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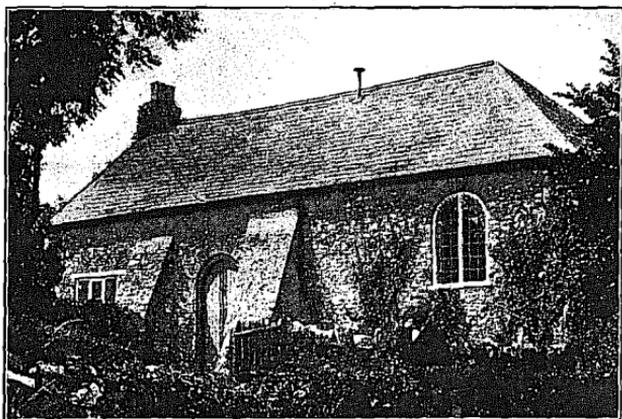
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LOUGHWOOD IN DALWOOD, BUILT 1655.



LOUGHWOOD CHAPEL, 1915.

Blocks lent by the Church, through the Rev. R. Bastable.

Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

Loughwood and Honiton, 1650-1800.

ON the borders of Devon and Dorset, up the little rivers Axe and Yarty, a large community of Baptists comes into full light at the end of 1653, the year when Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy men were at the zenith of their political influence, so that it was safe, and it became usual, to keep records of church affairs. Two new books were begun at this time by two groups which separated into distinct churches, known to-day as (1) KILMINGTON & LOUGHWOOD, (2) LYME REGIS. A study of the western group is here presented, based chiefly on its own book, which in a hundred folio pages has entries down to 1795. In that year it was borrowed by Dr. Rippon, whose father had belonged to Up Ottery; but though he kept it for many years he never used it in his Register. The indignant church at last procured another book; and explained the disjointed state of the entries at the beginning which look back even to 1778 by a statement of the doctor's behaviour. Fortunately the original is again in its proper home, but its appearance bears out the charge of another injured church, that the doctor put their books in a barrel, exposed

to the damp. The volume has been cut, has been taken to pieces and put together again in wrong order; but every entry is legible, and nearly all are fully dated. There are many periods of silence, but from many other sources it is possible to fill them in, and to reconstruct the story of the sturdy little community.

The origin is not recorded, and the church deplures that it is impossible to say how, when and where the cause began. Fortunately the earliest extant church roll gives three names at the head which enable us to divine one of the leading factors. When the parliamentary armies were remodelled, Fairfax sent a detachment which raised the siege of Taunton, and after Naseby he himself came to Langport, Bridgwater, Sherborne and Exeter, crushing the last royalists in the field by March, 1646. In that army were many Baptists, including captain Paul Hobson, who was spreading his views at Exeter and Kingsbridge, as we learn from a letter printed by Edwards in his *Gangraena*. Two other men, John Vernon and William Allen, were officers, and brothers-in-law, and when we find their names on the church roll here, as living in Dalwood, we scent a romance. Glance back to see their antecedents.

Vernon in 1644 wrote "The Young Horseman," an admirable book of drill for the parliamentary cavalry, prefaced by a most pious exhortation. Allen in 1648, though only a trooper, was yet Agent for his regiment, and took a leading part in the army deliberations that resulted in sending Charles for trial. Vernon in 1650 signed a General Epistle to all Baptists Churches, Heart-Bleedings for Professor's Abominations. Next year Allen was Adjutant-General of the cavalry in Ireland. A little later we hear that the two men were staying with their father-in-law near Exeter.

Now when we examine the "names of the members of the Church of Christ at Dalwood usually assembling at Loughwood in Dalwood, Dorsetshire," we find 17 members at Axminster, 15 at Colyton, 14 at Honiton, and 32 others at various hamlets near, besides 22 at Shute and Dalwood. The centre of gravity lay not at any of the three towns, but close to the obscure village where these men lived. The meeting-house too was being erected here, "in a lonely sequestered nook at the back of Shute Hill," a mile and a half from Colyton by a winding lane, and embowered in woods. At this time there was no need for secrecy, and the situation was probably due to the fact that a Dalwood man gave the site. More than that, of six brethren who were approved by the church to exercise their gifts according to the measure of grace, one was of Axminster, James Hitt; two were of Colyton, John Owen and Thomas Payne; three were of Dalwood itself, Vernon, Allen and Robert Doyly. Are we far from the mark if we suppose that Robert had two daughters, who accounted for the others settling here, and that their settlement accounted for the existence of the church?

The Lyme records show that at the end of 1653 there were elaborate negotiations for the group in that town to become a separate church people; the result was an amicable division on 15 December, when about seventy members constituted the eastern church. The Dalwood records show that besides the 92 remaining in full membership there, of whom two were absent in Ireland, forty more had been cast out for sin and disorder. Thus we have evidence of much prosperity, and of a high standard of discipline. As there were five more brethren on trial for gifts, meetings were not only held in Kilmington weekly, till the new house was erected, but also thrice a month at Ottery and at Honiton: and a most vigorous over-

sight was maintained of all absentees, though there was no pastor.

The earliest meeting recorded at length was on 14 February 1653/4. It was decided that church business was to be kept private; that at the close of each address there was to be trying of the doctrine, as enjoined by the apostle; that grievances were not to be brooded over but to be made known and settled at once; that one man, adjudged in the wrong, was to make prompt satisfaction. Some members had been accused by a man at Chard of being witches; a deputation was appointed to see him and make him justify the charge, or else to prosecute him: this was no tame church to allow slanders on her members. Then in response to the letter from Ireland, agreed to meet next Third day for humiliation, and then monthly.

The Irish letter may once have been lent to Rippon; he certainly printed it with its postscript that Brother Vernon can particularly inform as to some matters; it was signed at Waterford on 1 June, 1653. The London churches circulated it generally, with a covering letter from Peter Scutt, 24 July. The Irish Baptists intended to observe the first Wednesday in each month as a day of fasting and prayer. Their plan was approved, a General Meeting of the Western Association was held at Taunton 18-20 September, 1654, to which delegates were sent with a letter; on their return a perfect jeremiad of confession was adopted and entered.

Eight more meetings were held that year, abounding in matters of discipline and devotion. It was decided that Honiton ought not to be organized as a separate church, that five Elders and Overseers should be appointed, with five Deacons, and that the officers might prepare the business for the open church meeting. The building being not finished for lack of funds, a visitation of every member was arranged.

The year 1655 was of unusual interest, though only six meetings are recorded. As George Fox and Henry Jessey came to Honiton, we have two glimpses from very different outside positions. Good correspondence was kept up with sister churches, especially Hatch, Bridgwater and Totnes; and a brother was sent to preach in Dorset. From another General Meeting in Bridgwater, a reply was sent to Ireland, signed for this church. It was also agreed that Thomas Collier of Luppitt should be General Superintendent of the work in the district; but this church hesitated about Laying on of hands for the purpose. From outside sources we know that Allen was arrested in this county because he disapproved of Cromwell becoming Protector; but the church was silent on the subject. Changes were made in the services for the summer; experience meetings began at seven, and the sisters had a separate gathering: the wisdom of this was evident when we find that one called another a "durty beast." Brethren and sisters in distress were helped, £10 being subscribed for one member, and aid being sent for a member of the church at Totnes.

When next year Richard Gill fell into need, letters asking help were sent to the churches at Bovey Tracy, Exeter, Tiverton, Dartmouth, Luppitt, Lyme, Osmington, Chard, Ryden near Hatch, Bridgwater, Wedmore and North Bradley. Another sign of the good organization is in the General Meeting at Wells, 8-11 April, 1656: a reasoned protest was made against saints accepting money from the world, whether as minister to a parish, or Lecturer, or Chaplain. This document was printed in *TRANSACTIONS*, vol. I., page 65. Our church however did not sign; Vernon and Allen were touring Ireland, and some of their friends were doing these very things. Nor did the church sign the Confession issued this year, though Luppitt and

Lyme did. But Hitt went to the meeting at Exeter on 6 October.

In 1657 we find another elaborate time table for Sunday services through the summer. From seven to nine there was to be trial of gifts, prayer and prophecy. From nine to twelve, public exercise, and again from one to three. Then followed a private meeting for members only, to communicate their experience, exercise discipline, and pass judgment on the gifts exercised. It is much to be regretted that while pages are devoted to details of disciplines, there is no instance of a sermon and of the criticisms passed.

Next year regular meetings were instituted on Wednesday, of which full record was kept. It was reiterated that Honiton must remain part of the church; but a lack of rulers showed itself. Again we get welcome light from outside. John Carew, a man of good family who had sat in parliament and had tried Charles, was baptized in February 1658; he had previously been very helpful to the church at Exeter. It was feared by the government that he, Vernon and Allen intended at the Association in Dorchester to bring forward some political schemes: so in May Thurloe sent spies, who were disconcerted to find that only members were admitted. They did hear that Kiffin and other Londoners kept the meeting on safe lines.

When Richard Cromwell became Protector, the same three men planned another meeting at Exeter, which excited fresh alarm. This church sent a letter to that meeting on 30 January, 1658/9, but did not enter a copy in its book.

Great changes came about soon. Allen published a book to show that the situation of 1648 had arisen again, and exhorting the officers to dethrone the new tyrant. Richard resigned, Vernon and Allen were

re-commissioned, and the Rump Parliament was recalled, in the hope that toleration, which had been seriously abridged by Cromwell, could be restored. Efforts were made to obtain popular support for this revolution, and two great meetings of Baptist were convened. The General Baptists of sixteen counties met at Aylesbury, and the Londoners sent a printed paper summoning Particular Baptists to the Angel at Salisbury. To this gathering Dalwood sent Robert Doyly, with instructions to pass a vote of confidence in the new government, and to present a petition, presumably for liberty of conscience. Soon afterwards, Vernon and Allen were sent to Ireland in high command.

The return of Charles ended all this; the Baptist officers were dismissed, and special reports were sent that Vernon and Allen were very dangerous. Carew surrendered to stand his trial for regicide, and was executed; Allen was arrested and only obtained release on 19 June 1661 by promising to leave the country. Lyme was said to be a nest of fanatics.

Meantime Robert Doyly had provided another romantic touch. Abraham Cheare of Plymouth has left a manuscript account, now in Bristol College, how he was sent for to Cornwall, to baptize Captain Langdon on 7 January 1651, and how he dared not as there was a sharp frost and the man was consumptive and very weak. "Brother Muckle was then called upon by Captain Langdon to do his duty," and the result was that many more were baptized. This seems to be connected with the movement round Falmouth, Penryn and Tregavethan, of which many details are known. Now on 14 June 1659, Doyly married Mrs. Ann Langton of "Tragaffan" in Cornwall, whom he may have met at some Association meetings. Perhaps he went down to live there, for the minutes now cease, and the note that the garden plat around the

meeting-house may be used for burial of members, reads like a farewell gift. Cheare supplies us two interesting facts; he was sent to Exeter jail for declining the Oath of Allegiance, and there he met James Hitt, confined for the same reason. There is an optimist ring about the remark in a letter of 17 September 1662, that the meeting at Dalwood was very large and increasing, the Lord being a covert to them. This was indeed true, for though Seth Ward, the bishop of Exeter, undertook a very vindictive search for dissenters under the new conventicle act in 1665, he heard nothing of this place. Vernon had settled in London, where with Glass of Bovey Tracy he was busy conducting meetings every Sunday; his career henceforward though decidedly adventurous, has no bearing on Dalwood; he died in 1667.

When the Conventicle Act expired in 1668, minutes were resumed on 6 November, with a resolution to raise 1/6 weekly for the poor; and among these we now find Thomas Payne. On 10 May next there was a thorough reorganization, and a pastor was chosen for the first time, George Allome, to whom the same payment was made. He was ordained by laying on of hands, with fasting and prayer; two ruling elders and two deacons were appointed also.

Sheldon was angry at the revival of conventicles, and sent orders that year to all bishops to send in returns about them. The new bishop, Anthony Sparrow, did not like the work, and only said of this district:—"Colyton, once in a fortnight or three weeks, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another and in fields and orchards. Ottery St. Mary, a conventicle at uncertain places, few, most of them meane, some constables." The last item quite agrees with what we have heard as to the local strength, and explains the absence of persecution. When the Declaration of Indulgence came out in 1672, Samuel Serle and Peter

Cole took out licences for Baptist worship in their homes at Honiton. But the Declaration was cancelled next year, and the minutes ceased for twenty years.

In 1675 Serle administered a legacy from Christopher Serle of Huxtable in Kent, bequeathed early in 1669; that year we hear through Sheldon of John Searle, a Baptist at Wye in Kent. Samuel bought one of the old bridewells in Honiton; perhaps the rise of dissent had rendered it needless. Three pounds of the rent he paid over to the churchwardens and overseers, to be spent in shoes, stockings, and books to be given to poor children each fifth of November; the rest of the rent he and his fellow-trustees promised to use for other charitable purposes. Thus the Baptists were bold enough to create a permanent trust; and while the Town Council now appoints the trustees, the three pounds are still used for children at the Nonconformist schools.

In 1685, Monmouth landed at Lyme, accompanied by Col. Abraham Holmes, founder of the church at Exeter, and by young William Hewling, grandson of Kiffin. He was joined by Sampson Lark, pastor of the Lyme church; but we cannot be certain that any Dalwood people joined, or suffered like these three for their rebellion. Four years later, William of Orange landed at Torbay, and a pencil note of "1689" against the name of Allen on the church roll enables us to hope that the veteran struck one blow more for freedom.

When the Assembly sat that year in London, his ancient colleagues James Hitt and Thomas Payne, attended from Dalwood. Two years later the church appeared again at the Western Association, then Hitt went to help Plymouth. A tradition of this lingered at Dalwood, though the name had been mis-read or distorted as Flute. Payne was the only representative at London in 1692, but to Bristol four years later,

four were sent. Then from brief minutes we read that a London controversy was echoed here, and settled by the decision that members who wished to sing, might do so. The debt Plymouth owed, was repaid by sending James Murch about 1693, and after five years help at Dalwood and Lyme, he was dismissed to the former on 16 December 1698. Two years later he attended the Association at Bristol in May, and signed the minutes; but he removed to Bampton in 1703. An attempt to get Emanuel Gifford from Bristol failed, and a member once again took the lead, as we learn from Jerom Murch in his account of Honiton, which is invaluable for the next period.

Indeed the heroic period is now over, and during all the eighteenth century we shall see disturbance owing to the rise of a new type of doctrine. While the "Arian Movement" as it has been termed, affected a large part of England, yet it originated in Exeter, and we can study its spread admirably in these two places, Honiton and Dalwood. The Western Association had sought to unite all Baptist churches, whether General as at Tiverton, or Particular as at Exeter; it was a remarkable experiment and deserved better success than it attained. The Confession of 1656 was rather Calvinistic, but in 1691 another was put out, which Crosby classed as General, to be seen as an appendix to his last volume. The truth is acknowledged by the churches, "we are looked upon as a people degenerated from almost all other baptized congregations, at least in our parts of the nation," and they were not content with the revision of the Presbyterian confession, that in 1689 had met such favour from the Baptists at London. A very distinct lead was given away from not only Calvinism but from Athanasianism, at Exeter in 1719 among the Presbyterians, and the Baptist Association soon felt the effects.

Jerom Maynard of Axminster, a large manufacturer, maintained the services at Dalwood for many years, and won several adherents in Colyton about 1707. When he moved to Honiton eight years later, he gathered another congregation in his own house. This prospered so well that in 1721 he devoted himself entirely to the newer cause.

But he was a follower of the new light, and the book at Dalwood is silent as to his ministry, unless some undeciphered short-hand notes to 1722 refer to it. It was in the Association of 1723 that Broadmead followed up a movement of two years earlier, by carrying a resolution that the 1689 confession be adopted; 33 ministers signed a declaration repudiating the views of Arminius and Antinomian doctrine, accepting the Trinity. A scrutiny of this document might show where Maynard stood, and what Dalwood held. Taunton was becoming the Baptist centre of the new views, under Joseph Jefferies, and the meeting there in 1730 was the last united one. In 1733 Loughwood was represented at the Calvinist Association in Bristol, not at the rival meeting in Moreton Hampstead. The few notices in the book in these crucial years relate only to accounts and discipline, and give no indication that the situation was regarded as singular.

Maynard was distinctly flourishing at Honiton, and in 1737, with the help of John Sturch of Crediton, he erected a little meeting-house on Bridge Street, with a baptistery outside. As his business took much of his time, he obtained the help of William Sprague or Sprake, and this man threw in his lot with the Assembly of General Baptists, rapidly moving from Arminianism towards Arianism. In 1753 Sprague was succeeded by Daniel Wheeler, who proved so energetic that when the Baptists of South Carolina asked for a minister, offering £70 yearly, he was sent in

1757, and built up the church at Stono. Maynard was now over eighty years old, another helper was most necessary, so appeal was made to the Assembly which had taken away their minister. Now at Taunton there was a prominent family, which had devoted to the ministry a son, Francis Webb, and had given him an excellent training. He came, and was so brilliantly successful that in a few months he was invited to the church at the Barbican in London, whither he went in 1758, despite the offer of £100 a year to stay.

While Honiton thus flourished, it was far different at Colyton, where the removal of Maynard paralyzed the cause, and it soon dissolved. The Presbyterians built a meeting-house in 1745, and presently invited Joshua Toulmin, a youth of 21, fresh from a London Academy. Within four years he became Baptist, and an awkward situation was ended by the Taunton Baptist minister resigning in his favour. On the death of Maynard in 1762 Toulmin repaid his debt of honour, to Honiton. He found near Taunton a farmer, Philip Adams, pastor of the church at Wedmore. He induced Adams to take up this cause also, and monthly visits were paid till he died in 1780.

The fortunes of the main church at Dalwood are harder to follow at this time, the book being nearly blank, and the entries hard to reconcile. There was a very able man, Isaac Hann, who played a great part in the Association affairs, so that at his death the Association erected a tablet stating that he was "for many years the worthy pastor of this church." He appears first as Association preacher at Exeter in 1734, being then 44 years old, it is reasonable to think that he settled here about that time. Yet only in 1751 do entries show any revival, and there are signs of money quarrels. He paid £30 and took a receipt in full during 1753; next year the deeds of the meeting-house were handed over by Mrs. Rockett, and there

are notes of an endowment of £5 shared with Lyme. Some proceedings of "our dear Minister Isaac Hann" with relation to a mortgage, were approved in April 1757. In December the names of all church members were taken down, and besides Hann there were only six men and 25 women. Hann lived at Popain, three at Honiton, the others mostly at Stockland and Colyton.

This shows that in Honiton there was not only the new meeting of Maynard and Wheeler, but also a Calvinist group. To minister to these there was James Drewett, who had come from Penygarn, as Joshua Thomas tells. He was receiving £25 from Dalwood till 1754, when it was reduced to £20. His work continued till death in 1770.

Hann was therefore being aided by at least one other minister; and this may explain the entry that Mr. Arnot left in February 1756. But when we find that the help of Thomas Bosher was called in, we scent doctrinal trouble. For Bosher, pastor at Milborne Port, was of the new school, and had already been involved in troubles at Up Ottery and Prescott, leading to divisions. Thomas Lewis came at a salary of £20, and the capital stock increased to £100: but he passed on in a year, and though he did good work at Chard, Tiverton, Exeter and elsewhere, something unusual was evidently happening here. In November 1757, Robert Day came over from Wellington and baptized several; and all these things occurred while Hann was still "our dear minister!" We must of course remember that he was nearly seventy years old, but as the list of those he baptized is very short, we may fairly conclude that his talents were not evangelistic, and that even those who would not listen to the new doctrine were justified in wishing for more energy in the ministry.

Now a century earlier, the church had had much

to do with Hatch in Somerset, where Philip Adams was now living. That church also had been rent, and while entries of 1690 are extant, they seem to be in the custody of the new school. A fresh set of records was opened by the Calvinists in 1742, whence we find that on 29 August 1750, the pastor was Samuel Burford. He came to settle in Loughwood on 15 July 1759, and on 27 February 1763, he put in his letter of dismissal from the church at Bickenhall, a hamlet close to Hatch, and was chosen pastor. His family indeed belonged to this district, for Edmund Burford had been minister in Lyme in the seventeenth century; John Burford had been member at Up Ottery, and returned in 1741 from a long pastorate in Falmouth to die at Church Stanton near Hatch.

The circumstances under which Hann retired are obscure. In 1773 Josiah Thompson of London made careful enquiry into all dissenting churches, to see what hope there was of getting support to the proposal of ending the compulsion on dissenting ministers to sign some of the Articles; he noted the attitude of every minister. He says that at Honiton there was no resident Baptist minister, though there was a good parsonage; Adams was coming over monthly. Isaac Hann he says was petitioning; but he was now minister at Up Ottery. James Pyne of Lyme was petitioning. The minister of Loughwood was not; and so his name is not entered. As the present minister of Kilmington knows a letter of Hann from Dalwood to Up Ottery in 1770, there is reason to fear that the old man had an awkward period when he was superseded, with no status in the church he had served so long, before a refuge was found for him near by. Certainly when he died five years later, it was the Association that erected the memorial to him in the Dalwood Chapel.

In 1782 it was necessary to choose a new deacon. Trouble arose, Mrs. Bety Rocket declining to agree

with the others, " Sarah Rocket her daughter when she saw that her mother could not have the government of the church " also retired, and a long controversy was closed only by their excommunication in 1784.

Meantime Burford in turn was ageing at Dalwood, and a helper was found in Samuel Norman, who came from Stogumber in 1786 and was received into full membership 7 January next. Finances proved difficult, and when it was decided that he must rise and fall with the church in her subscriptions, he passed on to Bampton in 1792. Rowles and Arnold helped especially in a neighbouring village, while Burford at the age of 87 still conducted two services each Sunday. A second Richard Gill, baptized in 1788, was appointed to help him, and early in 1798 the venerable pastor resigned in his favour, surviving two years longer, and passing to rest with descendants in the ministry in London and Sabden. Under newer auspices the church awakened to the new missionary spirit, having passed safely through the troubles of the eighteenth century, and presently added to its ancient home at Loughwood, a second at Kilmington.

The church founded at Honiton by Jerom Maynard usually worshipped with the Presbyterians after the death of Adams; but when the pastor there died, they made application to Dr. Caleb Evans of Bristol. He had a student, Stephen Freeman, who under his tuition had become distinctly Unitarian, and a settlement was effected in 1787, James Maynard and John Murch bequeathing £340 in trust. The Bridge Street chapel soon proved too small, for the Presbyterians now deserted their own place, and a large girls' boarding school attended. John Maynard, nephew of the founder, gave more land, and a new building was opened in 1794. Freeman however had resigned four years earlier, and had gone to Enfield, where he opened a school, and was also asked to train for the

General Baptist ministry. He was succeeded at Honiton by a pedobaptist, John Hughes, who lived till 1831, and seems to have dissipated the last remnants of Baptist principle. The church survived till 1861 when the meeting-house was closed. Litigation ended by the sale of the premises for £55 and vesting all the proceeds with trustees of the New Connexion General Baptists.

The Honiton section of the Dalwood church was bereft of its minister in 1770. At the same time the old Presbyterian church broke up, owing to the bad conduct of a young minister. The Calvinists left the old meeting, bringing away with them the books dating from 1696, and they certified a room for worship in 1771; with them apparently joined the Calvinistic Baptists, and new books were begun, with Mr. Stevens from Great Marlow as minister. Before the century closed, the united church had a meeting-house on High Street, a burial ground, and an endowment. But it was premature for Baptists and Pedobaptists to be thus wedded. In 1812 the Baptists withdrew from the partnership, foregoing all claim to property and books, and presently had another chapel, also near High Street. Only after that separation did the "new Protestant Dissenting meeting-house" of 1800 take the title of Independent. The Baptists date their origin as a church from 1817, but this sketch will show that there is a real thread of continuity, and that they equally with "Kilmington and Loughwood" inherit the traditions of the "Church of Christ at Dalwood" which has a recorded history of more than 261 years.

W. T. WHITLEY.

William Whiston.

MANY of us will be aware that William Whiston was the man who translated into English the works of Josephus. Not many of us, perhaps, know of anything else that he did. Yet to think of him simply as the translator of Josephus is to content oneself with a very partial conception of the man, and one that does him much less than justice. To conceive him as a man of one book, or as exclusively engrossed in the study of a remote antiquity, would indeed be to adopt a notion exactly contrary to the truth. Whiston was a most voluminous writer, with a surprisingly wide range of interests, and these included living enquiries and burning controversies of his own day.

The primary and chief source of information concerning him is the 'Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston . . . written by himself' in 1749. Citations in this article are from the Memoirs, if not otherwise assigned. In this work he mentions more than ninety publications which were, in whole or part, the fruit of his own labour. While professor of mathematics at Cambridge, he edited manuals designed to aid the studies of his pupils. But he showed a keen interest also in other sciences, into which mathematics entered. His were days of rapid and startling discovery in the realm of natural science, and no one followed the successive discoveries of his time with a more eager attention, or showed greater promptitude in seeking to apply them, and make them

known. Whiston was in fact one of the pioneers in the delivery of popular scientific lectures, illustrated with experiments. With the same object he also published treatises. Thus he wrote on astronomical phenomena, and on various modes of determining longitude.

But he was a clergyman of the Church of England; and his primary and most enduring concern was the defence, reformation and propagation of her religion. In his scientific studies he had ever an eye to the maintenance and elucidation of the Christian revelation. Thoroughly characteristic of Whiston's lifelong preoccupations is his first published work—'A New Theory of the Earth' etc., (1696). This work embodied an attempt to vindicate the Biblical account of the beginnings and end of the world, on the principles of the new 'philosophy' recently set forth by Sir Isaac Newton. It betrays a serene confidence in the easy reconcilability of science and revelation; which is characteristic of Whiston no less than of his age. With like confidence Whiston demonstrates against the Deist Collins 'The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies' (1724.) He ventured upon suggestions for a revision of the Canon, and also for an improved text of the Old and New Testaments. He wrote, further, on the Chronology of the Old Testament, and the Harmony of the four Gospels (1702.) He produced a Scripture History (1748), and a commentary on the Epistles of John (1719.) He made contributions to Biblical Theology and Ethics. He even extracted a system of 'Scripture Politicks' (1717.)

In the promotion of Christian education, elementary as well as university education, he displayed a practical activity. In 1710 he addressed to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 'A Memorial for setting up Charity Schools universally

in England and Wales.' He had himself been the principal mover in the erection of Charity Schools in Cambridge, where he personally took part in catechising the children. In this work he made use of 'A Primitive Catechism,' the work of his youngest brother, Daniel, revised by himself (published, 1718.) This serves to call attention to what, after all, was the dearest object of our versatile cleric. It was to recover and reinstate in general acceptance the doctrine, organisation and practice of the primitive Church. By so doing he hoped to eliminate all controversy and schism, and to exhibit a faith impregnable to all assaults from the world of unbelief.

But the circumstance that gives Whiston a special claim upon the attention of readers of these Transactions is that his sincere and courageous pursuit of sacred truth led him eventually into Dissent, and that it was with the Baptists that he found himself ultimately most at home. To trace the steps whereby he advanced to that position is the purpose of the rest of this paper.

I.

William Whiston (1667-1752) was doubly descended from clergy of the Established Church. His father, Josiah Whiston, was rector of Norton-juxta-Twycross, in Leicestershire; his mother, a daughter of the previous rector. There were, however, family circumstances which may have helped in early days to foster that open and friendly attitude which, in mature life, he showed uniformly towards Dissenters. His father had originally been ordained (1653) under the auspices of one of the classical presbyteries of the Commonwealth. After the Restoration, he learned to maintain the unlawfulness of the civil war, and observed with uncommon solemnity the anniversary of Charles I's death. Nevertheless he preserved un-

interrupted his friendship with his brother Joseph, who had actually been chaplain to the regicide, Colonel Harrison. This brother was 'a very pious Dissenter, that wrote several books on Infant Baptism.' William's father also knew and highly respected Richard Baxter. The influence and example of the latter may have contributed something towards the faithfulness with which he discharged in person all the duties of his office.

William was at first taught by his father. 'I was from my Youth brought up with a religious Education, and under deep Impressions of Piety; and in the diligent Study of the Scriptures.' After less than two years' schooling at Tamworth, under a Mr. George Antrobus, whose daughter he subsequently married, he was entered at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1686. Here he studied hard, especially in Mathematics. In 1690 he graduated B.A. Next year he was elected a Fellow of his college. In 1693 he graduated M.A., but already felt great difficulty about the required subscriptions. Though desiring to take orders, he scrupled to receive ordination from any bishop who had superseded one that had refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary 'and so had been deprived for preferring conscience to preferment.' He avoided the difficulty, however, by having recourse to Lloyd of Coventry and Lichfield, who had been a bishop before the Revolution.

Returning to College, Whiston resumed study of his favourite Mathematics, and the then fashionable philosophy of Descartes. But ere long his whole view of the world was changed by the perusal of Newton's Principia. The 'Newtonian Philosophy' was (as we have seen) the inspiration and basis of his 'New Theory of the Earth' published 1696. In 1699 he married and left college. In the previous year he had been presented by Bishop Moor of Norwich to

the living of Lowestoft-cum-Kessingland, where his revenues consisted chiefly of a certain proportion of the local catch of herring and mackerel! Here he strove conscientiously to perform his ministerial duties, on lines that partly recall his father's example. Among other expedients for attracting and instructing a congregation, he set up a 'catechetick Lecture' on summer evenings; 'to which lecture the Dissenters also would come, and by which I always thought I did more good than by my sermons.' During his tenure of the living he refused to sign a license for a new alehouse in Lowestoft; and also, to read in church an excommunication sent him from the ecclesiastical court of Norwich, against a woman accused of calling another by an opprobrious name. Such excommunication he judged a contravention of the strict discipline of the early church, since enquiry disclosed that the epithet in question was commonly believed by the woman's neighbours to be justified.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century he resigned his living in order to become deputy to the Lucasian professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, Sir Isaac Newton, whom he presently succeeded. None the less, his attention continued to be primarily occupied by matters theological and ecclesiastical. It was a time of much unrest and lively discussion in the religious world. There were disputes, dating from the Revolution, about the relation of Church and State, and the powers of Convocation. The Deistic controversy was raging; and a Trinitarian controversy had begun. Reason was steadily contesting with church authority the control of human thought. Since Reformation times, the Christian world had been distracted and weakened by fierce controversies, divisions, persecutions: reason proposed to reduce orthodox Christianity to a simpler faith, in which the various parties could all unite. It was natural that in particular

the cardinal mystery of the faith, the orthodox, i.e. Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, should become the subject of scrutiny, and attempts at revision. Whiston followed keenly the various controversies of the time, and talked them over with his friends at Cambridge. At the request of one or two of them, he drew up, in 1708, some 'Directions for the Study of Divinity.' In these he made some attempt to distinguish the traditional doctrine of the Trinity from the original doctrine of the primitive church. Quickly becoming sensible of the serious import of the opinions which he had expressed, and of the gravity of the possible consequences to himself from professing them, he set himself to a detailed study of the subject in question, in which he confined himself almost exclusively to the testimonies of the 'most ancient Christian writers. The result of his enquiry was a conviction of the primitivity of that modified form of Arianism known to church historians as Eusebianism. Accordingly, he now affirmed that Jesus Christ, while Son of God in a sense predicable of no (other) creature, begotten of the Father before all ages, and His instrument in all creation and revelation, is 'a Divine Being, or Person, far inferior to his Father in Nature, Attributes and Perfections,' 'entirely subordinate' to him, and, being our God by the Father's appointment, entitled only to secondary worship. (See *Primitive Christianity, revived*, vol. IV). What more than aught else confirmed him in his view was the import of certain passages in the (so-called) Apostolical Constitutions, to which his attention was first directed by a 'learned friend.' These Constitutions are an early compendium of church law, under the guise of precepts announced by the Apostles themselves. The general opinion of the best scholarship, in Whiston's day as in ours, is that the work is spurious, and assignable in its ultimate form, to the

fourth century, although incorporating some elements as old even as the second century. Whiston, after a careful examination of the evidence, both internal and external, arrived at widely different conclusions, viz. that they are, in the main 'no other than the original laws and doctrines of the Gospel: the New Covenant, or most Sacred Standard of Christianity: equal in their authority to the four Gospels themselves: and superior in authority to the Epistles of single Apostles: some parts of them being our Saviour's own *Original Laws* delivered to the Apostles; and the other parts the Publick Acts of the Apostles themselves met in councils at Jerusalem and Cæsarea, before their death; and this was the constant Opinion and Testimony of the earliest ages of the Gospel.' Certain phrases here used betray the fact that Whiston thought of the Gospel too much as a body of precepts explicitly regulating in detail the beliefs and practices of its adherents for all time. This conception would make it easier for him than it is for us to find the Constitutions genuine. But it was common to many scholars who denied the genuineness. One cannot help suspecting that Whiston found it easy to credit with apostolic authority a work which endorsed his Eusebianism, and further (as he affirmed) 'does most plainly put an end to almost all the Disputes that are now among Christians.'

Whiston hastened to announce his various discoveries to the archbishops; he intimated that he felt obliged to publish such momentous truths, but would accept advice as to the mode of publication. In the course of the next year (1709), his friends began to take alarm at the opinions which they heard that he was advocating; and opponents began to take steps against him. Early in 1710 he gave further offence by publishing an Essay on the Epistles of Ignatius. In it he declared the genuineness of the *longer* of the

two recensions of these epistles then known—another spurious work which lent support to his interpretation of the Trinity; while in a postscript he gave effect to that interpretation in this revised form of the Doxology: 'Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.' Early in October he published, in 'an Historical Preface,' a history of his obnoxious opinions to date. Towards the end of the month, he was cited before the Heads of Colleges, required to renounce his opinions, and despite his protests against their procedure, banished from the University, within a week of his first appearance before them.

Next year his case was brought before Convocation. After some time spent in discussing the proper mode of proceeding against him, and the competency of Convocation to censure his opinions, his writings were examined, certain passages were condemned, and reported to the Queen. She avoided returning any answer, and the proceedings in Convocation fell through. Finally the case was raised before the Court of Delegates. But here too, it was indefinitely suspended, until it was disposed of by an act of grace of the year 1715.

II.

Whiston claims, with truth, that he was prepared to suffer whatever penalties might be incurred by his bold avowal of his views. In saying this he reckoned with the possibility of a rigorous application in his case of the standing laws against dissent. He hints at confiscation, banishment, imprisonment, even jeopardy of life! The actual consequences were serious enough. His professorship was, in October 1711, declared void by the authorities of his university. Other men, who privately held the same views, or were even notorious sceptics, kept their places. Whiston comforted himself with Milton's Abdiel—'faithful

found Among the faithless; faithful only, he.' But he experienced also more material compensations. By the kind interest of Addison and Steele, he gave astronomical lectures at Button's coffee house. In 1721 a considerable subscription, including royal names, was raised for him and his family. Such help, together with the proceeds of other lectures and gifts, some legacies, and generous hospitality from a few friends, enabled Whiston to pursue his dearest projects without anxiety about ways and means.

Whiston had influential friends to whom even preferment did not seem wholly out of the question. Soon after the accession of the house of Hanover, Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, enquired his feeling respecting a bishopric, should it be offered him. For Whiston it was wholly out of the question, if only because of the doctrinal subscriptions and unapostolic practices he would have to accept and enforce. Decisive by itself was the 'Apostolical Canon' (31) which forbids the obtaining of a bishopric by means of the rulers of this world. There was no subject on which Whiston felt and spoke more strongly than the system of preferment in the Established Church. 'The Expectation of Preferment! . . . The grand thing commonly aimed at, both by Clergy and Laity; and generally the utter ruin of Virtue and Religion among them all.' For preferment's sake, men of Arian or even skeptical views signed the thirty-nine Articles. Whiston was specially shocked when such dishonest subscription was justified to him by Lord Chief Justice King, who had been 'bred up among Dissenters,' on the plea 'We must not lose our usefulness for scruples.' King himself, when Chancellor 'disposed of his preferments almost wholly at the request of such great men as could best support him in his high station.' Whiston gives also several clerical instances of deterioration in character, attributable to the pur-

suit of preferment. 'Happy is that man' he wrote, greatly daring, to Archbishop Wake, in 1721, 'who is not made a worse Christian by being made a Bishop; and thrice happy that man who is not made a much worse Christian, by being made an Archbishop.'

Whiston's experience of the Church of England, contrasted with his views of true Christianity, steadily pushed him towards some form of Dissent. While his case was before Convocation, he was deeply pained by being excluded from the Communion. In remonstrating with the responsible curate, he hinted that, if persisted in, such exclusion might drive him, however reluctant, into separatism.

The promised statement in detail of his views appeared before the end of 1711, as 'Primitive Christianity Revived' in four volumes, to which a fifth was added next year. The contents included the Apostolical Constitutions, in Greek and English, with an Essay to prove them genuine. This concluded with 35 'Inferences from the whole.' The points that more immediately concern our enquiry shall be briefly summarised.

The Constitutions should be added to the Canon of Scripture.—The government of a church by a bishop, presbyters and deacons was set up by the apostles, in accordance with the appointment of Christ himself: these officers are to be elected (and deposed), as ordained in the Constitutions.—To the clergy are entirely confined 'sacred offices, ministrations, and authority properly ecclesiastical.' They are not to intermeddle with worldly affairs and employments.—The exact order for Sunday public worship is prescribed in the Constitutions, including 'the Apostles' own Liturgy.' The Sabbath [Saturday] should be celebrated, in a minor degree.—Wednesdays and Fridays, and some annual occasions are to be observed

as fast-days. In the Eucharist the wine should be mixed with water.—‘Prayers for the faithful departed’ are ‘an original institution of the Gospel.’—Baptism is for those only who have been through a sufficient course of catechising, and is to be administered by trine immersion.—Purity of life is to be enforced by strict discipline, in which the bishop judges, the clergy vote, and the people assent.—Clergy should not marry after ordination, nor be twice married.—Christians should avoid oaths as far as possible, abstain from blood and things strangled.—The doctrine of a (retributive) intermediate state is an ‘undoubted principle of the Christian religion.’

So far as he had opportunity, Whiston practised what he preached. In June 1710, he drew up ‘a form for the baptism of infants, agreeable to the Constitutions of the Apostles.’ It was not long, however, ere he was led to abandon infant baptism. While arranging for the baptism of a Mr. Shelswell and his sister, he was asked by the former if it would not be better for instruction to precede rather than follow the baptism. Whiston enquired of the New Testament and the earliest Fathers, and soon discovered that in the first two centuries none but persons capable of catechetical instruction were ever baptised. ‘This most important discovery’ he communicated to the world in a pamphlet, ‘Primitive Infant Baptism revived’ (1712.) Whiston here finds (among other things) that baptism is only regeneration as it is accompanied by an inward change (repentance and faith); that belief as well as baptism is a prerequisite to reception of the Eucharist; and that baptism constitutes a motive and obligation to the strictest holiness. In 1714 he baptised, confirmed and communicated the Shelswells, using on this occasion the form set forth in his ‘Liturgy of the Church of England reduced nearer to the Primitive Standard.’ This was substantially the first Prayer

Book of Edward VI., with modification of passages that breathed the Athanasian 'heresy.'

At the end of 1713 he wrote 'an Argument' for the validity of the ministerial acts of Dissenting ministers (published 1714.) From a dictum of the Apostolical Constitutions—'no lay baptism!' he infers that Dissenting baptism can be valid only if Dissenting 'orders' are valid. Strictly speaking, however, there are no valid orders 'among us'; for there are no ministers appointed according to the 'apostolic' mode, and enforcing none but 'apostolic' rules. It follows that there is no valid baptism or Eucharist, or true Church. Perhaps then, all clergy should be re-appointed and all Christians rebaptised. But where are the validly ordained ministers to do this? Having brought matters to this deadlock, Whiston pronounces the principle from which such conclusions are drawn to be false—contrary to God's justice and goodness, and His promises in Scripture, and that irregularly appointed ministers are to be recognised, provided they have the excuse of ignorance or 'exigency of affairs,' and are prepared to amend upon opportunity. After criticising the orders of the Roman and Protestant Churches, Whiston comes to 'our Protestant Dissenters.' The ministers of the Establishment are irregularly *chosen*; those of the Dissenters, irregularly *ordained*; who can say which is worse? Both are equally sincere—and equally prejudiced. The Baptists are truly primitive in their insistence on immersion and delay of baptism till grown years; 'so that the Baptists' ministerial acts, so far at least as that ordinance is concerned, and so far as they have also preserved a sort of episcopacy, and some other original laws of the Gospel, which do not often appear in the rest of the Dissenters, are of all others most certainly valid.'

But since in many respects the Baptists themselves departed from Whiston's primitive purity, he could

see nothing for it but to start a new congregation. For several years from Easter, 1715, he held, at least at the three great annual festivals, a solemn assembly for worship and the Eucharist, in his own house in London. In July of the same year, in pursuance of 'Proposals' published as early as 1712, he started a 'Society for promoting Primitive Christianity' which lasted about two years, and attracted to its discussions such well known men as Hoadley and Rundle, Samuel Clarke, John Gale and Thomas Chubb.

Some years later (1726) Whiston's restless spirit of enquiry broke new ground. He had models prepared of the Tabernacle and the Temple, on which he lectured in London and several provincial towns. At the time of writing his memoirs, he purposed 'many more the like lectures,' and some preparatory to the restoration of the Jews. This he took to be his 'peculiar business at present.' He had discovered that the Messiah would return in 1766 to inaugurate the Millenium, 'when the last of these temples, the temple of Ezekiel, will be built on Mount Zion.'

But to return. In 1735 another question of primitive practice demanded his attention. A 'great and good friend' of his, Samuel Collet, Baptist, thinking himself dangerously ill, asked Whiston to anoint him with oil. Whiston durst not venture to do that, till he had enquired of antiquity. (Fortunately Collet recovered meanwhile.) Antiquity answered Whiston in the affirmative; and having also been assured by some Baptist Church officers whom he interrogated, of authentic cases of healing, he became 'clear that it is a certain law of the Gospel.'

III.

And now we may pass to his final breach with the Church of England. In August 1746 he resolved henceforth to withdraw from church while that 'mon-

strous' creed, the Athanasian, was recited. For years past it had been his habit to take no part in it. His new resolve was stimulated by reception of an anonymous letter, which pointed out courteously the grave inconsistency of an 'Arian' being present where his views were cursed, and asked advice as to where such an one should worship. In October (the first opportunity that occurred) Whiston withdrew during the recitation of the obnoxious creed. He hesitated still to withdraw altogether from the communion of the Established church, until he could find a suitable number—say 120 (Acts i. 15) to set up a truly primitive congregation. But on Trinity Sunday, 1747, the Athanasian creed being read in the church at Lyndon, where he was then staying, he 'was obliged to go out, and to go to the Baptist meeting at Morcott, two miles off.'

With a view to an understanding with his new fellow-worshippers, Whiston wrote, in November 1747, 'A friendly Address to the Baptists.' For the last 35 years he himself has been 'a real Baptist,' in so far as he has baptised none but adults, and this by immersion. In other respects he has adhered to the Established Church, but recently the Athanasian creed has proved too much for him, and he now abandons her 'as utterly incorrigible.' He intends, when in the country, to go to the Baptist Meeting at Morcott, until he finds opportunity for a more completely primitive service. He chooses the Baptists, because 'I take them (meaning the Remonstrant or *general* Baptists: for I have no acquaintance with the Calvinist or *particular* Baptists at all) to be the best Christians, both in doctrine and practice here among us; and the nearest to the primitive settlements of Christ and the apostles, of any I have yet met with.' (3) They are of good character. (2) Such modest learning as they have is "sacred Scripture learning." (3) They

alone rightly constitute their three orders of ecclesiastical governors, bishops (though they avoid this ambitious title), presbyters or elders, and deacons, and nearly in the way appointed by Christ through the apostles, i.e., election by the Christian people, without subscription to false or uncertain articles, but with regard to the proper qualifications; and ordination with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands by one or more of their own neighbouring bishops. (4) They alone in these parts of Europe practise "real Baptism." (5) "If Dr. Wall was rightly informed, the Baptists commonly believe the Millenium." (6) According to the same authority, "all the Baptists in England do hold that that decree—of abstaining from blood and things strangled, does still oblige all Christians." (7) "Several of the Baptists seem" to hold the doctrine of an intermediate state. (8) Some of the Baptists are "observers of the Saturday Sabbath, as well as of the Lord's Day." (9) Many do not believe in original sin; which, in Whiston's opinion, is an inference from the practice of baptising new born infants. (10) Some Baptists at least observe the anointing with prayer of James v. 14-16, Ap. Constt. viii. 29. (11) "The more inquisitive and learned Baptists . . . are much more willing to examine and receive . . . the Apostolical Constitutions, than any other party of Christians now amongst us."

Whiston next proceeds to enumerate the principal imperfections which he discerned in his Baptist brethren. (1) The frequent omission in public worship of the Lord's Prayer, (2) of the reading of the Scriptures, (3) of the singing of psalms and hymns, (4) single (instead of trine) immersion, (5) omission, by some few Baptists, of imposition of hands, for confirmation after baptism, (6) failure to mix water with wine in the Cup, (7) the requirement, by almost all Baptists, that persons baptised in infancy shall be re-

baptised as a condition of communion—which Whiston cannot accept, (8) the suffering of deacons and even lay teachers to put up the solemn public prayers of the church, and pronounce the Benediction, (9) the suffering of many to delay baptism unduly.—Whiston's objection to extemporaneous prayer he is willing to waive.

This address Whiston sent to 'our messenger,' Mr. Goode, of Boston; to an elder, a teacher, and two deacons, of the Morcott church; and to other prominent local Baptists. He received friendly replies from Mr. Goode, and from the other four officers jointly; and thereupon invited them to meet him at the house of his son-in-law in Lyndon, where he was staying. 'They all came and spent a day very agreeably.' Unfortunately, Whiston tells us nothing more specific of their intercourse. But from what we know of his opinions, and the persistence with which he asserted them, we may suspect that he did not find himself altogether at home, even in the meetings of the Morcott church.

IV.

We shall hardly adopt Whiston's estimate of his own importance. He did indeed take himself very seriously. He wishes that his discoveries may be only second to Newton's philosophy as a prelude and preparation to the coming of Christ's Kingdom. That eminent man himself was for his last thirteen years 'afraid' of Whiston, who considerably postponed publication of his refutation of Newton's Chronology, lest it should kill him! Naturally, such a man shows immense self-confidence. His pamphlets on the Athanasian heresy are 'perfectly unanswerable papers.' Though he condemns controversy for its pernicious effects, he is also strongly controversial. He himself admitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, offences against gentleness and meekness. Another character-

istic is a certain shallowness and lack of thorough criticism. We suspect this when we hear him assert concerning his peculiar views that he has 'studied these points to the bottom.' We have actual proof of it in the facility with which he demonstrated the authenticity of numerous apocryphal and pseudonymous works.

It would be easy to point out further defects. But it is equally easy to mention virtues that make Whiston notable and worth recalling. None will question his tireless industry. He once read over in the original all the Christian writers of the first two centuries (apart from the New Testament) twice in five months. Further, he showed a certain independence of mind. He read the early Christian writers for himself, with some detachment from traditional interpretations. (Of course, his exclusive devotion to the first two centuries was as arbitrary as some other churchmen's preference for the first six.) That he had high candour and sincerity will already be manifest; and no less, admirable courage. In an age when the established clergy very rarely enforced the church's discipline against the prevalent immorality, Whiston dared to call to account even members of the Prince of Wales's household. We may add that while his religion, in consonance with the spirit of his age, was of a rather sober and utilitarian temper, he must be credited with an unaffected personal piety.

A. J. D. FARRER.

To Sions Virgins :

OR

A Short Forme of Catechisme of the Doctrine of Baptisme,
In use in these times that are so full of Questions.

By an Antient Member, of that long agoe gathered
Congregation, whereof Mr. Henry Jacob was an In-
strument of gathering it, and the Pastour worthy of
double honour, Mr. John Lathroppe succeeding him,
now pastor in New England; and the beloved Con-
gregation, through

God's mercies sees her teachers, waiting when
God shall give more liberty and Pastours accord-
ing to His own heart, praying the Lord of the
harvest to thrust forth labourers into His harvest.

Printed in the yeare 1644.

*Reprinted from a copy owned by Prof. S. W. Green, M.A. For
four years the church had been troubled by two questions: Should not
baptism be by immersion? Should not baptism be reserved for believers?
This member opposed both innovations. For the full circumstances see
vol. I., pages 229, 247.*

TO THE READER.

HEARE, and thy soule shall live; looke on Him
whom thou hast peirced, see Him crucified in
the seales, and thou shalt be confirmed and
comforted. Christian Reader, in the use of the Ordinance
eye Christ; and let thy faith carry thee to that
forme as holds forth Christ crucified, setting Him forth
in His excellency: Try all things, cleave to that which
is good, hast out of Babell, see where Christ is held
forth in the purity of the Ordinances, eye the Con-
gregations that abide steadfast in the Apostles Doc-

trine and fellowship, minde where the roote of Jesse is set up for an Ensigne, where He raignes in the congregations that exercise the power that Christ hath left them; taking in what is serviceable, casting out what is offensive, separating the pretious from the vile, choosing out from among themselves such Officers as are comely.

Beware of the taile of the Beast, that must draw the third part after him; I wish our godly friends would minde it, that so easily imbrace old errors new furnished as new truths; it is hard to avoid an error, the godly take up for conscience and not for feare; But Anti-christ comming downe, the Beast will plucke hard to draw the godly; if it were possible to deceive the Elect, certainly truthes are not so easily imbraced as errors; for we are dull of hearing, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, and we have a spirit of fornication that easily closeth with error; marke those that make devison and avoid them, the letter is a killing letter, a dead letter if it speake not Christ; the forme is a darke light, if it hold not forth Christ crucified, as whole wafers and whole water, no pouring, nor no breaking. What I have received by hearing and seeing, I desire to manifest in defence of the Baptisme and forme we have received, not being easily moved, but as Christ shall more manifest Himselfe, which I cannot conceive to bee in the dipping the head, the creature going in and out of the water, the forme of baptisme doth more or lesse hold forth Christ.

And it is a sad thing that the Citizens of Sion should have their children borne forreiners not to be baptized; but as those that be called afarre off, the Gentiles being grafted into the Jewes, shal not there seede as Olive plants be round about the Table, and trained up in the house of God at it were at the feete of Christ as Paul at the feete of Gamaliell?

But what shall we say, great starres must fall, and some of the just shall goe through the flames for their purging.

But here is our comfort, these signs shall follow beleeving and beleevers, 1. out of their bellies shall flow rivers of waters of life through Christ. 2. They shall cast downe the fiery temptations as devills through Him. 3. Thirdly, they shall remove their corruptions as mountains. 4. And if they drinke any grosse errors as deadly poyson it shall not hurt them, but be for their purging; wherefore take heede of rayling, mocking, persecuting, for though the just fall, they shall rise againe, but the wicked shall fall to destruction; Baptisme declares Infants, to be virgins, the Supper declares beleevers to be spouses.

QUERES CONCERNING BAPTISME.

Question. Why are infants to be Baptised?

Answer. 1. Because they are of the Kingdome that are dehorted from feare.

2. Because they are of the many nations that are to be sprinkled. (Esa. 52, 25.)

3. Because they are of the spouse that is washed in the blood of Christ as the Infants of old were of the vine that was brought out of Egypt, and baptised in the cloud and in the Sea. (Psal. 80, 8, &c. 1 Cor. 10, 1.)

Q. Who baptised Israell of old?

A. God shook out a plentifull raine whereby Hee did confirme His heritage when it was weary unto Moses, who was a type of Christ. (Psal. 68, 9.)

Q. Who is to Baptise under the Gospel?

A. The Spouse of Christ by her Officialls in the name of Christ.

- Q. Why is baptisme to be done in the name Christ and not unto the name of Christ?
- A. Because unto, is Christ's owne worke, In the name of the three is the Churches worke by the power of Christ, as an inferiour Officer comes in the name of the King and by His authority.
- Q. Why is it said then that they, that are baptised unto Christ, have put on Christ?
- A. Yea, they that are baptised by the Spirit, which is Christ's owne worke hath put on Christ, but not all that are baptised by water, the worke of an inferiour Officer to Christ.
- Q. What forme is to be used in baptisme?
- A. The Minister is to dip his hand and to powre cleane water, sprinkle and wash the sinner, and so it is fully baptised.
- Q. Is not dipping of the head full baptisme?
- A. No, not without pourcing, sprinkling, and washing, no more than giving whole wafers in the supper, there was bread, but no breaking, shewing forth Christ's suffering, so whole rivers, shewes not forth Christ's sufferings, pourcing Him out like water besprinkling all His rayment. (Esa. 63, 3. Psal. 22, 11.)
- Q. What is for the sinners to goe into the water themselves, and come out themselves to shew forth death and buriall?
- A. A lying signe, to make a figure of the creature, for wee must see Christ in the imployment of the Officer and use of the water, pourcing, sprinkling, washing, there must bee a dipper dipping his hand, but not a dipped, but in Christ Himself Who by His owne power puts into Himselfe the Rocke and fountaine. The seeing eye and the hearing eare, God hath made them both. (Pro. 20, 12.)
- Q. What doe we heare in the Gospel?

- A. Glad tydings.
- Q. What doe we see in the Seales?
- A. Christ crucified.
- Q. How is Christ crucified in baptisme?
- A. Christ was powred out like water, water issued out of His side when He was pierced, so shall He sprinkle many nations. (Psal. 22, 14. Esa. 52, 15.)
- Q. What speakes baptisme to beleevers?
- A. It speakes better things than the blood of Abell.
- Q. What speakes powring out of water?
- A. 1. It speakes Christ powred. out like water.
 2. It speakes Christ powring out cleane water upon beleevers washing away filth.
 3. It speakes powring out the spirit, so that out of the belly of beleevers may flow rivers of water of life. (Joh. 7, 38.)
- Q. What speakes washing?
- A. It speakes washing from filthinesse and clensing from sin.
- Q. What speakes sprinkling?
- A. 1. It speakes sprinkling the conscience from dead works.
 2. It speakes our high calling being called to the blood of sprinkling. (Heb. 9, 14.)
- Q. Why are Infants Baptised?
- A. Because they are of the Kingdome.
- Q. What is it to Infants that they are baptised and so received into the visible congregation?
- A. Much every manner of way; 1, they are under the prayer of the Church; 2, they are under the care of the Church; 3, of them is ingrafted into Christ, so received into the visible vine to live under the dropping of the Sanctuary as growing plants in the house of God, to flourish in old age as tender sprigs; 4, in the vine to bring forth grapes in due time; 5, as Olive

plants round about the table, Loe thus art thou blessed that fearest God. (Psal. 92, 13, &c. Psal. 1, 18.)

- Q. What may the children of the Church be likened unto?
- A. Unto the Virgins, without number. (Cant. 6, 8.)
- Q. How is faith and confession of sin acted in the baptising an Infant?
- A. As the faith of others carried the Palsie man to Christ to be healed, beleeving His Alsufficiency, so the faith of the Parents carrieth the Infants to the ordinance presenting it to the congregation; 1, confessing originall sinne; 2, beleeving God is their God and the God of their seede; 3, shewing the neede they have of Christ; so leaving the Infant in the House of God, to grow up in His Courts at the sole of Christ's feete. (Mat. 9, 2. Mat. 2, 3., &c. Luke 5, 18., &c.)
- Q. How is the faith of beleevers in the congregation confirmed in the washing of an Infant?
- A. Much is their confirmation; 1, they see the neede they have of Christ as the Infant; 2, they see their inability to imbrace Christ, as the Infant, but as Christ imbraceth them as the Infants; 3, they remember Christ's everlasting love before the foundation of the world, washing them, powring cleane water upon them and their seede, and seeds seede to thousand generations. (Esa. 52, 15.) 4, Beleeving the promise, they see Christ powred out like water, suffering for them and their seede. (Psal. 80, 8, &c.) 5. They see Christ calling us to the blood of sprinkling, by sprinkling from dead workes. (1 Cor. 10, 2. Psal. 68, 9.) Thus learning Christ wee are to medi[t]ate upon Him in the use of Baptisme, whatever the Gospel publisheth the seales holds forth, so they that have a hearing

eare, and a seeing eye, shall behold Christ crucified in the use of the Ordinances.

- Q. How is Christ taught in Baptisme by the seeing of the eye for the confirmation of beleevers beholding Infants baptised?
- A. Christ is taught in His Natures, in His Attributes, in His Name and in His Offices.
- Q. How doe beleevers see Christ's Name in baptisme?
- A. Christ's Name is an oyntment powred forth, seene in powring water on the sinner, as oyle on the head of his Priests running downe to the skirts of the garments.
- Q. How is Christ's Attributes seene in baptisme?
- A. Christ's everlasting love is seene in washing, He loved His elect before the foundation of the world, and washed them in His blood, so is His Wisedome, Power, Mercy; and unchangeablenesse seene in its restoring lost mankinde.
- Q. How is Christ's Nature held forth, seene in baptisme?
- A. As He was a man He suffered, and water issued out of His side, He was powred out like water; As He was God He washeth and purgeth us, sprinkleth us with His blood, holding His elect by the right hand of His power in Adams fall.
- Q. How is Christ's Offices held forth and seen in baptisme?
- A. As He is our high Priest He offers up Himselfe; (seene as I take it submitting to better judgement) in lifting up the water to power it one the baptised; As Christ is a Priest, He dips His hand to wash and sprinkle, seene in powring, washing and sprinkling water on the sinner.
- Q. How is Christ seene as our Prophet to teach in baptisme?
- A. By these Rites Christ teacheth beleevers. 1. What Hee hath done for them washing them before

time. 2. What Hee hath done for them at the fulnesse of time, being powred out like water. 3. What He doth in them, powring out His spirit upon them. 4. What He will doe for them when He gives up His Kingdome to the Father presenting them without blame, having purged them, washed them for dead He wil bring them to glory. This Christ as He is our Prophet teacheth by baptisme.

Q. How doth Christ shew His Kingly Office by baptisme?

A. Hee takes the Dominion of His Elect, and receives them into His Kingdome, being received into the visible congregation by baptisme.

Q. What doth Christ teach beleevers seeing water and washing?

A. Christ teacheth beleevers to see their owne filthinesse, and their neede of Christ.

Q. What doth Christ teach beleevers by powring water on the baptized Infants or other?

A. Christ teacheth beleevers to power out their soules to Him, Hee having powred out His Spirit upon them giving them power to be His Sonnes and Daughters, so there is great use to eye Christ in the use of the ordinance as once to be baptised.

Q. What is held forth of Christ in dipping the Baptised?

A. To dip an Infant there is a dim light of Christ, as in the whole water no shewing forth Christ His suffering; but for a creature to goe in and out of the water, the dipper to dip downe the head is no shewing Christ at all as I can see, I have not so learned Christ.

Q. How are wee buried by baptisme with Christ?

A. When He was buried by baptisme sweating water and blood, He was buried by baptisme being

under the wrath of the Father all His waves were over Him, then were the Elect buried with Him, having communion with Him in His death, when Mary came aforehand to bury Him, it being manifested to beleevvers when they are baptised by the spirit dying unto sin, and rising unto newnes of life, but when Christ was buried by Nicodemus in the dust, there is no neede of shewing forth that buriall, nor His resurrection seeing He was seen after His Resurrection. So by His power shall naturall man rise, yea such as shall have no Communion with Him in His divine death and buriall as He was God and man, making satisfaction for mankinde.

Oh the goodnesse of God published in the Gospel seen in the seales, let them that have a hearing eare, heare and obey, let them that have a seeing eye, see Christ crucified, looke one Him whom wee have peirced and be comforted.

- Q. Why may it bee said that beleevvers have communion in Christ's divine death?
- A. Not in that any part of Christ's divine nature dyed or suffered, but as He was man He dyed, having communion with the Father, by His divine nature He overcame death, who in the dayes of His flesh offered up strong cryes and teares and was saved from death in that Hee feared. So the Elect have communion with Christ in His sufferings, manifested to them by the baptisme of the spirit, being made partakers of the Divine nature they dye to sinne, and rise to newnesse of life, Christ dyed for sinne and rose again for our justification.

So beleevvers die to sinne and rise to newnesse of life, justifying themselves to others that they are risin with Christ.

The receiving water in Baptisme, doth not shew forth what Christ hath done and suffered, but the imployment of the Officer dipping his hand, so flesh is dipped, and the body washed, the principall part for the whole. So washed by dipping the hand, baptised fully, washing, powring, sprinkling, shewes forth Christ suffers.

The receiving bread and wine and eating doth not shew forth Christ's death, no more then the receiving of the water in Baptisme: But breaking bread and powring out wine shewes forth Christ's death.

He was broken for our transgressions, His soule made an offering for sinne, seen in breaking of bread, Hee powred out His soule for us, and sits at the right hand of the Father making intercession, shewed forth in powring out wine.

The two seales under the Gospel are of one nature, but washing makes us capeable of eating.

So Circumsition makes them capeable of eating the Passover.

Q. Then sayes such as be called Anabaptists, why doe not children eate the Supper?

A. Children were not capeable of eating the passover before they are capeable of Instruction asking the Parents what it meant; So the children of the Church are not capeable of the Supper before they can examine themselves; wherefore let such as deny Infants baptisme, and go into the water and dip downe the head and come out to shew death and buriall, take heede they take not the name of the Lord in vaine, more especially such as have received baptisme in their Infancy.

It is in vaine to baptise them again, let them take heede that teach, these new truths

as they call them, these new formes or newly taken up.

Let them take heede they be not the tayle of the beast, for the Prophet that teacheth lyes is the tayle. (Esay. 9, 15.)

FINIS.

John Ward, Senior, 1704.

On page 1 of this volume, Mr. Brock tells us that Professor John Ward of Gresham College was son of John Ward, Baptist minister, who died in 1717 aged 81, and was buried at Tysoe, Warwick. As John Ward junior was born in London about 1679, and lived there all his life, John Ward senior seems to have lived there at least about 1678 to the end of the century.

In 1704 the London Baptist Association was undergoing one of its many reorganizations, and next year four ministers were permitted to attend, 'only as auditors of our debates, and agreements' according to the minutes copied by Crosby, iv. 8-10. One of these four was John Ward. Ivimey saw that he was not pastor of any London church, and presumed that he was pastor of Luton. But this was a London meeting, and the term Minister was not confined to the pastors, it was used for all gifted brethren called and ordained to preach. In our modern phrase we should say that John Ward was a lay-preacher. Either he belonged to a church not in membership with the association, or else he belonged to a church in membership, but was not important enough to be sent as an official messenger, as was the case with Ebenezer Wilson who had recently joined Artillery Lane. But a man of 69 would surely be sent if he were a member of a constituent church, so we infer that his church was outside the association, or else had disbanded. This suggests the Seventh-day church founded by John Belcher, lately under Henry Cooke, which between 1702 and 1707 was in process of dissolution or amalgamation with Stennett's. This church sent several letters from Bell Lane, and Ward's name never appears among the signatures. Yet there does seem a strong suspicion that he was connected with a third John Ward, officer in the Commonwealth Army, whose son Thomas settled at Newport, Rhode Island, where his son and grandson became Governors. All this colonial family was Seventh-day Baptist. There is room to investigate the registers at Tysoe, and wills of the family.

The G.B. Association in Bucks.

Excerpts from the minute-book in the custody of Alderman Clarke, J.P., of Wycombe, transcribed in full by the Rev. A. Collie. Continued from page 87.

The General Baptists in England date from 1612, when Thomas Helwys brought from Amsterdam a few men hailing from the neighbourhood of Gainsborough. They settled at Spitalfields, and petitioned for liberty to worship. This was answered by throwing the leaders into Newgate prison. But the church held on, and others were formed. They organized in the Midlands by 1651, and a General Assembly was formed by 1654. Its minutes until 1811 have been issued by this Society.

By the end of the seventeenth century a movement, headed by Matthew Caffyn, was leading the Kent and Sussex churches into peculiar views on the personality of our Lord. The churches in Buckingham and Northampton took strong ground against him, and after some trouble in 1696 and a momentary reunion in 1704, they carried a resolution that every member of Assembly should sign a clear statement on the points at issue. This led to the secession of the ambiguous party.

The minutes of the Assembly from 1704 to 1733 have been lost, though we have those of the seceding churches. It is therefore very fortunate that the minutes of the Bucks Association have been preserved from 1721 to 1760. They are, however, far less interesting than might have been expected, and the excerpts presented here contain everything of any general interest.

Those who are studying local history can indeed take the Assembly minutes, these minutes, and the minutes of the Ford and Amersham churches, also published by this Society, and can follow the fortunes of all the ministers and many other brethren; and can watch the gradual extinction of the churches.

The two matters that do seem to deserve attention are the Messengers, and the change of doctrine towards Calvinism.

It was an old custom of the General Baptists that there should be an officer responsible for the evangelizing of a whole district, and available to advise the churches. They based this on scriptural grounds, and found it work in practice. But doubts arose occasionally as to the value of the office, and its functions were considerably narrowed, though it still exists.

During the eighteenth century, the old General Baptist churches found themselves in a state of unstable equilibrium. Many lapsed towards Arianism, and others tended towards Calvinism, as was shown in our volume I at page 181. The closing pages of this Association book mention the latter process, though they hardly illustrate it. It may be added that the formation of new General Baptist churches from Barton and Melbourne, organized in 1770 by a Britain into the New Connexion, showed a third possibility; but this only arose after this Association ceased.

At an Assosiation of Elders & Repress of ye several Churches whose names are as followeth, which mett in Aylesbury Oct 7th 1723

the Ch of Aylesbury	{	Bro Sturch Elder
		Bro Fulks & Bro
		Harding Representat

The Ch. of Foard	{	Bro Cripps Elder
		Bro John Goodchild
		Bro. Allen Repts

The Ch of Winslow	{	Bro Wilkins Elder
		Bro Brittain Reprts

The Ch. of Wing	Bro. Cripps Rept
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It is agreed that there should be a day of Humiliation by fasting & Prayer observed in ye Churches to intreat Allmighty God to continue his present Merceys & in Great Goodness Revive his Seemingly Dieing lamp next Day [query] week or yr 16 of Oct

2^{ly} it is also agreed that there should be another Association hold in this place y^e Tuesday in Ester week

John Brittain
Leonard Wilkins
John Sturch
John Cripps
James Britton
W^m Allon
John Harding
John Goodchild
W^m Cripps

Att an Association of Messengers Elders and Brethren Representitives of the Several Congregations of the General Baptist mett together this Seventh day of April 1724 whose names are as followeth (viz)

Bro John Brittain	} Messengers
Bro John Cook	
Aylesbury Ch	{ Bro. Jn ^o Sturch Elder Bro. Rich Fulks } Repres Bro Harding
Barkhamsted Ch	{ Bro Widmer Elder Bro Treacher } Repres Bro Nichols
Ford Ch.	{ Bro John Crips Elder Bro W ^m Goodchild } Repres Bro Moses Pool
Wing Ch	{ Bro William Fenner } Represents Bro. William Green
Winslow Ch	{ Bro. Wilkins Elder Bro. James Brittain Represen
Sundon Ch	Thos: Brittain Representitives

The Agreements as followeth

1st y^t y^e Letter of Bro^r Hunt Sen^r be [? entered in] y^e Book followeth

The humble complaint of John Hunt Sen^r against y^e

Church of Aylesbury for not doing of Justice between him & his Son John Hunt for altho. J. proved him guilty of y^e breach of y^e 5th command & also of in Pro. 30. 17 as also y^e in Deut 27. 15 wh. proved him to be a stubborn & a Rebellious son, for w^{ch} pray see is said in 1 Sam. J. also proved him dishonest in y^e he denied me of what was my rights. & he proveth himself void of natural affections in y^t he will have no dealing wth me nor none of his own Relations nor Society J. also charged John Harding for giving him ill Council & proved it but y^e Church thought neither of them worthy of blame

J also charged his Wife of Lying & proved it but she was not worthy of their blame

Which hath given them so much encouragement, y^t they have abused it in a very shameful manner, for wh^{ch} J. would have prosecuted them but John Sturch hath kept them from Justice all he could for which J expects satisfaction of him

Friends & Brethern J. would intreat you diligently to enquire into this matter for it hath been a very great grief to me & my wife & a great dishonour, & damage to our Family & Profession So y^e Lord give of his spirit to guide you in all things w^h is y^e prayer of y^r unworthy Brother

John Hunt

2^d Consequent to y^e request of Bro. John Hunt Sen^r Laid before us in his Letter of complaint w^{ch} contains a Queary whether Bro. Jn^o Harding ought to be Esteemed as a Represe^{nt} and y^e same being Considered it passed in y^e Affirmative

3^d The case depending between y^e Church Meeting in Aylesbury & Bro. John Hunt, Senior, being reheard by consent of parties, & Particulars leading to y^e Dissension being enquired into after a full debate, the

Association conclude y^e Agreement of y^e Church mentioned just & valid

4th Agreed that Aylesbury friends & Winslow friends do supply Leighton Meeting once a month

5 Agreed to have another Association Meeting at this place on y^e Tuesday next after Michaelmas day

John Brittain

John Treacher

John Cook—

Robert Nichols

John Sturch

John Cripps

Richard Fulks

William Goodchild

John Harding

Moses Poole

Jonath Widmer

Leonard Wilkins

James Britten

W^m Green

W^m Fenner

Tho. Brittain

At an Association of Messengers Elders & Representitives of the Several Congregations of the General Baptist met together this sixth day of October In the year of the Lord 1724 whose names are underwritten— it is agreed as followeth

Bro: John Cook Messenger

Aylesbury Ch	{ Bro. Sturch elder Bro. Rich ^d Fulks Bro. Maiden }	} Represent—
Bark ^d Ch	{ Bro. Jonath. Widmer elder Bro. Thos. Sexton Bro. Iossios Sale }	} Represt
Ford Ch	{ Bro. John Cripps elder Bro. John Goodchild Bro. Daniel Rider }	
Wing Ch	Bro Rich ^d Bird	Represt—
Winslow	{ Bro. Leonard Wilkins Bro James Brittain }	} Elders
Sundon	No representative	

Agreed that there be an Association held at this place the Tuesday in Easter week next

John Cook	John Sturch
Leonard Wilkins	
Jonath. Widmer	
James Britten	
John Cripps	
Richard Fulks	
James Mayden	
Thomas Sexton	
Richard Bird	
John Goodchild	
Daniel Rider	

At an Association of Messengers Elders & Representatives, of the severall Congregations of the General Baptist mett together this thirtieth Day of March In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & twenty & five—it is agreed as follows

Bro. John Brittain Messenger

Aylsbury Ch.	{ Bro Sturch Elder Bro Rich ^d ffulks } Represt.
Barkhamp ^d Ch	{ Bro. Jonath. Widmer } Elders { Bro. Thos. Sexton } { Bro Fra Tristram } Repr— { Bro. John Treacher }
Ford Ch.	{ Bro. Cripps—elder Bro. Pool } Represent { Bro. Jo:ny }
Winslow	{ Bro. Leo Wilkins } Elders { Bro. James Brittain }
Wing Ch.	Bro Thos. Tayler Repr
Sundon	} Nihil
Wickham	

1st Brother Brittain represents y^e General want of Ministers & of little success of those y^t are employed

Agreed y^t a Day of fasting & prayer be appointed in all y^e Severall Congregations tions belonging to y^e sd. Association upon this account as likewise in Respect to protestant Interest abroad between this & this Day month & every Congregation to appoint y^e most Convenient Day

2^{dly} Bro. Allen's Case to be represented by a Letter to y^e Several Congregations of the Baptist persuasion in London to procure w^t assistance they see fit.

3^{dy} Concerning y^e case of the Church of Christ at Wing; desiring a ssupply for their meeting, which was agreed to for once a month by Aylesbury friends

4 Agreed that a letter be sent to the Churches of Christ Meeting at Wickham Ammersam & Sundon to invite them to the next Association Meeting at this place. & that Bro. Jony, Bro Thos Brittain & Bro: Widmer doe write the same

5 Agreed that the next Association be held at this place the Tuesday after Michlmas day next

Bro. Thos Brittain ordered to transcrib letter [? and send an] account to the Churches in Bedfordshire

& [? ask for] contributions

John Brittain

James Brittain

John Sturch

Thomas Tayler

Richard Fulks

William Rolf

Jonath Widmer

Thomas Sexton

John Treacher

John Cripps

Moses pool

Robert J. o. ny

Leon Wilkins

At an Association of Messengers elders & Representatives of the severall Congregations of the General Baptist mett together this fifth day of Oct In the year 1725—

It was agreed as foll—

Bro: Brittain Messenger—Nihill

Aylesbury Ch	{	Bro Sturch Elder	} Represent
		Bro. Rolph	
		Bro. Stone	

Barkhamst		Bro. Widmer	} elders
		Bro. Sexton	
		Bro. Wheeler	} Represent
		Bro. Dooley	

fford Ch	{	Bro. Hunt	} Represent
		Bro. Jony	

Bro Hunt presented case Against Aylesbury Ch & elder

Winslow

Wing Bro Fenner Representative desires assistance in the meetings

Sundon	{	Bro. Thos. Britain	} Represt
		Bro. Cook	

Amersam	{	Bro. Beck	} Represent
		Bro. Sexton	

Wickham Bro. Hobbs elder
Bro. Sam^l Wright Represent

1 The first Case presented by Bro. Hunt [something illegible] relating to his son Daughter & Aylesbury Church

Bro. Hunt & Bro: Sturch are agreed in [illegible] & amicable manner

2 Also agreed that Aylesbury doe Suply Laiton once a month as formerly

3 Agreed that this Association takes it very kindly from the Churches of Wickham & Amersam that they have

joined with us in this Association, & that they are desired to continue their friendly assistance in such meetings for the future

4 Agreed that the next Association meeting be held at Aylesbury on Monday in Easter Week . . .

5 A Case being proposed concerning such persons as may be likely to become servicable in the work of the ministry—how Churches should proceed in such cases.

Agreed that the Church to whom such persons belong [? exercise] their Authority in caling such persons to exercise their gifts

John Brittain	John Hunt
John Sturch	Robt J:ony
William Rolf	William Fenner
henry Stone	Thos. Brittain
Jonath ^s Widmer	Thomas Cook
Thomas Sexton	Dan ^{ll} Beck
Joseph Wheeler	Henry Saxton
Joseph Dooly	Joseph Hobbs
	Sam: Wright

Aylesbury April 11th 1726

This Day was held An Association of the Severall Churches under named by their Elders & Representatives with Bro. John Brittain Messenger

Aylesbury Church	{ Bro. Sturch Elder Bro Rolph Represent	} Repr	} a Case
The Church of Barkhamst.	{ Bro. Widmer elder Bro Trustrum Bro Josiah Sale		
The Church of Ford	{ Bro Cripps elder Bro John Hunt Bro John Goss		
The Church of Winslow	{ Bro. Wilkins Bro Britain	} Elders	
The Church of Wing	{ Bro Green Represent		} Suply

The Church of Sundon	{	Bro: John Randall	} Rept.
Ammersem Church			
The Church at Wickham	{	Bro: Hobbs Elder	}
		Bro: John Veary Repest	

1—The case proposed by the Church of Barkhamstead whos whether the present state of the Church upon the account of that coldness & want of zeal toward God & Religion & love towards one another, doth not call for aday of humiliation, by fasting & prayer

Agreed in the affirmative . . . & that such aday be kept the Churches on such aday as best suits them between this & Whitsuntide next

2 A question proposed by Bro Cripps relating to the case of several friends that formerly belong^d to the Church of fford & afterwards Joynd with friend Gosse & now offer to return to the communion of the Church aforesaid—

Whither they Church may receive them to their communion again & upon what terms . . .

Agreed that it is the opinion of this Association that they ought to be admited: provided there be no disorder since their suspension

3 The suply desired by the Church at Wing, Agreed that Aylesbury friends suply for the half year ensuing & formerly

4 Agreed that there be an Association held at this place the Munday after Micklmass day next; & that better order be observed in keeping the aforesaid meeting for the future. (viz) that all persons keep in the meeting while business is doing & speak one by one

Also that it begin at ten o'clock

John Brittain
Jonath, Widmer

John Sturch

John Cripps	William Rolph
Leonard Wilkins	Francis Trustrum
Joseph Hobbs	Josiah Sale
James Britten	
John Hunt	
John Goss	
Wm. Groom	
John Randall	
Henry Hobbs	
John Veary	

* * * *

At an Association of the Baptised Churches at Ailesbury on Munday Ap. 29 1734

Joseph Hobbs Messenger

Ailsbury Bro Jn^o Sturch Eld—
Wm Partridge Rept

Ford	Bro. J:ony	} Rept.—Alp
	Bro. Allen	
	Bro Goodchild	
	Bro Hunt	

Barkhampsted Rich^d Butler Eld
Bro. Jno. Treacher rept

Leighton Edward Bagley Rept.

Sunden Bro. Richard Carter Rept.

Amersham Dan^{ll} Beck Rept

Winslow Jos. Jenkins Eld

Wickham Jos. Hobbs as above

after seeking the Lord By prayer it was agreed as followeth

Agreed that Warmstone be supplied as before

Agreed that Sunden be supplied as before

Agreed by this Association that the second article of the Union of the Assembly 1731 be entirely expunged.

Agreed that it is the opinion of this Association that

Bro. Hobbs, Jenkins & Butler be appointed to go to the next assembly w^{ch} will be held at White's Alley London on the Wednesday & Thursday in the Whitsun week and that the assembly be desired to express their sentiments about the Doctrine of the Trinity in their own words.

Agreed that this Association be adjourned to the second Munday after Sept 29 1734

Joseph Hobbs Mess

John Sturch

Joseph Jenkins } Eld.

Richard Butler }

John Treacher

John Hunt Sen^r

W^m Allen

Robt J:ony

Richard Carter

Dan^{ll} Beck

John Goodchild

William Bagley

Edward Bagley

Representatives

* * * *

At an Association of the Baptiz'd Churches Agreed
[at the beginning of 1740]

After Seeking the Lord by prayer &^c Agreed that the Messengers office be consider. &^c

Agreed & a judged not Scriptural nor proper to ordain a person who is a ministering Bro. to the office of an Elder tho' other ways Qualified—If his wife is not joined in Communion & a proper member of that Church of which he is to be an Elder &^c

Agreed that no Elder or Minister marry out of Communion &^c

Agreed that Aylesbury & Sundon be supplied as usual

Signed by us

Henry Hobbs

Thos. Sexton

James Hall

James Young

Dan. Beck

(To be concluded.)

Licence to a Missionary.

The original presented to the Society by the Rev. T. V. Tymm, D.D., Vice-President.

This Indenture

made the *Thirteenth* Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty *One*, Between the UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES of the one Part, and *The Reverend John Ellis* of the other Part, **Witnesseth**, That at the request of *John Ellis* the said UNITED COMPANY have given and granted, and by these Presents do give and grant, full and free License, Power, and Authority, unto the said *John Ellis* during the Pleasure of the said COMPANY, and until this License shall be revoked by the said COMPANY or their Court of Directors, or the Governor-General, or Governor of the Presidency where the said *John Ellis* shall from Time to Time be found, to proceed to the Principal Settlement of *Fort William in Bengal* belonging to the said UNITED COMPANY in the EAST-INDIES, there to reside as a *Missionary under the Patronage of the Baptist Missionary Society* according and subject to the Provisions and Restrictions contained in an Act of Parliament made and passed in the fifty-third Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George the Third, entitled 'An Act for continuing in the EAST-INDIA Company, for a further Term the Possession of the British Territories in INDIA,

together with certain exclusive Privileges, for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; and for Regulating the Trade to and from the Places within the Limits of the said Company's Charter; and Subject to all such Provisions and Restrictions as are, or hereafter may be in Force, with regard to Persons residing in INDIA, and also subject to the Covenants and Agreements of the said *John Ellis* hereinafter mentioned. **Provided** always, and these Presents are upon this express Condition, that in case of Bread or Non-Observance of any of the Provisions, Restrictions, Covenants, or Agreements, subject to which this License is granted, and on the Part of the said *John Ellis* to be observed and performed, then and from thenceforth the License hereby granted shall be and become absolutely null and void, and of no Force or Effect whatsoever, and the said *John Ellis* shall be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the EAST-INDIES without any License or Authority for that Purpose. And the said *John Ellis* for Himself, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said UNITED COMPANY, in Manner and Form following, that is to say; That he the said *John Ellis* from the time of his Arrival at *Fort William in Bengal* aforesaid shall and will behave and conduct himself, from Time to Time, and in all Respects, conformably to all such rules and Regulations as now are, or hereafter may be in Force, at the said Presidency, or at any other Presidency, in the EAST-INDIES, where he the said *John Ellis* may happen to be, and which shall be applicable to him or his Conduct, and which he ought to obey, observe, and conform to: That he the said *John Ellis* shall not nor will, by Himself, or in Partnership with any other Person or Persons, or by the

Agency, of any other Person or Persons, either as Principal, Factor, or Agent, directly or indirectly engage, carry on, or be concerned in any Trade, Bank, Dealings, or Transactions whatsoever, contrary to Law. And that in case the said *John Ellis* shall be guilty of any Violence, Oppression, or Wrong, to any Person or Persons, not being an European-born Subject or European-born Subjects of His Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or shall commit any Offence against any King, Prince, Government, State, or Nation, within the Limits of the said COMPANY'S Charter, or shall be charged with any such Violence, Oppression, Wrong, or Offence, then, and in such case, the said *John Ellis* shall and will submit himself therein, in all Things, to the Decision of the said UNITED COMPANY, or their Court of Directors, or of the Governor-General in Council, or Governor in Council, of any of the Presidencies of the said Company in the EAST-INDIES, if they, or any of them, shall see fit to interfere therein; and that he, the said *John Ellis*, his Executors or Administrators, shall and will pay and make good all such Sum and Sums of Money, and do and perform all such Acts, Matters, and Things whatsoever, as a Reparation of the Injuries which he shall have occasioned, or the Offence he shall have given, as he shall be required by any such decision to pay, make good, do, or perform; and on Failure thereof, it shall be lawful to and for the said COMPANY, or their Court of Directors, or any of their Agents, to pay, or cause the same to be paid, made good, done, and performed, and thereupon the said *John Ellis* his Executors or Administrators, shall and will reimburse to the said COMPANY, their Successors or Assigns, all such Sum and Sums of Money, as shall be so paid, and all Costs, Charges, and Expenses, which may be incurred thereby: And that before he the said *John Ellis* shall

return to EUROPE, or remove from, quit, or leave the Presidency, or Settlement where he shall reside or shall be found, he the said *John Ellis* shall and will pay and satisfy, and perform all such Debts, Sums of Money, Duties, and Engagements, as he shall owe or be liable to perform to the said COMPANY, or any Person or Persons not being an European-born Subject or European-born Subjects of His Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or for any Injury or Offence he may have done or committed, as herein-before mentioned; and that, in case of any Breach of this Covenant, he the said *John Ellis* shall and will pay unto the said COMPANY and their Successors, for the Damages in respect of the Breach thereof such Sum of Money as he shall have owed, and which he shall have omitted to pay, as herein-before mentioned, or such Sum of Money, as shall be equal to the Damage actually sustained by any Person or Persons, by Breach or Non-performance of any Duty or Engagement which, under the Covenant herein-before contained, he ought to have satisfied or performed, before such Return or Removal, to the End that the said COMPANY, if they shall see fit, may pay over such Damages to the Creditor or Creditors, or Injured Party or Parties, for his her, or their own Benefit, or may apply them to any other Purpose, or keep them for the use of the said COMPANY, their Successors or Assigns. **In Witness** whereof, to one part of these Indentures the said UNITED COMPANY have caused their common Seal to be affixed, and to the other part thereof the said *John Ellis* has set his Hand and Seal, the Day and Year above written.

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the Presence of
George Henry Broke.

Dutch Dissenters and English General Baptists.

Dear Sir,

I have read the paper on the above subject by Sir W. J. Collins with much interest. I have for years taken a deep interest in the history of the Mennonites of Holland and Germany, and have collected some interesting facts which I hope to make public when I find time. But my only purpose in writing this note is to make two corrections in Sir William's valuable paper. It is not correct to translate the Dutch "Doopsgezinde" as "General Baptist," or "Baptist Society." The above is the name by which the Mennonite Community is known in Holland, and to my personal knowledge leading members and ministers of this body deny vehemently that they are or have been Baptists. The name "Baptism—persuasion" has no doubt misled the writer as it did me during my first visit to Holland in 1883. Seeing the above name in Baedeker, I found out some of the leading members of the "Doopsgezinde" at Harlem, and presented myself as a "brother Baptist," but only to be repudiated as belonging to an alien body. As a matter of fact this Church—a very influential one in Holland—does not dip but pour, or rather as I saw the ordinance observed, the minister dips his hand in a basin and then applies it (the wet hand) to the forehead of the subject. The persons thus "baptised" (?) are not necessarily Christians in the evangelical sense, not even by profession: they have been instructed in certain Christian principles and they have attained the age of 12. The majority of the Mennonites that I have met are virtually Unitarian in Doctrine, just as the Old General Baptists of Great Britain were when Dan Taylor founded the New Connection of General Baptists. I feel it an honour to have been one of the successors of this great and good man in the presidency of the New Connection General Baptist College which he founded. It is quite inaccurate and misleading to translate the German "Die Taufgesinnten in den Niederlanden" by "The Baptists in the Netherlands." A far more correct rendering would be "The Mennonites," or "Anabaptists in the Netherlands." My friend, Dr. H. J. Elhorst, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Amsterdam is a Mennonite and an advanced Old Testament critic. Of course the Dutch "doop"

corresponds to the German "Taufe" (which both mean "Baptism") and the English word "dip." But the denomination that calls itself the "Dipping Community," does not dip in Baptism, and even deny that Simon Menno, their founder, was a "dipper," though they are probably wrong in this contention. Luther himself was thought by contemporary Baptists to favour their views because in his translation of the Bible he used German words for baptism (Taufe - dipping) which implies immersion. He was not long in disabusing their minds, for he was a rather bitter opponent of the Baptists.

Yours truly,

J. Witton Davies.

University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Sir,

I have to thank you and Professor Witton Davies for the courtesy of permitting me to see the latter's communication to you in reference to my article under the above heading which appeared in the September number of the Transactions.

I gather that the Professor does not dispute that etymologically the Dutch word *Doopsgezinde* and the German word *Taufgesinnte* may be translated by the English word Baptist, but he holds that in view of the fact that those thus described do not now practise immersion these words would be better rendered by the term Mennonite.

If the word Baptism was always used as the equivalent for immersion doubtless there would be much force in the argument. The object of my article was, however, to trace an affinity between the old English General Baptists and the *Doopsgezinde* community of the Netherlands.

Not only in matters of faith and ritual, or rather in their disregard of creed and ceremony in favour of practical piety and guidance by the inner light—but also in their attitude towards baptism is a parallelism to be found between the old English General Baptists and those Dutch anti-Calvinists Dissenters who are known as Mennonites.

The earlier Mennonites not improbably practised immersion as did also (according to Mosheim) the Collegiants at Rijnsburg. At the Horsley Down and the Barbican Chapels of the London General Baptists there were baptisteries, in which immersion was practised. In 1717 (according to J. Evans) these were the only baptisteries then in London. Later the Mennonites appear to have relinquished immersion in favour of sprinkling or pouring from a bowl, which I understood from Dr. Fleischer of Winterswijk, is still their practice. Similarly

immersion seems to have fallen into disuse among the General Baptists during the nineteenth century.

It was not until 1770 that Daniel Taylor inaugurated the New Connexion of which Professor Witton Davies speaks with enthusiasm.

While therefore I agree with him that Mennonite is a synonym for the Doopsgezinde community which still survives in Holland, I think that the old General Baptists, prior to the secession of 1770, may be regarded as representatives of the same or a very similar faith as that held by the followers of Simons Menno, and by the Collegiants or Rijnsburgers, who eventually merged with the Mennonites.

While the New Connexion adheres to immersion the earlier churches both here and in Holland appear to have relinquished it. In corroboration of the above general statement I might cite the particular case of the General Baptist (now called Free Christian) Church at Horsham, which presents in its own history an epitome, as it were, of the history of the whole connexion. Matthew Caffin, the "battle-axe of Sussex," with whose memory the church is associated, originally practised immersion in the mill-pond at Broadbridge, near by. The church was built with a baptistery, which I am informed by Miss Kensett, still exists. Here baptism by immersion was, I understand, practised down to about 1849, when it was discarded. Admission to the community was then effected by the laying on of hands, while this again has been superseded by the admission of new members on the vote of existing members.

Yours faithfully,

William J. Collins.

1, Albert Terrace, Regent's Park.

The ambiguity of the title Doopsgezinde is frankly acknowledged in Kramer's dictionary, which gives two translations:—"Baptist; in Holland, Mennonite, Mennonist." As a matter of etymology, Doop once meant Dip, but its modern usage seems to be almost entirely ecclesiastical, so that it and all its derivatives mean Baptize, Christen, &c. And there is no doubt that the usual act of baptism in Holland is not dipping; when de Hoop Scheffer wrote a pamphlet on baptism by immersion, he made his point clear by using another word, Onderdompeling. This word or its associations calls up a smile on the average Dutch face, showing how unknown is the act, or the body which practises it.

The Doopsgezinde, however, are a body well known in Holland, and Kramer offers as the best English equivalent, Mennonite. This communion was organized by Menno about 1537, several English immigrants joined the Amsterdam church next century, and it remained on friendly terms with the English General Baptists till 1696 at least.

In 1791, Rippon published a long list of its ministers and churches, styling them Baptist and ignoring all difference, though they were not and never had been Calvinist, and in Holland they had never used immersion. To-day, the Mennonites are chiefly in Holland and America, since the refusal to bear arms, maintained ever since 1537, has compelled emigration from most parts of Europe. They had the honour of printing the first Bible in America in a European tongue, at Germantown, 1743. In America the name has been variously translated; Dunker, Tunker, German Brethren, Mennonite, are some local usages. In no case do these churches join with the Regular Baptists.

The Collegiants were a community rejecting ministers, and cultivating Bible-study. They originated in 1619 at the village of Rijnsburg, and circles were soon formed at several large Dutch towns. On Saturday evening they met for Bible-reading, Sunday morning for the Lord's Supper, evening for thanksgiving, Monday morning for a closing discourse. An annual convention was held at Rijnsburg, the sentimental home which like Keswick gave its name to a wide movement; at this convention a few people were occasionally immersed on profession of their faith. The practical work of the Collegiants was charity; orphanages and almshouses were maintained. The whole movement collapsed in the Napoleonic wars; the last convention was held in 1787, the Amsterdam orphanage was sold to pay taxes in 1801. The chief documents passed into the library of the Mennonites, with whom the Amsterdam Collegiants had been very friendly.

The Dutch Baptists originated in 1845, when a little company of seceders from the Established Calvinistic Church in Drenthe, was persuaded by Köbner, the German pioneer, to adopt Believers' Baptism. There are to-day 24 churches with 1736 members, the largest being at Groningen, Stadskanaal, Hengeloo and Sneek. They form the Dutch Baptist Union, which is in membership with the Baptist World Alliance. The Doopsgezinde have no relations with the Alliance or with the Dutch Baptists, who use a different title, Unie van Gemeenten van gedoopte Christenen in Nederland. But so clumsy is this title, and so little important is it for Dutchmen to identify Baptists at all, that Kramer admits the use of the word Doopsgezinde to stand for Baptists outside Holland, though in Holland it means the very different but well-known Mennonites. The double usage is certainly confusing.

W. T. Whitley.