant refugees were settling into their English life, free from the cruel grasp of persecution. Wesley and Whitefield were preaching in Moorfields or on Kennington Common at seven in the morning to attentive thousands. Audiences of another kind gathered round the masters of the natural sciences within the walls of the College itself, where

the Royal Society had found a temporary home. With such men of learning Ward would be on terms of friendly acquaintance. In their social assemblies he would converse with philosophers and men of science, lawyers and divines, statesmen and nobles, and command their respect. Sir Isaac Newton was President of the Royal Society when Ward was admitted as a Fellow. Dr. Thomas Birch, its Secretary, was an intimate friend. Benson and Lardner, the famous Dutch scholar Gronovius, and other learned men were his frequent correspondents. But perhaps he found equal pleasure in the companionship of his Baptist brethren, like Benjamin Avery, the first named of his Trustees, and the two Stennetts, father and son, men not only devout but able and accomplished, and in full sympathy with his scholarly interests and pursuits.

## II.

Gresham College, where Ward was to find for eight-and-thirty years his home, as well as his Professor's Chair, had a notable origin. Its founder, as the name denotes, was that famous merchant-prince of Queen Elizabeth's time, who built the Royal Exchange, and entertained his sovereign and her distinguished visitors at his own spacious house in Bishopsgate. Among the provisions of his will, written with his own hand and sealed with his famous crest of the grasshopper, was embraced a scheme in which he endowed a College for the City of London, to be open to all comers, without charge and without condition. The endowment was to be furnished by the rents from the Exchange, and the Trust was to be administered by a two-fold authority, the Lord Mayor and his Council on the one side and the Mercers' Company on the other. Between them they were to arrange for the appointment of seven Lecturers or

Readers, and see to the payment of their salaries. They were also to fix the order of the classes. The Lord Mayor and Council were to appoint to the four Chairs of Divinity, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry, the Mercers to those of Law, Physic, and Rhetoric. The salaries, "meete for men sufficiently learned" were to be "to every one of the said Readers Fifty Pounds yearly, of lawful money of England, to be paid by equal portions at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin and at that of St. Michael." Further, the testator bequeathed his own dwelling-house with the gardens, the stables, and all appurtenances for the purposes of the Trust. The Lecture Rooms were to be found in its galleries: in the smaller rooms the lecturers were to be accommodated with suitable lodgings "to inhabit, study, and daily to read the said Lectures." They would thus be close at hand for their work, and the provision, considering the lightness of the duty, and the value of money in those days, was not inadequate. Another stringent clause followed: "And my Will is that none shall be chosen so long as he shall be married, nor suffered to read any of the said Lectures after that he shall be married, neither receive any fee or stipend" (obviously outside the Trust) "for the reading of the said Lectures." It was thought necessary to ratify these provisions by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1581.

The Trust Funds did not become available till Lady Gresham's death in 1597. The appointed authorities then proceeded to lay down a series of "Rules and Ordinances for the good government of Gresham College." It is plain that they took their duties very seriously. They and their successors kept a heavy hand on the Professors. Perhaps they were scarcely fitted to deal with learned and sensitive men. By the time that Ward was elected to his Chair the relations between the two bodies were extremely



strained. The rents from the Exchange had fallen off, and the College buildings were in bad need of repair. There was much friction and dissatisfaction on both sides. Some of the Professors began to neglect their classes, and indignant citizens complained of their irregularity and indifference. The classes, which seem at first to have done useful work, dwindled away, till sometimes there was no audience at all. Dr. Johnson looked in now and then, and remarked to Boswell that "the Lecturer contrived to have no scholars" and that the fault lay in making the admission gratuitous; no motive was given for exertion. The issue was that in Besant's words, "a foundation destined by Sir Thomas Gresham to become a rival to Trinity at Cambridge or Christ-church at Oxford was reduced to the level of a Lecture Institute." The curious visitor may still find the Rhetoric Professor reading his course of Lectures during one week in every term in the Hall of the new Gresham College, at the corner of Basinghall Street, opened by the Lord Mayor with some ceremony in December 1913.

### III.

We shall find that John Ward had his full share of the disadvantages of the position. Yet a Professorship in the College must have been regarded as a desirable post for a literary man, for there were seven candidates when, in 1720, the office fell vacant. The election lay with the Committee of the Mercers' Company, and a copy of the minutes has been preserved. Each applicant had sent in his "petition," with recommendations attached, and these were now read at full length in the hearing of the rest. Then the stringent Rules of the Trust were also read, and all had to signify their consent; a rather superfluous demand in the case of the unsuccessful six. The

minutes continue: "The Committee proceeding to election, the choice fell on Mr. John Ward, who has recommended himself to the learned world by the accurate and useful works which he has published in the Latin tongue, as appears by the testimonials attached to his petition. And to the said John Ward is ordered to read the said Rhetorick Lectures, to receive the salary, and to enjoy the lodging thereto belonging from Michaelmas 1720." The Committee exacted from Mr. Ward a bond that he would faithfully discharge the obligations of his office, and made him find a surety to the extent of £500 to secure obedience.

The Duties of the newly-appointed Professor were hardly to be called exhausting. Under the original order in 1597 he would have been required to read "thrice every week in the term time on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, by the space of one whole hour, in the Latin tongue, with a brief recapitulation for one quarter of an hour in the English tongue, between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon." The conditions had been somewhat relaxed. Two Lectures in the week were now deemed to be enough. These were fixed for the same day, Friday; one, in Latin, to be given at nine in the forenoon, and one, in English, at three in the afternoon. The strain of the work would obviously come at the beginning. The preparation of a course of forty Lectures, both in Latin and English, even on a subject so comparatively simple as Rhetoric, and for a teacher so accomplished as Ward, would involve an immense amount of reading, reflection, and orderly arrangement; and a perusal of his published discourses proves that he spared no pains in their production. But this initial labour once completed, the work of necessary revision would be light, and all that remained was the regular and faithful delivery.

The engagement left the Professor with a generous margin of leisure, and a man of Ward's untiring energy would have found thirty-eight years of such a life intolerable, unless he had been free to seek ampler occupation in more varied and stirring scenes. Gresham College was his home for all that length of days, but it was only the centre of a strenuous, fruitful, and intensely interesting life.

Rhetoric was still a recognised department of study when Sir Thomas Gresham founded his College. Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton in the following century, bade his scholars "not neglect Rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon, and none despise eloquence but such dull souls as are not capable of it." But when Ward came to his Chair, the subject was no longer popular in England, and no crowded Lecture Room awaited him. There were days when he had to address an audience of three or four; days when the janitor came with the announcement, that there was "no company."

The Lectures remain, and may be read in the form in which they were delivered. They were found, at the author's death, prepared for publication, and came out the next year in two volumes, under the title, "A System of Oratory." A prefatory note states that they formed "his regular course, revised from time to time during the space of thirty-eight years, in which he punctually discharged the duties of his Professorship, having been elected to it on September 1, 1720 and dying on October 17, 1758."

The work begins with a Latin Oration "de usu et praestantia artis dicendi," which formed the introduction to the course and was no doubt attended by the members of the Committee and the other Professors. All the Lectures, as we saw, were given both in Latin and English, and to the author they

were equally familiar; but in the book we have only the English. Excellent English it is, with no strain or false emphasis, easy, expressive, transparent, and a good example of the art which he was teaching. In his treatment of the subject, the writer is careful to acknowledge, there is nothing novel. Perhaps he is most interesting in his detailed counsels about Voice and Gesture. Not the hands and the arms only but the head, the eyes, the shoulders, the feet, are shown to have a part to play in the speaker's art. The student is advised to maintain usually "a calm and sedate voice," while avoiding monotony, and to "let the gradations be gentle and regular." He should not "exceed the natural key of the voice or drop it at the end of a sentence." With all their simplicity, such hints lay a wholesome emphasis on the need for that Voice Culture which is almost all that remains of the ancient Rhetoric.

In the main divisions of his theme Ward is content to follow his three chosen authorities, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. What they do not teach, he does not think worth notice. His illustrations are almost all from the Latin or Greek. He has the Classics at his fingers' end; and Homer or Virgil, Livy or Tacitus, and above all his favourite Cicero are drawn into the service. One longs for some allusions to the great English writers who must have been familiar to so cultured a man, but with the exception of Addison, the English Bible is the one quarry for quotation. The Bible references may be traced in all parts of the book: they are not frequent, but they are always to the point, and show that he knew it well.

#### IV.

The larger part of John Ward's activities lay outside his Gresham Lectureship. Not only his books,

but his letters, his manuscripts, his memoranda, show a man ardent and unremitting in the literary pursuits which had been his delight from his youth. Two of his early productions survive, one of poetry, "Carmina Puerilia," another of Essays, "Oratiuncula." The latter are mainly on moral subjects, such as "the lust for money" and "the triumphs of the constant mind," but one paper raises the question of Peter's residence in Rome, and another treats of "the use and dignity of the art of speaking," the very title of his inaugural Oration as Professor in the time to come. Early in his career we find him communicating to the Society of Antiquaries important notes on the Roman inscriptions and antiquities found in Britain, with special reference to the buried city of Silchester. In 1725 he is engaged in a spirited controversy with Dr. Conyers Middleton on the status of medical men among the ancient Romans. In the "Philosophical Transactions" from 1730 to 1753 may be found numerous contributions from him on ancient dates over windows and doorways, and on all manner of Roman remains and inscriptions. A warm acknowledgment in the Preface to Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary of assistance rendered in its preparation shows the kind of service which Ward was constantly rendering to authors and publishers. A splendid volume, with plates of 700 English coins, gold and silver, from the time of William the Conqueror, brought out by the Society of Antiquaries after Dr. Ward's death, owed to him the elaborate descriptions attached to the various specimens. His great work, "The Lives of the Gresham Professors," prefaced by a sketch of the College history, came out in 1740. The care which he bestowed on it is shown by the interleaved copy preserved in the Museum Library with copious manuscript notes of alterations and additions to be made in a subsequent edition. Two

small manuscript note-books, "Miscellaneous Collections relating to Gresham College," and nine more, "Memoirs relating to Gresham College," comprise a multitude of interesting details, public and private, recorded in the most exact and painstaking manner. The third volume of the "Memoirs" contains a printed copy of the Will of Sir Thomas Gresham, with his directions in full with respect to the College and its government.

Two of Dr. Ward's published works may receive a special word of notice. The first is of interest from the circumstance that it was prepared for the press by the author during the last year of his life, when laid aside from more active duties. It is entitled, "Four Essays on the English Language," and it deals with its Orthography, the Division of Syllables, the Use of the Article, and the Formation of the Verbs. These Essays had been written for private use, but friends, who had themselves profited by the perusal, urged their publication. In the Preface occurs the personal explanation, "Having been confined at home by a long and painful disorder this last winter, which disabled me from my duty elsewhere, I determined to follow my friends' advice, that I might not wholly answer the character given to a useless person,

*"Mancus et extinctae corpus non utile dextrae."*

The Preface is dated, "Gresham College, May 24, 1758." The writer died in the October of the same year.

The other book did not appear till after the author's death, but he left it ready for the press. It is his "Dissertations on Several Passages of the Sacred Scriptures." From his note-books it is clear that Ward had his Bible always at his side. In his ordinary reading he looks for illustrations of it, and records them. Questions occur to him as he reads, "Joshua x. 12. Did the sun stand still?" "John

xix. 37. Was this to be in repentance or in despair?" There are notes on varied points, on Usury, on Messianic Prophecy in the Psalms, on the state of the Hebrew printed Text of the Old Testament, on a various reading in Romans vii. 25. A paper on "The manner of St. Paul's two Imprisonments at Rome contrasted" was printed by Dr. Benson in his Notes on six Epistles of St. Paul. Another, "The Case of our Saviour's Crucifixion," in which Ward contends, against Bishop Sherlock, that He was crucified as by the death of a slave, was warmly praised by the same high authority. The "Dissertations" were thus the outcome of years of thought and enquiry. The book was of sufficient importance to receive some "friendly observations" from the pen of Dr. Lardner. It deals with the criticisms of such writers as Toland, Bolingbroke, and Middleton. Dr. Ward accepts, as we should expect, the historical character of the Pentateuch and of the miracles both in the Old Testament and the New. He is by no means rigidly conservative in his views, and there is a fine candour and frankness in his interpretations. It is of interest to read what a learned and devout Baptist of the eighteenth century wrote on Scripture passages, and a few specimens may be offered.

Genesis ix. 25. "Cursed be Canaan." "The verb is not expressed in the Hebrew or the Septuagint, and may be supplied in the future, "Cursed will be Canaan," a prediction of what would befall the posterity of Canaan." A similar rendering is suggested in 2 Kings i. 10 and 2 Tim. iv. 14: also in certain Psalms, where "several passages which seem to be revengeful imprecations are really prophetic denunciations and predictions."

Joshua xxi. 43. How is this statement to be reconciled with such passages as Joshua xvii.

- 11-13 and Judges i. 27-28? "The Septuagint uses the word which means: They had the right of possession. None of the tribes were then put in possession of their whole share west of Jordan, but each had a considerable part, with a right to subdue the rest."
- Ezekiel xx. 25. "I gave them statutes that were not good." Dr. Ward explains, "I permitted them to follow the customs of the heathen"; and he adds, "The Jewish Law was weak, but it is never said to be not good."
- Matthew viii. 32 (The destruction of the swine). "The swine belonged in part to Jews, living in Gadara, complying with heathen customs, and perhaps eating swines-flesh. It was a just reward for their unfaithfulness."
- Matthew xi. 2. "It is scarce probable that John made that enquiry on his own account; most likely he sent his disciples for their own satisfaction. And it appears that the errand was very well suited to answer such a design, for they became the disciples of the Saviour after their master's death."
- Matthew xxi. 19. The withering of the fig-tree. "The tree, being on the road, was probably no man's property. An innocent miracle, to teach the efficacy of strong and lively faith."
- Luke iv. 33-36. The demoniac in the synagogue. "The name 'demoniac' may in some places in the New Testament be applied to natural disorders, become inveterate."
- Acts ix. 7, as compared with Acts xxii. 9. "The two accounts are easily reconciled by the double sense of the Greek word and of our English "voice," which signifies either an indistinct sound of words in general or a distinct human voice or speech. So the



companions of Saul heard a voice, but not in so clear a manner as to understand what was said."

- I Corinthians x. 2. "Here is a plain allusion to the original form of Christian baptism by immersion. The analogy is evident. As the Israelites were under the cloud, and encompassed on each side by the sea, they were in a manner immersed in water."
- I Corinthians xv. 29. "What shall they do that are baptized for the dead?" Dr. Ward paraphrases the text thus: "Besides, what advantage is it to be laid in the water like dead bodies when you are baptized? If dead bodies are not to be raised again, why are you baptised after the similitude of dead bodies? The ceremony has no meaning unless it prefigures the resurrection of the body." He claims Chrysostom as supporting this explanation.
- Revelation ii. 17. "I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it." "This seems to allude," says Dr. Ward, "to a custom among the Romans by which they cultivated and preserved a lasting friendship between particular persons and their families. The method was by a small piece of bone or ivory, or sometimes of stone, shaped in the form of an oblong, which they called 'tessera.' This they divided lengthwise into two equal parts, on each of which one of the parties wrote his name, and interchanged it with the other. This gave a mutual claim to reception and kind treatment. The faithful in Pergamos should hereafter be acknowledged by Christ and received into

his favour and perpetual friendship. The name was only known to the possessor, the stone being kept privately and with great care, and its benefits designed only for himself and his family."

A manuscript note may be added, on 2 Corinthians v. 10, "It cannot be supposed that all the actions and words of each particular person will then be recounted. For every one, as I suppose, must know his doom at the time of his death."

## V.

When we turn to Ward's personal life, the first enquiry is as to the rooms in the College, where he made his home. The College, as already mentioned, had been Sir Thomas Gresham's own mansion-house, and stood, as described in his Will, "in the Parish of St. Helen Bishopgate and St. Peter-le-Peor." It fronted Bishopsgate, and with its gardens, stables and outbuildings covered a large area of ground stretching back to Broad Street. The house was in the form of a quadrangle, with a grass court in the middle. A plan of it in 1739 is given in the Lives of the Gresham Professors and is copied in Besant's "London." It contained, beside its spacious Galleries and Reception Rooms, suites of apartments sufficiently numerous and commodious to lodge all the seven Professors. The rooms of the Rhetoric Professor looked out into the court. They were on two floors: on the ground floor a paved passage led to a parlour, and above were a kitchen, two bedchambers, a dining-room, and a study. The provision was adequate; but in Ward's days the drawbacks were serious; and his journals show how much of the learned man's time and thought was taken up by vexatious details and appeals, often disregarded, to the civic authorities.

After the Great Fire in 1666 the College had been

placed, with the ready consent of the Professors, at the disposal of the Lord Mayor and his Council. The Lord Mayor made his home in the rooms of the Divinity Professor; the other officials occupied the remainder; and the merchants used the quadrangle as their Exchange. The Royal Society, subsequently held its meetings in the College. These engagements were temporary, and the building reverted to its proper tenants; but attention had been drawn to the extensive accommodation which it offered, and unwelcome visitors arrived. The Professors were horrified in May 1723 to find placards posted on the College front announcing that the notorious South Sea Company was opening a Transfer Office in one of the rooms, and inviting the attendance of the public. It took some months to get the Company ejected, and involved the greatest interruption and annoyance. On another occasion a company of the City Militia was quartered on the College, with the consent of the inmates; but the men behaved so badly, and left the place so filthy as to justify the most forcible expressions of disgust in the journals of the time. The open square became a source of disquiet. It formed a convenient thoroughfare between Bishopsgate and Broad Street, and tradesmen were constantly passing to and fro with their burdens. Orders had been issued that the gates should be closed at sunset, and the janitor had been instructed to remove any noisy children or disorderly intruders. But the janitor must have grown remiss, for in 1751 we find Mr. Ward himself and his neighbour, Mr. Machin, lodging a serious complaint with the Committee. The Committee meet, and record on their Minutes that "poor people and other idle persons resort to the quadrangle, and sit upon the bench there; and that both men and boys make it a place of rendezvous for fighting matches; and nurses with children daily frequent it

almost from morning to night, and by the screaming of children and other noises disturb Mr. Ward and Mr. Machin in their studies." Most exasperating for studious men! Surely the natural remedy would have been to close the court, as being private property. All that could be drawn from the unsympathising authorities was a rebuke administered to the janitor for his neglect and a caution to take better care. Another grievance, the unseasonable noise made by the city waits under the study windows, was more sternly dealt with, and the nuisance was promptly stopped. But the Governing Body remained as stiff and unreasonable as ever. Throughout the years 1752—1754, Dr. Ward seems to have been in the thick of the fight with them, always courteous and considerate but showing a fine *esprit-de-corps* and a manifest sense that he and his colleagues were harshly and unfairly treated.

He had ground for complaint on his private account. The whole building had grown sadly out of repair, and the Committee, being short of funds, were very slow to act. Ward had perpetual trouble with them. Now we find him sighing over the broken pavement at the door; now the water-pipe is stopped up and there is no supply in the kitchen; presently the floor of the garret is sinking; worst of all, part of the tiling has fallen away and the study itself lies open to the weather. "I remonstrated," says the sufferer, "but the inconvenience continued." Eventually he has to do the repairs at his own cost. One summer he had to pay £8 4s. 3¼d. to the builders, a large slice out of a small income. The Mercers, who ought to have taken better care of their ablest Professor, remained obstinate. At last, in January 1749, a visit is recorded: "The Sub-Committee viewed the outer door of my lodgings, and found it old and decayed, and the jambs so weak and rotten, unsafe and not

sufficient to secure me from the attempts of robbers." They had the grace to order a new door, but even a Christian philosopher must have found it hard to bear with equanimity the annoyances to which he so long remained exposed.

A number of curious little memoranda show us something of the man, as he was in his College rooms. Here is a list of prints and drawings, lying in his drawers or hung on the walls of one room and another. Here a note of the exact length of the three rooms, study, dining-room, and chamber—"116 feet, forward and backward." Evidently he is in the habit of walking the distance to and fro. Then we have dealings with his book-binder, Mr. Cooke, and consultations with Mr. Marlow "about disposing of my agate stud," and with some one else "about the repair of my tortoise-shell trunk." He reminds himself to order "a pair of leathern goloss-shoes." "Very large and uncommon lights seen in the sky" is the note for August 15, 1750. "Papists at Shrewsbury report" so runs another entry, "that Dr. Doddridge died at Lisbon in their communion." With all his devotion to learning, he was no recluse. We see him in company with his colleagues dining at the "Rummer" Tavern and elsewhere. He is punctual at the assemblies of the great Societies of which he was such an ornament. He has much to do in choosing books for the College Library and making rules for its management. The death of friends is carefully recorded, and he is punctilious in attending their funerals: "we had rings, scarfs, hatbands, and gloves" he notes on more than one occasion. On September 10, 1745, occurs the entry, pathetic in its simplicity, "My sister, Mrs. Abigail Ward, departed this life about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at my apartments in the College." On the 24th of the following February with equal precision runs the notice, "This morning, about 1 o'clock,

died Mary Fossiter, my servant, at her sister's house in Tower Street." Mr. Ward was much in request as a writer of inscriptions. A Collection of them evidently made by himself, some in Latin, some in English, shows the taste and skill with which he responded to such appeals. Most of the inscriptions were for memorial tablets or gravestones, as, for instance, that in the church at Cardington in memory of "the antient family of Whitbread," and that to Dr. Joseph Stennett in Bunhill Fields. But some were engraved below the statues of famous men, on William Harvey's in the College of Surgeons, on that of William III. in the Bank of England, and on that of Edward VI. in Guy's Hospital. It is a curious sign of the variety of Ward's accomplishments that when fireworks were being prepared to celebrate the General Peace of 1748 he had some considerable share in suggesting the appropriate Figures and Inscriptions.

The traces of travel are not numerous, but wherever this man went, it was with eyes wide open. Thus at Warwick, "there yet remained," he writes, "in August 1746, when I saw it, the statue of Guy, about nine feet high in a room cut out of the rock near the river, now turned into a laundry." And again, "cut on a rock in a field on the left hand of the road leading from Warwick to Kenilworth is the inscription, Richard Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, beheaded here." One remarkably interesting Journal remains of an "Excursion through the province of Holland and part of Flanders to Paris with the adjacent country and back to London between the 28th August and 12th October following in the year MDCCXXXIII." So runs the heading, and on the flyleaf is a carefully drawn table of the Dutch and French coinage with the English equivalents. The party was one of four, Ward himself, a Mr. Buckley,

and two unnamed gentlemen. They took the coach to Colchester, slept there, went on next day to Harwich, and sailed at 7 o'clock in the evening. They had to pay 12s. 6d. each for "King's duty," and a guinea each to secure a cabin to themselves. The voyage was the one exception to the enjoyment of the holiday. So boisterous was the wind that the sails were all taken in and the ship allowed to drive: one sailor had his leg broken; and for some hours the danger was extreme. In the morning the storm abated, and Helvoetsluys was reached at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The party travelled in comfort, and were looked on as persons of importance. At The Hague the British Ambassador entertained them and introduced them to the Prince of Orange. At Paris they dined with Earl Waldegrave and were invited to accompany him to Fontainebleau, where the French King and his court were in residence. Ward himself made friends with Catholic priests, and interviewed the keepers of libraries and the governors of prisons; he met lively fellow-travellers, who "talked very cheerfully and sang several pleasant songs"; he worshipped gladly with congregations of the English Church; and he seems to have felt no scruple about travelling on Sunday, when circumstances required it. At Abbeville, on the way home, "he wants a pipe," and seeks to borrow one from the innkeeper, who produced one, "very foul and black," and when her guest demurred to using it, reassured him: "several gentlemen have had it," said she.

Everything in those foreign lands has an interest for this observant traveller. He has eyes for the storks' nests on the roofs of the Dutch houses, for the demolished harbour works at Dunkirk, for the cleanliness in Holland, for the poverty in France, for the funerals, for the natural scenery, for the general condition of the various peoples. At Amsterdam he

finds the Jews, a strong community numbering forty thousand, celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles, with booths set up in the open streets. There also he examines with much care the torture instruments in use to compel criminals to confess their guilt, and the bars with which they were beaten to death. The churches everywhere are visited. At Antwerp, after the Cathedral and Rubens's pictures have been examined, he describes a procession of the Host through the streets and copies an inscription from over the altar at the High Cross, "Senatus populusque Antwerpiensis Deo homini crucifixo." Above all he is attracted by the great libraries, and in the congenial company of their custodians he pores over manuscripts, miniature paintings, and antiquities of every kind. The scholar is manifest on every page. As he crosses the Channel on his homeward way, he first contests Shakespeare's correctness in his description of Dover Cliffs, in "King Lear": and he then enters into calculations to show that Cæsar, in his invasion of Britain, must have sailed from the neighbourhood of Boulogne. He travels up to town with his friend Mr. Buckley, through the autumn beauties of the Kentish woods, looking joyfully forward to resume his College life and to meet his old acquaintances. They arrive safely, but a shadow falls over the sunshine. The journal concludes: "I had no sooner entered the College than a gentleman met me, and acquainted me with the death of my much esteemed and learned friend, Mr. Morland."

"Rebus in humanis miscentur tristia lætis."

## VI.

There is a portrait of Dr. Ward in the National Portrait Gallery, once in the British Museum, painted at the expence of Thomas Hollis, who had been one of his scholars in the Tenter Alley days. The dress



is quite plain: a large wig, a black coat buttoned across the chest, and a white lawn cravat about the neck. The forehead is square and strong, the eyes grey, the expression one of quiet dignity, firm purpose, and cheerful kindness. From all that can be gathered the likeness must be a true representation of the man. He must have been marked by precise and even punctilious habits, abhorring disorder and with an immense appetite for details. One imagines him un-hasting, unresting, always engaged in acquiring knowledge or imparting it. He could unbend, as the diaries show, and there is at least a trace of humour in the placid features; but no liberties would be possible with this polite and dignified scholar. His patience, judging from his behaviour toward his colleagues and the governing Committee of the College, must have been exemplary. The charm which his friends found in him is expressed in his biographer's words: "his modesty was equal to his learning, and his readiness to contribute to every work of literature, as distinguished as his abilities to do so." He must have had access, as we have seen, to the best circles, but he remained a simple, plain-living man, finding ample satisfaction in his own pursuits, walking in the old paths, and blest with the childlike spirit.

The same simplicity and breadth seem to have marked his religious and ecclesiastical convictions. "His piety," to quote again from Dr. Birch, "was sincere and unaffected; and his profession as a Christian was that of a Protestant Dissenter, with a candour and moderation which recommended him to the esteem of those members of the Established Church who had the pleasure of his acquaintance and friendship." Dr. Lardner also bears testimony to his sincere piety. He was sparing in the expression of personal experience. There is no reference to it in his later correspondence. The only letter which we find to Dr.

Stennett is on a passage in "Paradise Lost," and a reference to it by Addison in the "Spectator," and the only one from Dr. Stennett concerns certain recent antiquarian discoveries at Bath. These good men did not wear their hearts upon their sleeves. What in part compensates for the silence of the letters is the witness borne to Ward's devotional habits by a little manuscript book in his own handwriting containing an order of private prayer, dated 1757, the year before his death. The plan, as indicated, embraced five divisions, Invocation, Confession, Petition, Thanksgiving, and Conclusion; but it is only worked out as far as "Petition." There is nothing novel in the theology of this little manual. The spirit of it is one of profound humility; the style perhaps a little too formal and elaborate. Two extracts may be given. The first is from "Confession." After acknowledging "innumerable offences, aggravated by Thy offers of love and help," the prayer goes on to plead the divine promises of grace and forgiveness, and, in particular, "the appointment of Thine own Son as Saviour and Redeemer, who assumed our nature, and by His perfect obedience has procured pardon and forgiveness for all who by sincere repentance and faith in Him through the assistance of Thy grace shall endeavour to amend their ways and conform their lives and actions agreeably to Thy holy and righteous precepts." The second quotation is from "Petition." Prayers are made for deliverance from the power and guilt of sin, "that we may die more and more to sin, and live to the honour of Him who died for us," for the continued sanctification of our souls, and then, "as to the concerns of this life, that we may endeavour to keep a conscience void of offence towards all men, so conducting ourselves towards them with all justice and righteousness as to be unblemished and unspotted from the world." The prayer concludes, "in all

things giving thanks for Thy continued favour to us, and relying on Thy kind providence for everything necessary for our passage through this short and uncertain state of time, and making it our chief concern to secure an interest in Thy favour, and prepare us for that blessed state to which we are daily approaching." Coming as they do from one accustomed to order his thoughts and weigh his words so carefully, these utterances, and those of which they are a part, constitute an adequate Confession of Faith. They are certainly an expression of settled and matured conviction.

Dr. Ward's Trust is the standing memorial of his interest in ecclesiastical affairs. Dissenters in his day were still subject to painful disabilities. In the Little Wild Street Church an instance occurred in 1754, the year in which the Trust was founded; and the coincidence may be more than accidental. Mr. Allen Evans, a member of that church, a merchant of good standing in the City, was chosen one of the Sheriffs for the year. Acceptance of the office involved taking the Sacrament according to the form of the Established Church, and Mr. Evans declined to serve. The authorities took him to law for his refusal, and he was fined £600. He appealed to the House of Lords: and there the Chancellor, Lord Mansfield, in a famous judgment, pronounced in his favour. We would like to know what Dr. Ward thought about the trial, and about the whole Nonconformist position at the time. His natural caution and reserve would disincline him from taking part in ecclesiastical controversy. On the other hand, the memory of his father's sufferings, and the exclusion from the English Universities of many of his own most promising scholars, must have carried the sense of injustice home to him with peculiar force. If he did not speak, he acted. For from that feeling must have sprung the purpose to secure out of his

own modest property to some among the coming aspirants to the Baptist ministry opportunities for "improving in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and other studies suited to the Profession of Divinity."

The Deed of Trust is dated July 11, 1754. Five Trustees are named: Benjamin Avery, LL.D., a Trustee of Dr. Williams's Library and Secretary of the newly-formed Body of Dissenting Deputies, Thomas Watson, a wealthy calico printer, a member of the Baptist church at Curriers' Hall, and a hospitable friend to Nonconformist ministers, Dr. Joseph Stennett, Nathanael Neal, "of Million Bank, London, Gentleman," and John Ward, bookseller in Cornhill. The Trustees are to choose, within one year of Dr. Ward's death, two young men, between the age of 14 and 18, whose parents must be Protestant Dissenters, resident in England. Preference is to be given to Baptists. The scholars must have made a good proficiency in Latin and Greek. They shall continue in some good Grammar School for two years or less, improving in Latin and Greek, and beginning Hebrew. They shall then proceed to a Scottish University, Edinburgh being preferred. There they shall remain for four years, to furnish themselves for their future work as ministers or tutors of Divinity. They cease to enjoy the benefits of the Trust if they marry, if they are expelled from the University, or if they fail to satisfy the Trustees. After their terms at the University have expired, the grant may be continued for another year, to afford them further time for preparation. Any occasional surplus is to be used for the students' travelling expenses, or to their further encouragement. All working expenses are to be allowed for, and the sum of five and twenty shillings may be spent on an annual Dinner by the Trustees.

In 1863 the Charity Commissioners took the Trust in hand, and completed a revised Scheme for

its administration. The value of the Stock bequeathed by Dr. Ward had considerably increased: and now as many scholars may be appointed as the funds will allow. The number is usually five. The age for election is fixed at between 14 and 21: at 25 the Scholar ceases to enjoy the benefits of the Trust, nor can they be retained for more than six years. The Trustees may make use of any established University or other Educational Institution in the United Kingdom. The Dinner has disappeared.

The Trust has fully answered the founder's intention. It has enabled, and still enables, men of scholarly ability and ambition to prosecute studies which, without such assistance, would have been beyond their reach. "Some of the most eminent of the Baptist ministers" wrote Ivimey in 1830, "have been indebted to this bounty." It is intended to publish as complete a list as possible of the Ward Scholars. Here it may be enough to mention that out of the present Principals and Professors in the Baptist Colleges, at home and abroad, eight were in their student days among the number.

Dr. Ward seems to have continued to deliver his Rhetoric Lectures till within a year of his death. The winter before, as we learn from the Preface to his "Essays on the English Language," he was confined to his rooms but still able to make good use of his pen. In May 1758 on a circular summoning a meeting of the British Museum Trustees is a note in his own handwriting, "I was ill at home." He must have declined in strength quite gradually; his friends were not alarmed about him, and the end came unexpectedly. "He had gone well to bed," says his biographer, "but he waked between 3 and 4 in the morning, complaining of coldness in the head, and soon after expired." It was the 17th October 1758, and he was in his 80th year.

The grave had been already acquired in the Bunhill Fields Ground. Abigail Ward had been laid there some years before. We are not told who carried her brother to his burial. Samuel Stennett preached the funeral sermon, having succeeded his father in the pastorate at Little Wild Street, after his death in the previous February. The epitaph was prepared: Dr. Ward had himself composed it in his favourite Latin: and now his friend Dr. Chandler added the date, and the fitting words of appreciation. There is no trace left of the monument or of the grave; the whole inscription ran as follows:

Hic requiescit  
 Quod mortale fuit  
 Johannis Ward LL.D.  
 In Collegio Greshamensi  
 Per annos XXXVIII Rhetorices Professoris  
 Obiit anno salutis humanae MDCCLVIII  
 Bonus, ut melior vir  
 aut doctior non alius quisquam  
 imbutusque anima qualem neque candidiorem terra habet  
 Item  
 Dilectae ejus sororis  
 Abigailis Ward

### THE LITERARY WORKS OF JOHN WARD.

\*Manuscript in the British Museum.

\*Carmina Puerilia. "Additional Manuscript 6242."

\*Oratiunculæ. 6242.

\*Copies of Latin correspondence, 1697-1755 A.D. 6224-5.

\*Copies of English correspondence on literary subjects. 6226-7.

\*Various letters to and from him. 6181b.

\*List of persons educated under him. 6181c.

\*Synopsis Heerebordi Collegii Ethici. 6238.

1712. De ordine, sine de venusta et eleganti, tum vocabulorum, tum membrorum sententiæ collocatione.

1719. De asse et partibus ejus, commentarius (anonymous).

- \*Case of John Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, with Sir Dudley Rider's opinion, 1721 A.D. 6271.
1724. Gerardi Vossii Elementa Rhetorica, Editio . . . auctior; cui etiam . . . facilis interpungendi ratio adjicitur. [one copy in the Museum annotated, another prepared for a further edition].
1725. De Peste liber [being a Latin translation of the eighth edition, in 1723, of Richard Mead's Discourse of the Plague, originally published 1720].
- \*Annotations on Dr. Mead's Medica Sacra. 6244.
1727. Ad . . . C. Middletoni . . . de medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium conditione dissertationem, quæ servilem atque ignobilem eam fuisse contendit, Responso.
1728. Dissertationis . . . C. Middletoni . . . de medicorum etc. defensio examinata; ubi omnia quæ contra responsionis auctorem disseruit infirmata sunt et refutata.
1730. [Supervision of B. Wilson's translation from the 1620 Genevan edition of] Thuanus, Historia.
- \*Inquiry respecting Thuanus's orthography. 6228d.
- \*Journal of an excursion through Holland and part of Flanders to Paris, 1733 A.D. 6235-6.
- \*Dissertations published in the Philosophical Transactions. Hypomnemata. 6230 ab.
1733. Of the Equuleus, or Wooden Horse of the Ancients. [Latin contribution to the Royal Society, printed in Philosophical Transactions, volume XXXVI.]
- \*Papers read before the Society of Antiquaries. 6183.
1736. Remarks upon an Antient Date found at Wigel-Hall near Buntingford. Remarks upon an Antient Date, over a Gate-Way, near the Cathedral, at Worcester. [Ph. Trans. XXXIX.]
- \*Notes relative to the Siglae or Contractions used by Roman Lawyers. 6210.
- \*Classical and Antiquarian Memoranda. Critical remarks on a Latin inscription. 6219, 6230c.
1736. Edition of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary; again 1746, 1752.
- \*The History of Gresham College from 1596 A.D. 6204-5.
- \*Lists of subscribers to the Lives. 6207, 6209a.
1740. The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, to which is prefixed the life of the founder, Sir T. Gresham with an appendix. [Museum copy interleaved and annotated by J.W.]
- \*Additions to the printed Lives. 6206.
- \*Corrections of the Lives by Letherhead, 6209b, and Loveday, 6266.

1740. Preface to the second edition of John Davis's Cambridge edition (1703) of the Words of Maximus the Tyrian.
- \*Papers relating to the Royal Society, 1741-1747 A.D. 6180.
- \*Observations concerning an antient Map of London and Westminster, 1742 A.D. 6183.
- \*Observations on some extracts from churchwardens' accompts, parish of St. Helen in Abington, 1743 A.D. 6183f.
1744. [Supervision of Gronovius' edition of Ælian's *De Natura Animalium*.]
1744. An Account of . . . the vulgar numeral figures: As also some remarks upon an Inscription cut formerly in a Window belonging to the Parish Church of Rumsey in Hampshire. An Explication of a Roman Inscription found not long since on a Stone at Silchester in Hampshire. [Ph. Trans. XLIII.]
1745. A brief Inquiry into the Reading of two Dates in Arabian Figures, cut upon Stones which were found in Ireland. An Attempt to explain some Remains of Antiquity lately found in Hertfordshire. [Ph. Trans. XLIII.]
1746. An Attempt to explain two Roman inscriptions, cut upon two altars, which were dug up some time since at Bath. [Ph. Trans. XLIV.]
1748. A brief account of a Roman Tessera [from Market Street, Beds.]. A Description of the town of Silchester in its present state: with a short Account of an antient Date in Arabian figures at Walling near Aldermarston in Berks. [Ph. Trans. XLV.]
- 1748? Edition of George Benson's Works.
- \*Figures and Inscriptions proposed for Fireworks at the Peace, 1749 A.D. 6240.
- \*Observations upon Beacons, with a draught of that erected at Burton Dasset, 1749 A.D. 6183.
- \*Memoranda books 1750-8 A.D. 6268.
1750. Remarks upon an antient Roman Inscription found in that part of Italy which formerly belonged to the Sabines. An attempt to explain an antient Greek inscription upon a curious bronze cup, &c., &c. [Ph. Trans. XLVI. Latter reprinted separately.]
- \*Original Diploma of Doctor of Laws, 1751 A.D. 8129.
1751. Preface to the Edinburgh edition of F. Volusenus, *De Animi tranquillitate dialogus*, first printed at Lyons 1543.
1752. New Edition of Lily and Colet's Short Introduction to the Latin Language, first printed at London about 1515. Other editions 1760, 1767, 1792.



- \*Collation of various editions of the Westminster Greek Grammar. 6234.
- \*Errata in Greek Grammar. 6217-8.
- \*Abridgment of Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster. 6260.
1753. A brief explication of the inscription [on a Roman altar found at York]. An attempt to explain an antient Roman inscription cut upon a stone lately found at York. [Ph. Trans. XLVIII.]
- \*Collections relating to the British Museum [founded 1753]. 6179.
1755. An account of a Roman Inscription found at Melton &c. An account of four Roman Inscriptions . . . near Wroxeter &c. [Ph. Trans. XLIV.]
1756. Some considerations on a draught of two large peices of lead, with Roman Inscriptions upon them &c. [Ph. Trans. XLIX.]
1756. Joint editor of three posthumous Tracts, by Moses Lowman.
1758. Four Essays on the English Language. To these is subjoined a Catalogue of the English verbs, formed through their radical tenses.
- \*Memoirs relating to Gresham College till 1758 A.D. 6195-6203.
1759. A System of Oratory, delivered in a course of lectures publicly read at Gresham College, London; to which is prefixed an inaugural oration spoken in Latin. 2 vols.
- \*MS of the same. 6263-4.
1761. Dissertations upon several passages of the Sacred Scriptures.
- \*MS of the same, with papers relative to publication. 6267.
- \*Short notes on passages in the Bible. Devotional piece. Collections and memoranda. 6216.
- \*Theological and moral dissertations. Interpretations of scripture &c. 6231-3.
- \*Correspondence with the Rev. Richard Briscoe as to the right of Jewish magistrates in captial cases under the Romans. 6248.
- \*Essay on polygamy. 6262.
- \*Oratiuncula de potestate ecclesiae. The case of our Saviour's crucifixion. Paul's two confinements at Rome. 6269.
- \*Letter of E. Luttrell concerning his crayon picture of Christ in the manger. 6210c.
- \*Ratio pictorios penicillos faciendi quos vulgo "Crayons" appellant. 6228e.
- 1761-3. [Editor, jointly with Andrew Gifford]. Tables of English silver and gold coins, first published by Martin Folkes Esq. and now reprinted, with plates and explanations, by the Society of Antiquaries.

- \*De vocibus Græcis *lepton* et *kodvantes* apud Evangelistas. Remarks on the fables of Phædrus and Romulus. Remarks on the picture of the Nuptiæ Aldobrandinæ relative to the fly-flap. 6228.
- \*Further remarks on use of words *lepton* and *kodvantes* in the gospels. Adversaria. 6229.
- \*Memoranda on English gold coins, of the time of Elizabeth and James I. 6210b.
- \*Monumental and other inscriptions, in Greek, Latin and English. 6243.
- \*Remarks on the disposal of his papers. 6230d.
- \*Codicil to his will: bequest of MSS. to the British Museum. Loose papers. 6271.

### In Days of Old; by John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S.

Mr. Stanley of Longhope has followed up his studies of 1662 by examining all the ejections in Gloucester and Hereford. His work is not to be compared with that of Dr. Nightingale for Cumberland and Westmorland, but is a popular account in newspaper language and style. Yet it is an advance on Calamy in that it is checked by the licences of 1672 and the census of 1676; with the help of Dr. Evans' enquiries in 1715, it links up with Whitefield's campaign in 1739. If some earnest student will spend three or four summer holidays in visiting the rectories of these counties, and examining their registers between 1640 and 1690, will also examine the diocesan registers at Gloucester and Bristol, he may throw very much light on the actual events of that period, and may well earn a high degree from the Bristol University. And as a pocket companion he may well take Mr. Stanley's book, whose wide margins invite annotation. We offer one, not relating to his district. He often refers to Henry Jessey as the Anabaptist Rector of St. George's, Southwark. What is the evidence for this? Calamy indeed puts him down as rector, and does explicitly say that "upon the restoration he was ejected from his living at St. George's." Calamy refers to the biography of 1671 as his authority, himself writing in 1702. Crosby in 1738 only said that Jessey was "one of the fixed ministers in that parish? But the actual records of 1645 and 1648 as printed by Dr. W. A. Shaw, not simply omit his name in the Tenth Classis, but name Thomas Hudson as the representative of that parish in 1648. Here is a case that shows the necessity of testing Calamy's assertions by inspection of the original records on the spot. We believe it will be found that Crosby is near the mark, and that Jessey was only the morning lecturer, not the Rector.

## Two Hardcastles, Presbyterian and Baptist.

**T**HOMAS HARDCASTLE of Barwick in Elmet, Yorkshire, is a man concerning whom much incorrect information is in print. A study of him and a few relations from contemporary documents will dispel one or two illusions, fostered first by Edward Terrill of Bristol, and more lately by two editors, one of whom thus seeks to repair his error.

There seems at present no need to question Calamy's statement that he was born at Barwick and trained there by the minister [Christopher] Jackson, who was ejected first thence and then from Crosby in Westmorland. The Hardcastles certainly belonged to that parish, six miles from Leeds on the road to Tadcaster and York. Calamy says that he was made vicar of Bramham, some six miles to the north-east; this is borne out by a subsequent conviction under the Five-Mile Act, which applied only to ejected ministers who refused certain oaths.

At Shadwell, three miles from Barwick, there was a Chapel of Ease, which apparently had no regular service. In such cases ejected ministers often used the chapels at the desire of the residents, and Hardcastle took this opportunity. The law on this point was not clear till 1699, but a temporary conventicle act of 1664 made it illegal to meet anywhere in numbers above four. So he was thrown into prison,

and Oliver Heywood took his place at the Chapel on 13 August 1665, noting the fact in his diary. When released he occupied the Chapel again, was imprisoned again, and Heywood replaced him again on 8 January 1665-6; he obtained a copy of the warrant which showed that 24 hearers also were to be arrested. Heywood noted again that he was taken in Leeds on Tuesday 21 January 1667-8, and visited him in Wakefield jail on 6 February. Hardcastle was staunch, and the result was that Heywood found him in prison at Leeds on 28 May 1668 for holding another conventicle.

With the rising of parliament, the act expired, but the bishops were alarmed at the instant revival of conventicles, and the incumbents were called upon for detailed information. Hardcastle was reported twice to the Archbishop, first in these terms:—"Barwick in Ellmet; Att the house of Sr. Thomas Gascoyne Barr<sup>t</sup>. Romanists, nigh 20 families of the towne besides strangers. Anoth<sup>r</sup> Conventicle at the house of Hardcastle; head and teacher, one Hardcastle, Broth<sup>r</sup> to him, in whose house the Assembly is." The editor has confounded the two conventicles, and has classified the Hardcastles as Romanists, overlooking the bearing of another report:—"Thorner. Att the Chappell of Shadwell; M<sup>r</sup> Hardcastle, M<sup>r</sup> Nesse."

Up to this point, all the associations of Hardcastle were Presbyterian. But he now began to meet Baptists, and there is a mass of correspondence at Broadmead that enables us to trace his career minutely. The value of this is beyond dispute, but the narrative of Edward Terrill, printed in the same volume by Dr. Underhill in larger type as if it were the more important, needs to be scrutinized with considerable scepticism on all points connected with baptism, as Mr. Burrage has recently shown. According to Hay-

croft, Terrill began writing that narrative in 1672, and his handwriting ceases in 1678, the year of Hardcastle's death. For local events of that period, he is good evidence, but not for events at a distance, or of a previous period; he first appeared in the church life 1654, but whatever contemporary notes he made were worked up for this period in 1676, as appears presently, and the narrative reflects his ideas at that date. Equally must the notes of Underhill and Haycroft be scrutinized with care. The actual letters of Hardcastle are the chief source, and the narrative is only secondary even after 1672.

Terrill's obituary notice states that Hardcastle suffered about eight months' imprisonment in York Castle, then was taken to Chester Castle and kept there fifteen months, then was released by the king's order, when he came to London. But Hardcastle was there by June 1670 as appears by Vavasor Powell's letter of that date, and that he was in prison, evidently under the new Conventicle Act. There is indeed just room between 28 May 1668 and 6 June 1670 for these two periods in jail, but it is difficult to see under what law he was incarcerated, and why the king should order his release just as he was assenting to the new Conventicle Act on 11 April 1670. Perhaps Terrill was astray, at least as to dates.

Powell had been asked by Terrill whether Hardcastle would suit for Broadmead; the reply was that he was a member of the Swan Alley church, on trial to be their pastor, but was then in prison, as also was Powell himself; he added that they were brothers-in-law. From the narrative relating to 1678 we find that the wife's family lived near Chester, which bears out Terrill to some extent. Two letters to Hardcastle brought a reply dated 24 August 1670, in which he added that he was a minister as well as member, and that the London church objected to his heeding the

Bristol overtures. This was confirmed by a letter from Powell and another from the church itself in October. A second letter followed from Hardcastle after his release from six months in jail. This must have been under the permanent Conventicle Act of 1670, which came into force 10 May, as Terrill noted.

A letter of 10 March 1670-1 refers to "that late passage of infant baptism" implying that Hardcastle wished to promote union among "saints as saints, though of different persuasions," and urging Terrill to show love to those that were for infant baptism rather than try to impose his persuasion. This is the first time that Hardcastle touches the subject, and it is not easy to decide from this letter alone what his preference was. The church of which he was now a member, had been pedobaptist, but under Jessey had stood for "saints, as saints." At this very time an obscure country preacher called Bunyan had taken up the cudgels in the same cause, as against Kiffin, being very glad to quote the precedent of Jessey; and evidently it is to this brush that the letter refers. Terrill declares in the obituary notice that Hardcastle was baptized in London just before his imprisonment; and this statement was accepted by the present writer in *Transactions*, I., 31 and 39; now it seems incredible in face of what is yet to come.

As regards the pastorate, Swan Alley declined absolutely to part with Hardcastle, yet conceded a month's visit. He went first in January 1670-1 to visit some Swan Alley members in Derby, being back in London by 18 April. May was spent at Bristol, and on the 29th, a written call was given him to be pastor, signed by ninety-eight members. The London church was acquainted, and returned a dignified refusal, replying to six arguments. The first is important, and ambiguous:—"If the major part of you

had taken up the sacred ordinance of baptism, only so as that they cause to fear, if a man be set over them that is not baptized, that they shall be guilty of a partial, if not a total backsliding:—we beseech you to consider, Received you the truth upon man's testimony, or upon Gods?" This appears to show that Hardcastle was not baptized. On 15 June he wrote to Bristol suggesting that they communicate again with seven ministers they had already consulted; a week later he wrote that he would come whatever the London church decided, though his wife was not in condition to travel. Apparently she was expecting her firstborn, a fact of interest later on. On 26 June he wrote that the London church had just chosen him pastor, and that he intended to refuse publicly next Tuesday; he had been advising with Dr. Owen, Mr. [John?] Collins and Mr. [John] Loder—apparently all pedobaptists. On the Tuesday he wrote that he had refused, and that Kiffin and Harrison [two Baptists] had on the whole upheld him. On 11 July he wrote again that Collins and Owen approved his going to Bristol without a London dismissal; a week later the London church expostulated with Bristol, and two days afterwards, Hardcastle wrote that he had been staying with the Fleetwoods and discussing the situation with Dr. Owen, deciding to cut the knot and start for Bristol within a fortnight, which he confirmed by another letter on 28 July. This involved abandoning a visit to Yorkshire, and travelling leisurely because of Mrs. Hardcastle's condition. A second call was given on 8 August, and he was commended "upon Tryall for ye office of a Pastor." In this correspondence there is not a word to bear out the statement that at this time he was baptized in London.

Terrill's narrative of these events was written "near Five years" later, a welcome note of time;

but it gives far less detail. Under the date 3 September 1666 we find also the note that Nonconformist meetings in London have remained public "Ever since in London, about these 10 years." Therefore the whole of this narrative was penned in 1676. It asserts with ample detail that on 6 March 1666 William Thomas of Llantrissant was sent for to baptize ten men and four women in the river, as Mr. Ewins the pastor suffered from sciatica and could not stand in the water so long. Also that on 5 April Ewins moved that [Thomas] Jennings, a minister [ejected from Brimsfield] should be the regular administrator of baptism; that in July 1667 four were baptized by Thomas; that in February 1667-8 and March 1668 two more were baptised. The next mention of baptism is when Thomas Child was baptized 8 September 1671, five more on 13 October, one on 5 January, three on 23 February, two on 12 April 1672, another on 26 April. A long note is given as to the baptism of husband, wife, and servant on 10 May. The facts here need not be doubted, but the note shows the feelings of Terrill in 1676. Many other baptisms are recorded; on 4 July 1673 it is noted that Jennings was the administrator, as usual. But his wife, a church member of long standing, was not baptized till 22 May 1674. In October another persecution arose, and Terrill writing two years later had occasion to mention the Six Separate Churches that wished to keep up public worship: he defined them as "Three Baptized Congregations, Two Independent Congregations, and One Presbyterian Congregation: viz., Mr. Hardcastle's, being our meeting, most parte Baptized" etc. Here we see his great desire in 1676 to magnify the Baptist character of this congregation, and yet his honesty in acknowledging the actual state of affairs.

All this information is given by Terrill. But we turn to absolutely contemporary documents to fill out



the sketch. Underhill refers to 35 MS. lectures by Hardcastle, preserved in Bristol College, given to the young from October 1671 to October 1672; they are on the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism. This was never used by Baptists; not till 1677 was a Baptist revision of the companion Confession executed; the standard Baptist confession was that of 1646, reprinted several times. The Shorter Catechism was however compiled by the Presbyterians for the very purpose of lectures to the young.

Again, those lectures show that between 12 May and 21 July 1672 he took a journey to "some considerable distance." Now on 15 March a Declaration of Indulgence had been issued, offering licences to preachers, and for places of worship. Application had to be made, the case was considered, the licences were registered if granted, and a receipt was taken for them. Applications made later than July seem to be mislaid, but on 5 September two pairs of licences were issued, and the original record in the Privy Council book runs:—"The house of Simon Tovy of St. James pish in Bristoll Pr. Licence to Tho: Hardcastle of Bittin in Glocestersh. to be a Pr. Teacher Sept 5th The house of ... Smith of Woollan in Gloscestersh. Pr. Licence to Tho: Jennings of Woollon in Glocstersh. to be a Pr. Teacher Sept: 5th." All four licences are plainly entered as Presbyterian; but this must be examined carefully.

Scores of licences were granted that day, for instance, "James Nobbs of Harton in Glocestersh to be a Anabapt Teacher . . . Sam: Webb to be a Bapts Teacher att Chipping Sudbury . . . James Nobbs of Westpor in Wiltsh to be a Baptist Teacher . . . The house of John Ceager in the City of Bristoll. Pr. . . . Licence to Andrew Jifford of ye City of Bristoll Pr: Teacher . . . The house of ye Widdow Collier of Witinx in Oxfordsh Baptist." Now the licence of

Andrew Gifford may yet be seen at Bristol; it is made out as stated. But Gifford himself corrected it to Baptist, and there is no doubt that he was a Baptist, and that either the applicant or the clerk made a mistake. Jennings had been a Presbyterian, and as Terrill tells us under date 4 March 1672-3, habitually preached at Wolland. Simon Tovy does not seem to have been a member at Broadmead, but by an entry of 22 June 1682 is shown to be the owner of the "four great roomes made into one Square Roome," where ye Hereticks called Quakers had formerly used to meet, at ye lower end of Broadmead, which the church "took ye 12th day of ye 6 Month" 1671. And John Ceager probably owned the building used by Gifford's congregation. Query, did Hardcastle put in the six applications? if so, he is responsible for calling himself and the others "Presbyterian."

Now Dr. Underhill professes to copy the transcripts made by Mr. Isaac James of these licences to Hardcastle and Tovy, and he makes them read, "of the persuasion commonly called Baptized." When these third-hand copies are compared with the printed licences, such differences appear, that they cannot be trusted; the printed words are altered and transposed; therefore we cannot be sure whether the crucial words were inserted at Whitehall, or by the holders as in the case of Gifford, or by some irresponsible person like Terrill or James. The official register says that Hardcastle, Jennings and Gifford were licensed on the same day, as Presbyterians; but as the licences further allowed them to teach in any licensed place, irrespective of denomination, the congregations and the teachers were protected.

On 3 November 1672 Hardcastle began a series of discourses on Colossians, nine of which are preserved; they break off abruptly. This may be connected with the fact that on 7 March 1672-3, with

much heart burning, Charles II. cancelled the Declaration of Indulgence. Yet the situation was not quite clear, and persecution did not revive at once. Indeed on 29 March 1674 the church wrote to Swan Alley asking for a transfer of Hardcastle, which was refused on 12 April; therefore the Broadmead church on 19 May dispensed with it, and elected him pastor, promising to try yet once more for a letter. So quiet was it still, that Terrill was sent to open work at Shirehampton on 8 June 1673, and with Jennings to aid the Horton church at Nympsfield about July 1673; Jennings also to a church at Gloucester about July 1674, with a view to extension in Framilode and Whitminster. Moreover Hardcastle wrote a preface to Powell's Concordance, published in 1673, and next year published a book of his own, being the substance of some Bristol sermons, besides editing sermons by Garbut.

In October 1674 the king for the first time called the bishops and no others, to advise on religion. The immediate result was the renewal of persecution in Bristol; but four congregations at once pleaded their licences, employed counsel in the city, and appointed a joint committee to fight the question. The new bishop went up to London about the matter; and the committee sent an agent to put their case; the result was that on 3 February 1674-5, an Order in Council issued, declaring the Licences to have been "long since recalled"; and a week later a declaration came out to enforce the Order and suppress all conventicles. Sheldon followed this up by ordering every incumbent to report on his parish and say how many conformists there were, how many nonconformists, how many papists. The returns for his province were summarised in a volume now in the Salt Library at Stafford, and show an estimate of 51 at Chipping Sudbury, 16 at Horton, 11 at Bitton, 600 at Bristol. Meantime the

mayor of Bristol lost no time, but on 14 February arrested Hardcastle in the act of preaching, and committed him for refusing to take the oaths under the Five-Mile Act. A habeas corpus was promptly sued out, and he was taken to London, where it was adjudged that the committal was regular, and he was brought back to Bristol jail on 5 June. Meantime some negotiations between the congregations resulted in an agreement to drop the question of baptism; but the Presbyterians declined to join, apparently because Gifford had not been "ordained by presbyters," though no reason was formally assigned. Hardcastle was released on 2 August 1675, was convicted for preaching on 8 and 15 August without taking the oaths, and was sent to jail for another six months. When a more favourable mayor was elected, the sheriffs let him go to his own house, though still in custody, and he preached on 3 October. On 14 November a warrant was out for "Jennings, who was to speak," and as he was not there, prosecutions were taken under the Conventicle Act, and five were sent to prison till the Quarter Sessions. They were then released, as counsel proved they had a right to be. This ended that bout of persecution, and Hardcastle was released after six lunar months; when he instantly resumed public preaching on 30 January 1675-6, no further action was taken. It was in the lull that followed, that Terrill digested his notes into a continuous narrative, more or less correct.

Observance of the Lord's Supper and of Baptism was also resumed, and by 9 May Hardcastle was away on a visit to Yorkshire. In October 1676 five London Baptist ministers visiting Trowbridge were asked to come and ordain Hardcastle, but they would not. Terrill gave the reason "because of great personall concernes at home," but he added this as an afterthought, and probably the real reason was that

Hardcastle was not baptized. On 12 November his wife Anne was admitted on a letter from Dr. Vincent's Presbyterian church, and she was baptized on 25 May 1677. On 3 August, Gifford was ordained by Dike and Cox; but nothing is said as to any application on behalf of Hardcastle.

In April 1678 a deputation came from the Swan Alley church to support a letter of March 31 demanding Hardcastle as "Member, and chosen an Elder" there, and denying that he was member or Minister regularly called at Bristol. Terrill made a long memorandum, admitting that he was not yet ordained, and not venturing to claim that any Baptists approved the action taken. That summer Hardcastle went to London, then a letter from his wife's brother took him to Chester, whence he returned on 27 September, rather ill, and died two days later. On 6 November 1678 his wife bore a son; the church raised £150 to pay funeral expenses and help the widow and children.

On 28 February 1678-9, three persons were baptized in the river Froome by our brother Jennings "who did, all ye time of our late pastor Br. Hardcastle, Administer that Ordinance." Under date 24 October 1679 Terrill made a long entry as to Jennings explaining how he was preacher and baptizer, yet not pastor, so not qualified to administer the Lord's Supper. In connection with the first time Fownes did this, on 9 November 1679, Terrill drew up a full list of members, showing 42 men of whom a Ruling Elder and four others were not baptized, 108 women of whom 22 were not baptized, besides ten non-resident and six under dealing, of whom four were not baptized. This is the end of his narrative, except for one note of a burial in December.

The death of Hardcastle was noted by Oliver Heywood on 1 October 1678. This token of his con-

tinued interest supports the general impression left by the documents, that Hardcastle lived and died a Presbyterian, and was never baptized. The new secretary did not mention baptism till 14 January 1680-1 when he records that three people "were baptized by Br. Th. Jennings, Mr. Fownes ye pastor being not well." In his view, baptism ought to be administered by a baptized pastor; and on 12 July 1681 he recorded that Fownes did baptize.

From Thomas Hardcastle turn to his family. He married Anne near Chester, and was brother-in-law to Powell; Powell's second wife, married before 1658, was Katherine, daughter of Colonel Gerard, then governor of Chester Castle. It would seem that Hardcastle met the Gerards when he was imprisoned at Chester about 1669. He had one child after July 1671, and another in 1678; the widow had left before Terrill's list of members in 1679. She had been Presbyterian, but was now baptized.

Oliver Heywood has a note in his diary on 12 December 1680 as to Mr. Hardcastle's troubles. This is apparently the brother reported in 1669 as housing a conventicle; and another diary note of 24.6.81 identifies him as Robert Hardcastle of Barwick. Heywood sent him a copy of his Lamentations on 3 February 1682-3. These notes imply that Robert remained Presbyterian.

But in 1707 we find a second Thomas, who is always understood to be son of the Bristol Thomas, and would therefore be between 36 and 29 years old. He sold a plot of ground at Gildersome for a Chapel or Meeting-house to be erected. A year or two later, David Crosley came hither and apparently got most of the local Baptists to side with him, so that he seems to have secured the use of the chapel. Hardcastle however preferred to join the new church constituted at Rawden in 1715, and five years later signed

for that church the minutes of Association which agreed to supply Gildersome now Crosley had gone. When the covenant was renewed on 3 April 1724, he signed as an Elder. His last appearance in the Rawden minutes is on 27 October 1744, when he was discharged from the office of an Elder at his own request, as he was now living at Great Woodhouse. It is rather strange that after all the work of Mitchell and Moore, no permanent Baptist cause had arisen in Leeds; yet it was not till 1760 that any people were baptized there, and they joined Bradford rather than Rawden.

The whole study seems to show that Baptist principles were adopted not by Thomas senior, but by his wife Anne, and that their son Thomas was the only one of the family to tread deeply in the mother's footsteps.

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### Theophilus Delafield in 1688.

Translation by Richard Walford, M.A., J.P., of Gosforth, formerly of Haddenham; communicated by G. Loosley of Berkhamsted.

"Bond given by Robert Howe of St. Martins-le-Grand, London, tallow-chandler, to John Bishop of Ford, in the parish of Donnington otherwise Dinton, in the County of Bucks, farmer, for the repayment of £20; dated November 27, 1688, 4 James II. Conditioned that if the said Robert Howe, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, shall well and truly observe, perform, fulfil and keep the covenants, grants, articles and agreements which on his or their parts are to be observed &c, as contained in an Indenture bearing date even with these presents between the said Robert Howe of the one part and the above named John Bishop of the other part, according to the purport, tenor and effect of the said indenture, then this obligation to be void; or else it is to stand in full force. Sealed and delivered in the presence of Edward Hitchcocke and Theo: Delafield senr. (Signed) ROBERT HOWE."

# Paul's Alley, Barbican, 1695-1768.

(Church book lent to the editor by the Rev. Joseph Harvey, custodian of the archives of the General Assembly.)

London, May 22, 1695.

The Agreement of the Brethren appointed by, and respectively representing the two Baptized Congregations meeting at Barbican and Turners Hall, London, who agreed to unite and join together, and make one intire Church.

FIRST That Brother James Pitman & Bro. Rich<sup>d</sup> Allen, Elders, Bro. John Plater, Br. John Milliard, and Br. Thomas Dadley, Deacons of the one Congregation; Br. James Garnsom, Br. Sam<sup>ll</sup> Qu[elch?] Br Abraham Hickman, & Br. W<sup>m</sup> Woodland, Deacons; ordained, & Br J<sup>no</sup> Jerom & Br Kinch, Deacons intended, but yet unordained, shall be the Elders & Deacons of the said Church, united, And yt Br. Joseph Stennett be continued in the Ministry there-of

SECONDLY; That for the maintenance of the Ministry there be raised out of ye whole ye sum of 100<sup>li</sup> p. annum at least

THIRDLY; That as Convenience serves, there be an interchanging in the Work of Preaching between Br. Allen, Br. Stennett, & Br. John Piggott, for ye procuring and improving a good Correspondence between the respective Congregations.

FOURTHLY; That the Church's Meeting-place for the prest be at Barbican; & that 24<sup>li</sup> p. an. be raised & allowed for the Rent (besides charges) of ye sd Meeting-place



FIFTHLY; That the Rent & Charges of each Congregation be paid & discharged by themselves separately till Midsummer next:

SIXTHLY; That ye 16<sup>th</sup> day of June next be the day of the s<sup>d</sup> Church meeting together; & that the Wednesday preceding be kept by solemn Prayer to God for his Blessing on ye Congregation; & that Br. Joseph Maisters & Br. Joseph Stennett be desired to preach; & Br. W<sup>m</sup> Collins, Br. John Piggott, & Br. Joseph Taylor be desired to spend some time in Prayer, to begin abt 10 in the forenoon, & to conclude abt 3 in the afternoon

SEVENTHLY; That the publick Worship in the Congregation on the Lord's Day be thus pformed, viz. In the morning about half an hour after nine, some Brother be appointed to begin the Exercise in reading a Psalm, & then to spend some time in Prayer; & after y<sup>t</sup> to read some other Portion of H. Scripture, till the Minister comes into the Pulpit; and after Preaching & Prayer to conclude w<sup>th</sup> singing a Psalm. The afternoon exercise to begin abt half an hour after One, & to be carried on & concluded as in the forenoon.

EIGHTHLY; That on breaking-Bread-Days, the Psalm to be omitted in the Afternoon tell the Conclusion of the Lord's Supper.

Pursuant to the aforesaid Agreement the two Churches did unite on Wednesday the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1695, and also met together the next Lord's Day following, &c.

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The Barbican church had been gathered during the Commonwealth by John Gosnold. At the death of Elizabeth Browning in 1729, it was minuted that she had joined the church in 1654, and was aged 96 at death. Under Gosnold & his successor Thomas

Plant, the church had been Calvinistic, but had not associated with the other Particular Baptist churches. Gosnold was not ejected from any living, as Ivimey states; & though in our first volume it was conceded that he may have been ejected from the Mastership of the Charterhouse, that seems not proved; Calamy says that he had been a scholar at the Charterhouse, but was in 1660 merely an occasional preacher without any post. In 1669 he was reported as preaching "in Gun Alley in Little Morefeilds, At the Musick House." On 25 July 1672, licences were issued to Gosnold & Plant, each to be "an Anab. Teacher in the howse of Richard Horton in little Morefields, London." Gosnold died in 1678, & Plant about 1693, after which Joseph Stennett, a Calvinistic Baptist, pastor at Pinners' Hall for the church worshipping there on Saturday, was invited to minister here on the Sunday. The deacons of the congregation were not of any note; if the illegible name be completed as Quelch, for which there is warrant in later entries, we recognise a link with Stennett, whose mother was Mary Quelch.

The other congregation had an equally long history, which has been generally overlooked or misunderstood. It appears first as petitioning the Committee for Propagating the Gospel, against tithes and a national Church. After the expulsion of the Rump in 1653, it proposed to Cromwell that an assembly be called by lot out of a nomination list three times the size intended. The letter, printed by Nickolls, page 121, shows that the church met then at the Chequer without Aldgate, and the members who signed were John Mason, Thomas Dafferne, Michael Coles, John Chewell, James Pittman, William Hicckman, Edward Chillenden, J. Danvers, John Pym, Thomas Keene, Robert Jesses, Samuel Otes, Francis Hickman, and James Brown. The names of Chillen-

den and Otes assure us that this was a General Baptist church. In October it was sharing the brief Baptist prosperity, and had the use of the Stone Chapel at Paul's Cathedral. Next month Oates wrote to Robert Jeffes that Chillenden was excommunicated for immorality. He himself went to be chaplain in Pride's regiment, so that we may probably identify the John Mason here with the lieutenant-colonel of that regiment, who gave the final blow to Cromwell's wish for the crown. But such changes make it hard to follow the fortunes of the church. Oates is known to have been closely associated with Thomas Lamb's church, both before and after this time; in the earlier period this met at Bell Alley, in the later at White's Alley: it is conceivable then that our present church was one of that sisterhood of six, so curiously knit together, if not the chief and original, dating from 1612 in Spitalfields. In 1669 it escaped notice, unless it be veiled under the obscure notice "White's Alley in Morefields." In 1672 we may note that Colonel Blood on 18 April gave in an application for the house of John Martin in White's Alley, to be licensed, and that this was refused. Whether or no these memoranda deal with our church, we are sure that in 1688 it was reinforced by a secession from White's Alley General Baptist church, of those who declined to consider Laying on of Hands a necessary preliminary to membership: these were headed by Richard Allen, a young minister known as early as 1681. The church now apparently hired Turners' Hall in Philpot Lane. But as the Barbican congregation had a long lease of the Music House in Paul's Alley, and had no pastor, a second fusion seemed advisable. The proceeding is typical of the shrinkage at this time, due to the want of system in training up ministers.

The premises and the situation deserve attention. Between Cripplegate and Aldersgate, the London Wall

turns abruptly to the south; outside it there was once a Barbican, which at this date seems to have vanished, and to have bequeathed its name to a street running east and west from Red Cross Street towards the Charterhouse and Smithfield. Parallel with it, a narrow path called Paul's Alley started from Red Cross Street. It would seem that the building fronted on the Barbican and had a back exit on the Alley, as it is known by both names. The premises were evidently large, as might be expected when designed as a Music House, and were capable of providing library, baptistery, and alms houses. But they were only secured on lease, and no attempt was ever made to secure the freehold. After evacuation in 1784, they were used for other purposes, and to-day the pilgrim finds only a yawning cutting of the Metropolitan Railway.

The financial side of the ministry has hardly been adequately studied. The pages of Calamy show stipends to London clergy of £180, £200, £100, £700, £350, £130, etc. The Commonwealth paid £400 to a lecturer at Pauls, but discontinued the office. The Westminster Divines were pilloried by Milton as greedily grasping livings and lectureships. But no accounts of Baptist churches show any larger sums than were subscribed at this church. The minimum of £100 among three ministers was far exceeded; and £200 for each of two is mentioned later. It is very doubtful if any other church dreamed of such sums; and it is certain that this church educated and profited by such ministers as Foster and Gale, one the finest preacher in London, the other crossing swords with William Wall, the historian of infant baptism.

The isolation of the church in 1695 is to be noted. At this time the General Baptists in London were holding Association meetings, and the Particular Baptists were leagued in another. But three churches were at home in neither group, and therefore decided

to correspond together. The new Pitman-Allen-Gosnold church was on the whole Calvinist, though trouble soon arose on this score; Stennett's was Calvinist and Seventh-day; Piggott was Elder of a church founded by the G.B. Association, which had quitted it because Laying on of Hands seemed unnecessary; within a few years Piggott was to resign and become a Calvinist. So the attempted correspondence came to little. Joseph Maisters and William Collins were Calvinists, Joseph Taylor had been ordained Elder of White's Alley General Baptist church in 1694.

The order of service is a welcome glimpse, enabling us to rectify one widespread misconception. It is often said that Baptists did not sing at worship, but this statement is far too sweeping. There were four well marked types of Baptist: the Generals, originated by John Smyth; the Strict and Particular, of whom Kiffin is a good specimen; the Open-Communion Calvinists, represented by Broadmead, Jessey and Bunyan; some of the Fifth-Monarchy men, such as Powell. The Fifth-Monarchy Baptists sang hymns, as shown at page 150 of last volume. But a Fifth-Monarchy congregation, apparently comprising both Baptists and Independents, was noted for not singing psalms, as shown at page 237 of last issue. Bunyan wrote hymns, as shown in pages 95-111 of last volume. The Broadmead church, which after 1654 contained many Baptists, sang psalms in 1671, and in 1675 made a great point of psalm-singing being not illegal—see Stovell's edition of Terrill, pages 159-340, especially 238 and 242. The statement is true only of the old General Baptists. Benjamin Keach, himself of that stock, was a prominent supporter of singing, and was so vehement in his advocacy that the matter was raised at an Assembly of the Particular Baptists, who agreed that each church should please itself. This

church sang a Psalm, evidently in a metrical version; Stennett soon went further and wrote hymns, publishing a small collection. It is also to be observed that conduct of the worship was not limited to the ministers, but that some other brother was to read and pray.

The subsequent history can be traced in the church book till its dissolution after 73 years. Diminution continued, and in 1705 Allen joined the Particular Baptist Association. The building was adapted so as to house several poor members, and to provide a library. Henceforth the place is known as Paul's Alley, Barbican, as if the frontage for the meeting-house were now on the alley, and the more valuable frontage had been surrendered.

Shrinkage was stemmed by the accession of John Gale as minister to aid Allen, the clever young Leyden student who criticised Wall's History of Infant Baptism. Then in 1712 the Particular Baptist Church in Virginia street, which had lost its pastor, Isaac Lamb, handed over its premises to a General Baptist church, and amalgamated here. Four years later, the premises were further remodelled, and a baptistery was formed, apparently the only one north of the Thames. In 1717 Allen died, and was followed by Joseph Burroughs, one of the Virginia street immigrants, who was ordained by Stinton and Hodges, Particular; Foxwell and Mulliner, General.

An elaborate church roll was drawn up, and was annotated and augmented till 1744. At the beginning there were 81 men and 132 women. A study of the transfers from and to other churches is interesting. They received nine members from General Baptist churches in the country, and five from Particular; a man was transferred to Plymouth, but when he wished a letter back after four years, the Plymouth people declined to give it because of some doubt as to the Calvinism at Barbican. Within London they inter-

changed with all the General Baptist churches; but only once with Cripplegate, once with Wapping; seven cases with Artillery Lane, and seven with Wild Street are due to personal links with the pastors there. Four times members removed themselves to Pedobaptist churches, and were thereupon "discharged" without transfer. While the sentiments were strongly Baptist, there was evidently a drift from Calvinism.

This was as early as 1718, when intercourse sprang up with the General Baptist churches in Buckingham and Warwick, and a very vigorous change of members with Samuel Acton of Nantwich. Six years later, a great force was added in the person of James Foster, a young Independent minister from Trowbridge, baptized and associated by Burroughs. He soon was known as the finest preacher in London, and became the champion of the Christians against the Deists, his book running into several editions. But he was evidently influenced by their teaching, and about 1730 a list of the Baptist ministers classes him and his colleague as Socinian. When the church roll closed in 1744 owing to the book being full, it showed only 44 men and 68 women, about half the number 27 years earlier.

Foster left about that time for the mixed communion church where the Hollis family had been members, and Burroughs held only a morning service. Another colleague was found in 1757, who continued as sole pastor after 1761 for five years, when he left for Poole. A singular expedient was now adopted, and Daniel Noble, the Seventh-Day Baptist of Mill Yard, was called to be pastor; it is hardly unfair to say that he was reported to be Socinian.

His appearance introduced the church to new financial possibilities. Mill Yard was profiting from endowments, and in 1757 Burroughs and Noble had joined in ordaining an Elder at the Glass-house Yard

Church, Goswell Street, which had another group of endowments. This Elder had died in 1766, leaving a mere handful of people; nine men and four women in 1763. They had disused their own building and were renting premises for one service on Sunday in London, while another group held services at Brentford. Noble now hit on a brilliant idea of consolidation which was successfully carried through. He resigned the pastorate of Barbican, and accepted the pastorate of "Goswell Street." The deserted church disbanded, and offered the premises and liabilities to "Goswell Street" with its nine men and eight women. Possession was taken, then nine men and eighteen women from the disbanded church joined the incoming church. Practically, therefore, the Barbican Church absorbed a smaller one and acquired a title to endowments; so that Daniel Noble must have been freed from pecuniary anxiety, with one charity, as pastor of Mill Yard Seventh-day, and another as pastor of "Goswell Street" First-day. But legally, Barbican Church committed suicide, and this was carefully insisted on; the incoming church used its old book continuously in the new premises, and continued to deal with the lease of its old premises, and to draw its dividends and rents.

It inherited, however, not only the Barbican lease, but the fine crusted tradition of amalgamation. There were three other churches with endowments and small congregations; in 1781 they all clubbed together and built a new meeting-house on freehold ground at Worship Street. It was the crown of Noble's achievements; he died two years later, the minister of another of the four churches died from attending his funeral, and that church disappeared as a separate corporate body. The subsequent history, however interesting, need not be pursued; it apparently suggested to Gilbert the immortal lay of the Mate of the Nancy Brig.



## Kentish Missionaries to Virginia, 1714.

**M**INUTES of two Kentish quarterly meetings in 1657 were printed in our last volume at page 247, from the old church book of Tunbridge Wells. Doubtless others can be found in the books of the churches still existing, and there is ample material for any antiquary in the country to study early Baptist life in a county which has seen more variety than most, the one county where Baptists of the seventeenth century outnumbered all other dissenters.

There is a volume containing minutes of the Association from 1708 till 1729, with later entries 1741 diminishing in interest till 1761, when the book was placed in the keeping of Thomas Harrison of Sevenoaks. A century later it was handed over from the Cranbrook church to be kept with the archives of the General Baptist Assembly, where it remains. By the courtesy of the Rev. W. Harvey Smith, it has been studied, and a few notes from it will illustrate one remarkable enterprise of this association, the most advanced in doctrine that has ever been known among Baptists. It may be contrasted with the Bucks Association of General Baptists, whose minutes for the same period are copied complete for the Society.

The book was procured by James Richardson of Southwark, who occupies the unique position of being ordained Messenger without ever having been an Elder; it is as if an earnest and useful merchant to-day, who gives his time and money to aid country

churches, were appointed by them life-president of their association. When he died, it was disused for twelve years, and the later entries are very barren; we can hardly tell whether this was due to inaction, or to a new style of keeping minutes.

In 1708 and the next two years, there were representatives from Frittenden, Warbleton, Tunbridge Wells, Maidstone, Cranbrook, Eythorn, Biddenden, Sevenoaks, Ditchling, Marden, Canterbury, Hythe and Horsham. They were busy discussing the recent rupture of the Assembly, and they came to the conclusion that they would not support the main body which was defining its doctrines as to the Person of Christ, but would adhere to the old standard of 1660, and decline to explain it further. As Matthew Caffyn had long exercised great influence in Sussex and Kent, this attitude was very intelligible; the ultimate outcome is well known, in that most of these churches are either dead or Unitarian. That fact has been dwelt upon so fully that it has obscured another set of facts of rather exceptional importance.

The Association was keenly alive to the duty of preaching, not only to churches already in being, but generally. It was very careful to maintain Messengers for this purpose, and in 1711 nominated five at once. There was some hesitation, and next year it reiterated that it would get as many as it could, and as conveniently placed for service. Six new nominations followed, and it was agreed that while their work lay chiefly among the churches choosing them, they were more largely at liberty if either called or sent. Then we find as a practical commentary in 1714 that two are despatched to Virginia. One died on the voyage, so three more were sent next year. This missionary enthusiasm was even higher in 1717, when more churches were represented—Deal, Dover, Rolvenden, Chichester, and Turners Hill. A sum of £65

was raised for the support of the staff, apparently reduced again to three. One returned in bad health next year, whereupon a substitute was found, and £200 showed the zeal in this work. So long as James Richardson lived, the interest in this work is evident.

The results of that Virginian mission have been lasting. Churches were formed which were strong enough to throw off branches further south; and when George Whitefield began his work on the Atlantic sea-board, there were these bodies ready to welcome any converts. In return, they stiffened their doctrine and became Calvinistic, so that they fell into line with the Baptist churches round Philadelphia, and laid the foundations for the great influence of Baptists in these states. And thus the great Southern Baptist Convention owes a great deal to the humble Kentish Association of 1708, which sent plentifully of money and preachers to take the gospel to the colonies. The names of Robert Norden from Warbleton, Thomas White from Sevenoaks, William Wood from Lewes and Ditchling, Thomas Bengue from Tunbridge Wells, and Thomas Harrison, may take their place on our missionary roll. They did not indeed go primarily to the aborigines, but contemplated chiefly their English kin; but they went to no settled charge over any church, they were Messengers from the home churches to minister to the scattered planters and perhaps to the "indentured servants" or white slaves. Their work was that which a generation later made the name of Wesley famous, that of Home Missionaries; only the colonies were their parish.

## Theobalds and Colonel Packer.

**A** REPORT reached the Government on 8 January, 1666, that "the head of the serpent" was at Edmonton, Ware, Epping, and Enfield, and that a crew of rebels dwelt at Theobalds. Such a compliment from such a quarter invites inquiry for good Baptists in the district, and it is amply rewarded by search in the State Papers.

Theobalds is an estate in the Lea Valley, just south of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, adjoining Enfield in Middlesex, and eight miles from Hatfield. Paul Hentzner, travelling in 1598, gave the following account of it, as reproduced in the Annual Register for 1758: "Theobalds belongs to Lord Burleigh the treasurer. In the gallery was painted the genealogy of the Kings of England; from this place one goes into the garden, encompassed with water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are a great variety of trees and plants, labyrinths made with a great deal of labour, a "fountain" with its basin of white marble, and columns and pyramids of wood, and other materials, up and down the garden. After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summerhouse, in the lower part of which, built semi-circularly, are the twelve Roman Emperors in white marble, and a table of truck-stone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and, in summer-time, they are very convenient for bathing: in another room, for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was a noble table of red marble." This paradise was acquired by James I. from the Cecils in exchange for his Hatfield and Enfield palaces, and was further improved by bringing the New River through its grounds. The highway to it from Westminster is yet marked by Kingsgate and Theobalds Road in Holborn.

After the execution of Charles the First, the future of the royal estates was considered, and by August, 1649, it was agreed that fifty elms should be cut for the navy, and all the rest of Theobalds should be sold. It proved, however, that the Earl of Salisbury had certain interests in Theobalds, Cheshunt,

and Enfield, and these were not satisfied for six years, when he was paid out with £5,360 18s. 4d. Long before that, however, a group of military Baptists had obtained a foot-hold.

Captain Packer comes to light on 4 June, 1650, when a report from him, Richard Merest [Merriman?] and Gledman reached the Council that they had arrested some ministers at Manchester for seditious preaching. The approval of the Council must have been a shock to Hollingworth and the Presbyterians generally. In March, 1651, he was voted £50 to buy a horse, and next month was sent to Scotland in charge of a hundred recruits for the General's own regiment of horse; on this journey he was accompanied by another good Baptist, Captain Edmund Chillenden.

John Spencer was known earlier. In 1639 he founded one of the first Separatist churches, to which Paul Hobson subsequently belonged; he was a pioneer of lay-preaching, and was fiercely attacked as a wavering minded fellow, a stable unstable companion in all his ways, having been a serving-man, a porter, a groom to a stable, a chandler, a weaver, yea, more, of as many trades almost as religions. He was not slow to publish a claim that every man was to exercise his gift as God should call him. Soon he heard and obeyed the call to enlist, and his record for a few years was in army reports rather than scurrilous pamphlets. On 10 April, 1650, he was made by Harrison, lieutenant-colonel of militia in Yorkshire, in case the Scotch chose to invade by the East Coast route. On 10 August, 1651, he was ordered by the Council to enlist people near Theobalds, and in this he was aided by Captain Kiffin.

On 5 April, 1652, a petition was considered by the Council, from Major Packer and the other proprietors of Theobalds, as the interests of the Earl and of the Navy commissioners were not yet satisfied. Here we find a syndicate which had risked its money in buying an estate with a most precarious title; as it would be ruined by the accession of Charles II., every member was likely to fight to the last: we shall soon see that most were Republican and Baptist.

In 1653 Harrison and this party persuaded the Council to try a Nominated Parliament, composed of people suggested by the Baptist and Congregational churches. It is natural that Packer was put on committee after committee, and we find him associated with other Baptist officers, Major Wigan, Colonel Zanchy, and others, whose careers are well deserving of study. On 7 July Spencer had a fine triumph, for an order passed that Major Packer, Captains Joseph Strange, John Spencer, Thomas Impson, Quartermaster Foxley, and William Kiffin, should be free to preach in any pulpit in the land.

Even when the Nominated Parliament dissolved, Packer and his friends were not thrown at once into opposition. During 1654 he and Gladman were referees on a petition, he was sent to superintend the execution of an order as to tobacco-planting in Gloucestershire, and he figures as a J.P. for Herts. And, from being only an authorized preacher, he was promoted to test all candidates for preaching. It is often overlooked that the Tryers, whose certificate was needed before any minister could be inducted, included nine laymen; Packer was the only Baptist, and apparently the only officer in the army on the board. Here he met Daniel Dike, minister of Hadham, thirteen miles up the rivers Lea and Ash, and a friendship sprang up between them; it would be interesting to know whether he was the means of winning Dike over to the Baptists.

During 1655 he was often employed in paying off troopers, and at least once he was capitalist enough to advance £200 for the purpose. During this year the second Protectorate Parliament had to be dissolved, and its acts were not confirmed; as the new constitution seemed to work so badly, Packer, Spencer, Empson, and others drafted a new one, and submitted it to Cromwell on 5 December. Though it was not adopted, the Theobalds syndicate waxed in influence. Packer and Dike were placed on the committee for the sufferers in Piedmont, and on 6 February, 1656, Packer was made deputy Major-General for Herts., Oxon., and Bucks., with almost unlimited powers. This system, however, was abrogated in November, when a new Parliament met. Meantime, he had all kinds of miscellaneous work in reducing the army and enforcing the certificates of the Tryers.

Early in 1657 the proposal was made to elect Cromwell as king. This was resisted by a large party in the army, and though Cromwell yielded, relations were henceforth strained. Matters came to a climax on 12 February, 1658, when Cromwell cashiered Packer, and five captains of his own regiment, including Anthony Spinage, John Gladman, Malyn, Barrington, and Hunter. The fall, however, was broken by settling Spencer in March as preacher at Theobalds with a salary of £50.

With the death of Cromwell, Chillenden and Spencer came out again, opposing the accession of Richard, and when he had dissolved his only Parliament, Packer and Gladman were commissioned again on 29 April, 1659. The Rump re-assembled in May, and all parties prepared for civil war. Packer was sent to keep Gloucestershire quiet, and then was promoted to be Colonel. On 16 June the names of his officers were carefully considered; high testimony was given to Spencer for his conduct

[in 1648?], when, at Hamilton's invasion, he had done excellent service with eighty troopers. Merriman was appointed major, but misgivings were felt as to Ramball, late captain in the guards, a violent persecutor of all good people, and discontented at the late change. Packer was sent to Dunkirk, to hold this recent conquest against the Spanish, while Spencer was sent to the great fortress of Ayr, commanded by Colonel Roger Sawrey.

By October the tide was turning. Parliament cashiered Packer, with others, whereupon it was again expelled by the army grandees. But Monk, being appointed Commander-in-Chief by the new Committee of Safety, intrigued at Ayr and put the Republican officers to flight, disbanding Spencer's company, which was found to be chiefly Baptist. The Rump met again, and renewed its orders to Packer in January, 1660, to quit town under pain of arrest. When Monk, on 21 February, restored the full Long Parliament, all hope of Packer's regaining influence was at an end, and the only questions for him and his friends were their property and lives.

By the end of May, 1660, Charles was in London, and inquiries were being made as to the recent leaders of the army, and as to the Royal estates. Theobalds was reported on 29 June as in the hands of Spencer, and the guess was made that it was worth £10,000. A new law provided that all such estates were to revert, but that purchasers might draw the rents up to June 24. The Baptist Syndicate would therefore have been ruined, but for a strange transaction. Monk had to be rewarded, and he was promised Royal estates to the value of £7,000 a year. As part of his reward, he chose Theobalds, which was valued, on 12 August, at £1,749 10s. The manor itself thus became legally his, and whether he leased it as a whole to the syndicate, or whether they retired to smaller houses on the estate, it is certain that the district remained their stronghold. Their lives were assured by the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, the only Baptists who suffered for their proceedings before 1660 being two of the king's judges, Harrison, who was executed, and Hutchinson, who was imprisoned.

In January, 1661, the insurrection of Venner gave reason for forbidding all meetings of Fifth Monarchy men; but the proclamation went further, and forbade Baptists and Quakers to meet. This called forth, on 15 February, a petition from divers persons, commonly called Anabaptists, and others commonly meeting to worship of God at Theobalds. They disclaimed sympathy with Venner, declared their acceptance of Charles's rule—though they were loath to call themselves "subjects," and at first only styled

themselves "servants"—and asked leave to meet for worship. The petition, to be seen at Worcester College, Oxford, MS. 33, folio 64, is signed by thirty men, among whom figure Dike, Spencer, Rumbald, Empson, Spinage, Packer, Disbrowe. It availed little, for in October Packer was jailed at the Gatehouse, and was further involved in several lawsuits. As some Baptists were certainly thinking of appealing to arms, it is not strange that such a prominent man was carefully watched; his wife, however, petitioned that he had done nothing since the Act of Grace. This was not credited, for on 2 September, 1662, he and Gladman were sent from the King's Bench prison to the war-ship Colchester, apparently to be transported to the West Indies, and thus his English career ended.

This simply showed the others that they had better fight at once, and by April, 1663, Spencer was planning a wide-spread plot for a general rising, if the informer, Atkinson, is to be trusted. From Theobalds reports came twice a year that there were Non-conformist meetings, with no one hindering—a fact to be set to the credit of Monk. In October Paul Hobson turned informer, and more and more light came to the Government. Henry Lawrence, late President of the Council, was holding great meetings at Cheshunt; Gladman (who lived at Finsbury) and Spencer were leagued with three ministers, Masters, Cressett, and Wollaston, in having a great meeting at Theobalds. So in August, 1665, Spencer and John Rede of Porton were arrested, the latter admitting on 1 September, that he was in touch with Spinage. Nothing, however, could be proved till 10 June, 1667, when news came that a Southwark brewer had been sending a cart to Theobalds ten or twelve times, with kegs supposed to contain powder, with a blunderbuss, and drums. No action seems to have been taken on this; even a secretary of state might credit that a brewer's kegs contained beer.

As the Conventicle Act expired in 1668, Spencer opened three buildings at Hertford, and conducted worship regularly, much to the indignation of the local clergy, reporting in 1669. When Charles licensed such worship in 1672, Spinage protected his house at Cheshunt, while Spencer and Joseph Masters registered as preachers.

At this point detailed information in the State Papers ceases. It may be added that, in 1680, the colony of Cheshunt was reinforced by Richard Cromwell, though he may have worshipped with the staid Presbyterians under Wadsworth, or the Congregationalists under Tutty, Towler, and Yates. By 1683 Richard Rumbold was at the Rye House, where Keeling, a Baptist,



accused him of plotting against Charles, for which he was executed, though he denied it.

Theobalds has ceased to be a Baptist centre; the manor is now in the hands of a brewer, who has erected Temple Bar as an entrance to his private drive. As that was often adorned with the heads of traitors, there is some fitness in its new position, though it is to be regretted that Baptists hardly flourish at Edmonton, Ware, Epping, and Enfield as they did in 1666.

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## Notes.

### **Professor Ward as a Baptist.**

The church connection of Dr. Ward is hard to trace. The funeral sermon of his mother was preached on the 7th April 1697 by Walter Cross, M.A., the Independent Minister of Ropemakers' Alley, in Devonshire Square. The records of the church owning those premises do not seem to contain her name; but the building was hired out to other congregations, and Wilson asserts that it was being used in 1688 by the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, founded by Bampffield and revived by Edward Stennett. The minutes of that church show that Joseph Stennett was pastor from 1690, and that the other Calvinistic Seventh-day Church used the same premises, which, curiously are not named. Joseph Piggott, a school-master, often preached for that church in 1692, though a member of the Wapping First-day Church; but next year he became pastor of a new church meeting at the Two Golden Balls in Bow Street, which soon removed to St. John's Court, Hart Street. In 1699 Piggott withdrew and hired a chapel in Little Wild Street, some staying on at Hart Street, and others going to join Joseph Stennett. Now Ward was a close friend of Stennett, and drew up the elaborate inscription for his grave when he died in 1713; it may be conjectured that his earliest Baptist associations were with the Seventh-day Baptists. This is borne out by the following extract from the Historical Papers, page 143:—  
"John Ward was an officer in the English revolution of the Seventeenth Century under Oliver Cromwell. His son, Thomas Ward, came to the

American Colonies at the restoration of Charles the II., in 1666 (sic.). Shortly after this date, his name appears on the records, as a member of the Seventh-day Baptist Church of Newport. He was a prominent member of the Legislature of the Colony. He married, as his second wife, Amy Smith, a grand-daughter of Roger Williams. His son, by this second marriage, Richard Ward, was born in 1689, the year in which Thomas, the father, died." And it would somewhat explain the fact that John Ward senior, 1636-1717, a Baptist minister, according to his famous son, cannot be traced anywhere; though on the other he is not yet traced in the Seventh-day annals.

It is another remarkable omission that Crosby, a London schoolmaster, writing in 1740, has nothing to say about Ward. But we are now learning that Crosby did little more than edit Stinton's manuscripts, which of course only came down to his death in 1719. The only note of his own which bears even indirectly on his famous contemporary is on IV. 322:—Joseph Stennett has a son of his own name, now in the ministry, who, though he is of the same principles with his father, respecting the keeping of the seventh day as a sabbath, yet is pastor of a congregation in Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, that keep the first day as such.

Ivimey tells us that Ward did worship with this Wild Street Church, but he give no dates and offers no evidence. In the brief history of that church published by Woollacott in 1858, Ward's name never occurs. When all the London Calvinistic Baptist Churches reorganized their association in 1704, no Ward was a representative, from Stennett's church or from Piggott's or any other. Both these pastors died in 1713, and the former church ran down rapidly. In 1730 Wild Street called Andrew Gifford, who in 1734 founded Eagle Street, being succeeded three years later at Wild Street by Joseph Stennett junior. It was about that same time that Ward sold his school to Isaac Kimber, who had worshipped at Wild Street, then had been a minister at Paul's Alley, then at Nantwich, but was now at Artillery Lane, in Spital-fields, under John Weatherley.

Stennett and Gifford were both cultured men, and Ward was on excellent terms with them. We may probably connect the appointment of Gifford to office in the British Museum with the fact that Ward was a Trustee; and they jointly edited a work on numismatics. But the history of the Kingsgate Church, like that of Wild Street, never mentions Ward's name, and we cannot tell whether he followed Gifford or clung to Wild Street and the Seventh-day Minister. More probably the latter, as the funeral sermon was by Samuel Stennett, and Ivimey does not claim him.

Wilson tells us, I. 124, that he belonged for many years to a literary and theological society that met weekly, and discussed critical questions. When we see that it comprised such members as Benjamin Avery, George-Benson, Philip Glover, Jeremiah Hunt, and Nathaniel Lardner, all of them more scholarly than evangelical, we may surmise that he would not desire the very closest intimacy with either Baptist Church.