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# Transactions

of the

## Baptist Historical Society.



“Grace Abounding” of 1680.

IT can scarcely be necessary to seek for arguments to justify any elucidatory notice, whether bibliographical or historical, of such an eminent work as *Grace Abounding*. Any slight contribution to its adventurous story, on its way from the middle of the seventeenth century down to the present time, cannot fail to interest those who love the choicest piece of religious experimental literature yielded by this period. But while disclaiming the need of any supporting testimony to the high character of Bunyan's effort, I cannot deny myself and my readers the pleasure of hearing Dr. Duncan's verdict. This teacher of profound spiritual penetration, affectionately known in Scotland as *Rabbi Duncan*, used to inform his students that there were three great books of religious experience: Augustine's *Confessions*, Halyburton's *Memoirs*, and Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, and that the last was the greatest of the three. Such a finding may not meet with universal acceptance. Many may hesitate to place the devout English tinker above the

seraphic saint of Hippo. But whatever comparisons may be made, or degrees of excellence allowed, *Grace Abounding* must ever be ranked amongst the greatest books of its kind. It enshrines scintillations of a flaming spirit which still flash and burn. Born for immortality, it defies the tooth of Time. It is infused with those subtle qualities which constitute the anti-septic in literature.

Having a love for books in original editions, or at least those contemporary with their authors, I venture to offer, to such as share my predilections, a few notes drawn together through the recent finding of an early and rare edition.

During the great revival of interest in Bunyan literature in the last century, not a single copy of this prison book, published in 1666, was brought to light until 1883. Mr. George Offor and other assiduous explorers worked in vain. At last the solitary example, which is now in the British Museum Library, was discovered by Mr. Henry Stevens. In his careful reprint of 1888, Dr. John Brown says:—"The *Sixth* is the next Edition we have."

With this fact in my mind, after the manner of book-hunters, I experienced an overpowering emotion of delight, when, not long ago, in the purlieus of Holborn—which still exist for the exploitation of the bibliophile's enterprise—I came upon a fifth edition, dated 1680. In the glowing confidence of having discovered an unrecorded edition I hastened to verify my conviction. Much flattered by a long research which revealed nothing contrary to my expectations, I was about to congratulate myself, when I remembered the issue of this work by the Tract Society, of 1905. Turning to this my hopes met their doom; for facing me was a record of a copy of the fifth edition. "This unique copy"—such is the phrase, which quickens so much cupidity among bookmen—possessed by W. G.

Thorpe Esqr. F.S.A. was sold at Sotheby's, April 23rd, 1904. I was greatly disappointed at not scoring an initial success; but am now trying to persuade myself, that to own one of two known copies of such a rarity is, after all, something of a distinction.

At this moment, then, speaking from what I believe to be up-to-date information, examples of the second and third and fourth editions are without record. Thus for a period of fourteen years, extending from 1666 to 1680, there is not a shred in our libraries of the books themselves, to witness to the existence of these issues, possibly including thousands of copies.

Without doubt many were worn into tatters by the sturdy thumbs of Puritan saints. But other copies vanished under the violent hands of barbarism and tyranny. Francis Smith, a publisher and bookseller of Fleet St., an “Anabaptist” of some force of character, known in certain quarters as a “notorious enthusiast,” makes the following statement:—“Immediately before the dreadful fire in 1666 one Mr. Lillycrop, a printer, and another, both servants of Mr. L'Estrange, as his assistance in surveying the Press, came to my shop and warehouse near Temple Bar, with their general warrant to seize unlicensed Books, and took Mr. Allen's, *Mr. Bunyan's*, and others, barely as unlicensed, though the prejudice the Licensers were pleased to take against the Authors, constrained my printing them without License, being books neither against Church nor State: nevertheless they took as many as two Porters could stand under, and carried them to Mr. L'Estrange's Lodging, then at the King's Wardrobe, some of which, with much difficulty and charge, was obtained again: the rest it's supposed the Fire took.” Also during the Venner insurrection, at which time Smith was ill, he tells us his house was searched ten times, each time his property suffering plunder. And during the August following piles of

his books were seized by warrant. Thus, while on the one hand, through being read out of existence Bunyan's popular religious books met with their proper reward; on the other, piety in one of its noblest forms was pilloried by a paltry persecution. Private bigotry also was another factor antagonistic to survival. And yet when all the particular and common enemies of books, which Mr. William Blades has shown us are legion, have been taken into account, one still stands amazed before the stubborn fact of the total disappearance of three complete editions; which fact is accentuated by the solitary survival—and that an imperfect example—of the first issue, and only two known copies of the fifth.

May I, then, venture to transcribe the title pages of these two earliest known editions? This process will not be deemed an ineptitude, at least, by book-lovers. Having carefully examined the British Museum copy, I am able to give the transcription line by line, with the somewhat fanciful use of capitals. The first edition, 1666, reads thus:—

"Grace | Abounding to the chief of Sinners : | Or, |  
 A Brief and Faithful | Relation | Of the Exceeding  
 Mercy of God in Christ, | to his poor Servant | JOHN  
 BUNYAN. | Wherein is particularly shewed, The Man |  
 ner of his Conversion, his fight and trouble for | Sin,  
 his Dreadful Temptations, also how he | despaired of  
 God's mercy, and how the Lord at | length thorow  
 Christ did deliver him from all | the guilt and terrour  
 that lay upon him. Whereunto is added, | A brief  
 Relation of his Call to the Work | of the Ministry, of  
 his Temptations therein, | as also what he had met  
 with in Prison. | All which was written with his own  
 hand | there, and now published for the support | of  
 the weak and tempted People of God. | 'Come and  
 hear, all ye that fear God ; and I will declare | what  
 he hath done for my soul,' Psal. 66. 16. | LONDON :  
 Printed by George Larkin, 1666."

The following is the reading of the fifth edition; 1680.

“Grace Abounding. | To the Chief of | SINNERS : |  
 or, | A Brief and [aud] Faithful Relation of the Ex-  
 | ceeding Mercy of God in Christ, | to His poor  
 Servant | JOHN BUNYAN. | Namely | In his taking of  
 him out of the Dunghill, and Con- | verting of him to  
 the Faith of his Blessed Son | Jesus Christ. | Here |  
 Is also particularly shewed what fight of, and | what  
 trouble he had for sin ; and also what va- | rious  
 Temptations he had met with, and how | God had  
 carried him through them. | Corrected and much  
 enlarged now by the Au | thor, for the benefit of the  
 Tempted and | Dejected Christian. | The Fifth Edition  
 Corrected. | Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and  
 I will de- | clare what he has done for my soul, Psal.  
 66. 16. | London, PRINTED for Nath. Ponder, at the |  
 Peacock in the Poultry, over against the Stock-  
 Market. 1680.”

It will be seen that considerable differences exist. How the changes came into being during the printing of the three unrepresented editions must await future discoveries, of which we should not despair. Optimism and hope must be the constant companions of all explorers in bookland; a bibliographer's enthusiasm and industry must never flag. And though Puritan title-pages, such as those before us, which are really epitomes of whole books, may be a severe trial to patience, yet they are not without their value, and form a striking contrast to the brevity of the modern title, which is often ambiguous on that account.

In advancing from the title to the foreword we come upon a remarkable piece of writing, combining exterior and interior experience, headed:—“A Preface; or Brief account of the publishing of this Work: Written by the Author thereof, and dedicated to those whom God hath counted him worthy to beget to Faith, by his Ministry in the Word.” It contains a plain

statement of a new period of imprisonment: "I being taken from you in presence," he says, "and so tied up, that I cannot perform that duty, that from God doth lie upon me to you ward, . . . yet, I now once again as before from the top of Shenir and Hermon, so now from the Lion's Den, and from the Mountains of the Leopard's, (Song. 4. 8) do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into *The* desired Haven." In which words we catch an anticipatory note of the *Pilgrim*, emphasised by the postscript: "My dear Children, The Milk and Honey is beyond this wilderness: God be merciful to you, and grant you to be not slothful to go in and possess the Land. John Bunyan." This choice introduction is in every way a fitting entrance into this sacred temple of a worthless sinner's experience of God's Grace. It has remained unaltered from its first issue. Bunyan's literary restraint is as significant as his spiritual insight. A necessary remark, though sounding banal at this conjunction of ideas, is, that the signature is abbreviated in the 1680 edition to Jo. Bunyan, while the first, sixth and seventh have the full "John." This minute distinction is indicated as a point in identification, providing the title should be missing, which is often the case in old books.

It is with some diffidence I approach the body of the work; for useful bibliographical information, in this case, can only be offered by comparisons; and as many points for this purpose are available, the notice of which might prove tedious, I will touch upon only those which are material.

This fifth edition, then, compared with the first is marked by substantial additions. As we have seen, it is impossible to speak of stages and processes through a period of fourteen years, for we are in ignorance; we can affirm confidently, however, with regard to the literary form crystallised in 1680. Dr.

John Brown wrote in 1888:—“The Earlier edition (1666) is shorter than the later (1688. The next then known.) by some fifty or sixty paragraphs.” As this is merely a general statement, I have been at pains to acquire precise knowledge.

As all readers of *Grace Abounding* are aware, it proceeds by numbered paragraphs or sections throughout. Now, it is a curious circumstance, and almost too trivial for notice, if important identifications did not depend upon it, that these enumerations in all known seventeenth century editions are incorrect in one way or another. By some singular aberration of mind afflicting all compositors concerned, they failed to count continuously up to so high a total. And what is still more surprising is, that they do not all stumble at the same point; which might not startle us; for both printers and bibliographers have secured a reputation for following the “wandering sheep.” Let us trace some of these faults. Beginning, then, with the first edition (Museum Copy 1666) the final section is numbered 272. But in following the sections *seriatim* the following record is the result:—number 127 is repeated. Through the missing pages, viz., from 45 to 48 a lamentable hiatus extending from No. 131 to 143 is involved. Number 161 is lacking. The total here of 272 may therefore be correct, as one loss and one gain, through false enumeration, render the balance even; providing, of course, the lacking numbers proceed in proper sequence. In coming to the fifth edition, 1680, the final number is 340; but 73 being omitted, the correct total is 339. Without further details, strangely enough, the editions of 1688 1692 and 1693, all, through some blunder, register 340 sections; while in reality there are 339. This is the ultimate number. Whether reached for the first time in 1680 one cannot say. It remained unchanged in 1688, the last edition that received corrections by the



author. It may here be said that the "Conclusion," which had but six sub-sections in 1666, has seven in 1680, the second being the last addition.

Definitely, therefore, it may be stated that sixty-seven paragraphs or sections were added to this work by 1680. And these by no means the least important or interesting. They include Bunyan's falling into a creek of the sea, (spelt "*crick*") the plucking out of the tongue of an adder, and his becoming a soldier, in sections twelve and thirteen. His bell-ringing experiences, recorded in sections thirty-three and four. The influence Luther's Commentary on Galatians had upon him, set forth in sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one. And chiefly his declaration of his Chastity stretching from section three hundred and ten to three hundred and seventeen. Respecting his imprisonment, he writes at section three hundred and twenty:—"I was had home to Prison, and there have lain now compleat twelve years."

These references, sufficient if not too numerous, will demonstrate this great increase in bulk and value. Nor can it be regarded as inalienable to the purpose of this paper to briefly indicate some subsequent legitimate additions. Eight years later, 1688, and in the year of his death, as we have seen, Bunyan issued his last personally revised edition, which contained only slight verbal changes. In the seventh edition, 1692, is added:—"The remainder of his Life and Character; by a Friend since his Death." Possibly intending Mr. George Cokayne, a Bedfordshire man, the ejected minister of Soper Lane, London, and subsequently pastor of the congregation in Red Cross Street. Also a Postscript giving the names of his four children, viz.: Mary, Thomas, Joseph, and Sarah; and recording the death of his "Wife Elizabeth." During 1693 was published an eighth edition containing the same matter. It was not until 1765 that:—"A Relation

of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan . . . . .  
 Written by himself, and never before Published” was issued. A laudable work, probably executed by Samuel Palmer, the editor of the revised edition of the *Non-conformist Memorial*. This narration, abiding in manuscript, in the possession of the Bunyan family up to this time, and being happily and expertly translated into print, is frequently and properly added to modern editions of the book.

This slight effort in bibliography is offered, merely, as an outline sketch of the history and growth of a great book, space excluding a more extended survey; but it may, without immodesty, claim to place a few new details within the reach of an interested public; which facts Baptists have no occasion to suppress.

While examining this work a little more closely than usual, sundry reflections as to its structure and style have been kindled. Many of which I cannot ask permission even to name; but the *Enumeration* of the sections may, I think, justly claim more than a passing thought. Much might be said upon this method from many points of view. For instance, as providing a convenient reference table it is not without value, though neither Bunyan nor the publisher so used it. It has, however, been so utilised in modern times. And this method adopted by Swedenborg was most effective. Its possibilities are plainly evident. From an æsthetic view point—which certainly did not influence the author—the effect is not pleasing. It approximates too closely to a formal and mechanical catalogue of insentient and insensible things; whereas this book is primarily emotional—really a bit of a man’s innermost heart. And whatever the subject in hand too many figures on a printed page are not pleasing to a cultivated taste. A literary vice of Puritan times was the multiplication of divisions, in sermons

and treatises at least, to a hideous and confusing degree. But to moderate the record of my own list of speculations; the important query awakened in my mind is; what was the influence of this method upon Bunyan's literary style? Frankly, then, and after repeated analysis, I have come to the conclusion that the crisp clear-cut division is not without its value; but I have also decided that it must not be repeated indefinitely, especially on argumentative efforts. A writer may divide and subdivide until he is in endless mazes lost. This breaking up of a piece of writing, into numerous fragments makes against homogeneity, harmony and continuity of thought; it defeats the author's purpose in reaching a definite and logical end; his ideas do not march steadily and in rank to an ultimate satisfying goal. At the same time where concentration, and an immediate impact upon the mind are required, the epigram and the brief paragraph are invaluable. Some limitation imposed on verbiage, as measure and rhyme in verse, prove to be an advantage to many authors. A sense of compression being realised leads to direct and potent expression. And these conditions, it appears to me, were operative in the production of all Bunyan's chief works. Thus in the *Pilgrim and Holy War*, in both of which the method of dialogue plays a conspicuous part, the author is distinctly at his best. Literary gems of nervous and brilliant English abound. And in a narrative such as *Grace Abounding*, a concise and brief setting forth of each successive adventure and experience give to the book its compact form, towards which the limiting and moulding imposition of the enumeration of events was no unimportant factor.

A remarkable conjunction of dates between this copy of *Grace Abounding*, viz. 1680, and Bunyan's two other great works, the *Pilgrim*, 1678, and *Holy*

*War*, 1682, is not unworthy of notice. For there can be no doubt the publication of the *Pilgrim* gave an impetus to the sale of Bunyan's previously issued works; for according to our most reliable information the third and fourth editions of *Grace Abounding* were issued in 1679. And these issues may both have included new matter, and if not, yet the endorsement by re-publication signifies mature approval.

Little here can, or should be attempted in the way of comparing these three great works; but as it has been affirmed that in “heart felt power” *Grace Abounding* “takes the lowest place,” I feel constrained to offer a word in vindication of the quality thus disallowed. For as a piece of writing both recording and exciting soul passion, it has always seemed to me to claim the supreme place. It brings us at once into contact with the throbbing heart of a trembling weeping penitent. And the emotionalism of religion touches the highest degree of intensity. Bunyan's severe style is determined by the acutest sensibility. Every temptation to the adornment of language is resisted. Embellishment of every kind is abhorrent to this grave sincere man. With awe in his voice we hear him say:—“I dare not. God did not play in convincing me of sin; the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sank into a bottomless pit, when the pangs of hell caught hold upon me. Wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple and lay down the thing as it was.” Here gleams forth the perfect taste of a cultured spirit. Austere words lie closest to stern realities; intense feeling clothes not itself in finical garments. Here we find inward restraint combining with the enumerative method to produce this unique result.

In the case of the two great allegories the circumstances are entirely different; they rest upon another plane. The initial stage is determined by

the imagination; a creative genius is in action. In frame and structure they are pure inventions of the mind; and in execution there is scope for the introduction of every artistic, poetic and literary device. Which are used by the author with inimitable skill. These books are galleries of sanctified curios. Parables "long drawn out." Etchings of the extremes of saintly experience. Now a terrible fiend, now a strong angel hovers over the scene. The festive dance alternates with the fierce clash of arms. Mansoul is alarmed by the tramp of marshalled hosts, or soothed by the encouraging assurances of Immanuel. Religion is crystallized into emblems, and truth becomes picturesque. These popular elements are excluded from the personal concentration of *Grace Abounding*. In its psychological realism no flutter of verbal drapery intrudes between the conscience and its Judge; no rhetoric intervenes between the saint and his Saviour.

Many pleas might be urged for the acquisition of contemporary copies of an author's works. In addition to antiquarian interests, the duty of preserving valuable literature, and filial reverence for the departed, there is that priceless thing, fellowship with great souls who stood for religious freedom and holy living. And a copy of a Bunyan book, that may have passed beneath his eye and rested under his hand, seems to be laden with something of his own personal magnetism. It is like a touch of his spirit, out to which our spirit leaps and clings.

Such writings in their ultimate and abiding interests, however, are not antiquarian but religious. And in this case, that particular aspect of religion which is mystical and experimental—the soul's conscious union and intimate intercourse with God. Bunyan is a great authority upon the interior life. Many converts have graduated in the mysteries of evangelical truth and holiness under the teaching of

this great master. A visionary if you will, but a most practical one. Divine communion to him was a reality, and the consuming desire of his soul was that God might speak to others through him. And surely Browning does not outstep the truth in saying:

His language was not ours :  
'Tis my belief, God spake :  
No tinker had such powers.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### FIRST EDITION.

London: Printed by George Larkin. Sm. 8vo. 1666. Collation: pp. 10 unnumbered, title and preface, pp. 94. Only known copy, lacking pp. 45-48. (British Museum Library.)

### SECOND EDITION.

No copy known to exist.

### THIRD EDITION.

No copy is known to exist. An announcement, however, of a third edition, in “The Term Catalogue—Trinity Term,” 1679, republished by Professor Arber, F.S.A., gives definite information concerning it. It reads thus:—“Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners; or a brief and faithful Relation of the exceeding Mercy of God in Christ to his poor servant, John Bunyan, etc. . . . All written by his own hand; and now published for the support of the weak. In Twelves. The Third Edition corrected and much enlarged. F. Smith, at the ‘Elephant and Castle’ in Cornhill (1679).”

### FOURTH EDITION.

No copy known to exist.

### FIFTH EDITION.

“London, Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, over against the Stocks-Market.” 12mo. 1680. Collation: pp. 8 unnumbered, title and preface, pp. 136. Not in any Public Library. (In possession of the writer.)

### SIXTH EDITION.

London, Printed for Nath. Ponder, at The Peacock in the Poultry, over against the Stock Market. 12mo. 1688. Collation: pp. 10 unnumbered, title and preface, pp. 173, pp. 7, Advertisements. Copies in British Museum and several public libraries. Mr. George Offor owned three copies, one imperfect.

## SEVENTH EDITION.

London, Printed for Robert Ponder, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 12mo. 1692. To this title is added:—"The seventh edition, corrected, with the Remainder of his Life and Character; by a Friend since his Death." Also "Postscript." Collation: pp. 8 unnumbered, title and preface, pp. 193, pp. 2, Advertisements of Bunyan's Works, containing notices of 36 pieces, and the folio, not including *Grace Abounding*, published by William Marshall. 1692. (Copy in British Museum, two copies possessed by writer.)

## EIGHTH EDITION.

London, Printed for N. Ponder, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 12mo. (?) 1693. Collation (my copy lacks title): pp. 6 unnumbered, title and preface, pp. 172, pp. 2 advertisements and postscript, as before. (Copy in writer's possession.) In the Bibliography of the Tract Society edition of *Grace Abounding* 1905, there is added as a note to the eighth edition, as follows:—"This impression contains a '*Postscript*' referring to the death of Mrs. Bunyan, which occurred in the year 1691, so that the issue in all probability took place early in 1693." Surely there must be some confusion of dates and editions here. For my copy of the seventh edition, bearing date of 1692, has the postscript, which it might well have, and which I have no doubt all perfect copies have. So also has my copy, lacking title page, which I judge to be the eighth edition; having also postscript and two pages of advertisements, though a different collation. I conclude, therefore, that the eighth edition is a reproduction of the seventh in matter, though not in format and pagination.

JOHN C. FOSTER.

**Jottings by John Lewis of Margate, 1742.**

The Bodleian library contains a copy of the History of Anabaptism, 1738, prepared for a second edition by Lewis. He adds one or two interesting anecdotes.

After the debate of Baptists with Featley in 1642, Kiffin, Hobson and Ritor, together with watermen, cooks, turners and others, pasted bills on house-doors to advertise where meetings were held.

In 1647 Richard Wollaston and Hanserd Knollys presented proposals to the Long Parliament, to abolish tithes. They did so again in 1652 to the Rump.

On 4 May, 1660, the Baptist meeting-house on St. Dunstan's hill near Thames Street was sacked.

## Early Days on the Cotswolds.

CIRENCESTER lies on a watershed, separating the Thames from the Frome; the Romans therefore occupied it with a fort, whence radiated the Fosse Way, Ermine Street, and Icknield Street. Thus it can be approached from every side with equal ease, or perhaps with equal difficulty; and can affiliate in many directions, or be left out in the cold by all. The Baptist church there has grouped itself at various times with others in Gloucester and Hereford, with others in the south-west, with others in Oxford and Berks; but on the whole has been somewhat isolated from all but Maizey Hampton. A sketch of its early years can be drawn from its own ancient book, consulted by the courtesy of Mr. Legg, round which are added other facts from contemporary sources.

The first allusion to Baptists in the neighbourhood is by Wynell, vicar of Cranham in 1642. He told how Walter Coles of Painswick joined the congregation at Whaddon where Wells was pastor, brought down Thomas Lamb a chandler and Clement Wri[gh]ter a factor of Blackwell Hall; Lamb wore a grey suit, and wished to preach in the church at Cranham! The visit resulted in winning Hodson at Gloucester, and in others being baptized in the Severn. Three years later we learn from Whitelocke that Richard Barrow was governor of Berkley Castle; and he was a good propagandist. In 1646 John Knowls, a lifeguard, was busy in the neighbourhood, to the great annoyance of Giles Workman of Gloucester, who published a pamphlet



against private men being pulpit men. John Tombes also was busy west of the Severn, at Ledbury, Ross and Bewdley.

Thus there were many ways in which Baptist principles could reach the Cotswold town; the first attention they attracted was in 1649, when Thomas Thache, vicar of Kemble, issued a pamphlet against the Cirencester Anabaptists or Saints. Mr. Rudge had preached there, and correspondence had ensued; the Baptists had sent the reply of Thache to Harrison, a London stationer, trooper to the Earl of Essex, preacher, now placed by the Vigilant Committee of the county in the living of Charlton Kings near Cheltenham. They challenged the calling of the ministry in the Church of England, terming a miscellaneous congregation a "church," the right of parliament or magistrate to interfere with conscience, the compulsory exaction of tithes, and other customs which the Puritan clergy desired to maintain. From various passages in Thache's pamphlet, defending these things, we find that the leading Baptists were Thomas Clutterbuck, a clothier, William Burge, an ironmonger, Giles Hancox, a mercer, who was now a justice of the peace to the chagrin of his opponent, Thomas Sheapheard, Caleb Self, Roger, a shoe-maker, Samuel, a boddice-maker, and John.

We can probably identify the Rudge who provoked the outburst as Thomas Rudge, member of the church at Weston under Penyard; the Harrison who was the champion afterwards as Richard Harrison (not Thomas as Calamy states) who was soon pastor of the church at Netherton near Fairford and Maizey Hampton; these two men are in a group worth studying, acting together in September 1653, see Fentanton Records, pages 344, 345.

The revolutions of 1653 made Cromwell very anxious to gain popular support, and addresses of

confidence were obtained from several Gathered Churches, which were printed next century by Nicholls. A group of letters came from Gloucester and Hereford, including the churches of Leominster, Hereford, Dymock, Cirencester, Weston and Wormbridge. The signatures for Cirencester are William Daves, Giles Watkins, Giles Griffiths; Tombes and Richard Harrison also sign, as they did the circular letter of September. We thus infer that the origin of the cause at Cirencester was due, at least indirectly, to Tombes; we observe a Welsh element in the church, which soon disappeared.

Henry Jessey, of the same open-communion type as Tombes, visited all over this district in 1656, and came here, as we learn from *Sighs for Sion*. Perhaps it was on a hint from him that the church bought a fine folio and began to keep records. They should rather be called jottings at this stage, put down on any early page where the book happened to open, and needing much sorting. The earliest dated entries are on page eight, recording baptisms from 3 January 1655-6 onwards; many of these relate to Maizey Hampton, and the importance of this centre is evident from the resolution of 11 November 1658 that the church did then order her preacher to go into the country once a fortnight, and once a month; he refused however, with the reason that what made him incapable in one thing, did in all things. It is not surprising therefore that on 9 September 1659, the friends in the country sent notice by William Moulder and Richard Veysy of their intention to sit down as a church of themselves, but said that they would be glad to have the same care and assistance from the ministering brethren as before. The church agreed, and the minute was formally signed by Habel Selfe, Giles Watkins, Robert Wilkins, Hendry Pittney, John Aston and Richard Herge.

This minute is interesting on many accounts. First, the date has been read as 1639, and this is somewhat plausible for those unacquainted with the script of the period, for the entry is on page three, earlier than the previous minutes. But comparison with the figures 5 and 3 on pages eight and nine show what this is intended for; moreover on page eight are recorded the baptisms of Moulder, Veysy and Pittney in 1656, so that they could not have taken part in church business during 1639. It follows that the date 1639 (which is almost incredible intrinsically) has no documentary support as the date of the church's origin, and that cannot be stated more accurately than between 1642 and 1649.

Next, we observe that there was no one pastor, but there were several ministering brethren; other facts show, however, that while Habel Selfe might be the senior, Giles Watkins was the most active; the minutes and entries for many years are in his handwriting. Then we observe further that this occasion was regarded as determining the constitution of the church rather formally, in that the minute is entered at the beginning of the book. This is further apparent from a second resolution the same day, that whereas sister Pelltrave had hitherto accommodated the church for worship in her house, the arrangement be continued during her life; only she be paid 26/8 by the year. This was signed not only by the resident members, but by Vaysie and Moulder, evidence that the Maizey Hampton members did not wish to sever all connection or responsibility.

The church had other good uses for its money, for in October 1656 it lent twenty shillings to Joseph Earby, and as much to John Willaby, both members; they promised to repay at the next Michaelmas, but while Earby's debt is receipted, Willaby's character for repayment is not established. Meanwhile Thomas

Abell secured another pound, which he did return at the due date. The tearing out of half a leaf raises the question whether the church decided to discontinue this form of help. Another early expense was 3/7 laid out on bowls for the use of the church, presumably at the Lord's Supper.

This was a halcyon time for Baptist churches, and many records are extant; we find casual notices of members transferred from other churches, such as Petty France. But while they were grouping in Associations, Cirencester lay so on the crest of the hills that it did not join with Bourton and Stow in the Midland, or with Sodbury and Bristol in the Western, or with Longworth and Coate in the Berks. And so when entries cease, we cannot trace any details from such sources. The Restoration of course checked all progress; the brothers of Giles Watkins were Governor and Judge of Antigua, but are not likely to have retained these posts under Charles. There was one baptism in 1660, another in 1662, then none till 1666, a great contrast with the increase previously. There was a timid recovery in 1668, but the enquiries of next year by the bishops definitely close the first period.

In 1672 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, and on 9 December the Cirencester Baptists took out three licences; for the house of "Joane Palteeres" to worship in, for Giles Watkins and John Oates to teach there. It is interesting to contrast with a fulsome and gushing petition of the Presbyterians there:—By this "unparelled Act of grace, y<sup>e</sup> have made o<sup>r</sup> hearts to leape & o<sup>r</sup> soules to singe for Joy of heart. & have layd such a sense of y<sup>r</sup> royall condescention and indulgence upon us if we canot but now, always & in all places acknowledge & celebrate the most worthy deeds done to us y<sup>r</sup> poore subjects, and as men rayseed out of the grave from ev<sup>ry</sup> corner of y<sup>e</sup> land, stand up and Call y<sup>r</sup> Majesty

blessed." This adulation was so far successful that they obtained the use of the Weavers' Hall, even after they had been refused a licence for the Recess.

For a few months the Baptists resumed recording their proceedings; it seems that Thomas Malacke had set up a separate meeting, having been disciplined for heresy as to the atonement; he and a few others were dealt with—which seems to imply, excluded. Others were dealt with for drunkenness, and a few were baptised. But with the revoking of the Indulgence in 1673, darkness falls again.

In 1686 the notes begin again, with the exceptional entry of a birth, while a pamphlet of next year telling the life death and sufferings of Amariah Drewett throws light on the period of persecution just ending. In 1689 and again in 1691, Watkins attended the Assembly, still only a minister or lay preacher, not pastor; he signed a minute as late as 1695, when the church was in the Berkshire association. Another man who had been baptized in 1659 lived on to 1697, but he left a message to the churchwardens and overseers, while the absence of his name from the minutes confirms the idea that he found it easier to conform. In 1698 the vicar published an appeal to the dissenters, who had just lost their minister; we should like to think that Giles Watkins was the man thus acknowledged, but probably it was the death of Stephen Worth which caused these overtures to the Presbyterians.

With 1708 there was a new beginning, and a fresh roll shows 34 members, two dating from 1659. William Freeman had joined after 1673 by a letter from Moreton behind the Marsh, and he now took the lead; he had married Mary the sister of Giles Watkins. There were complicated negotiations with the Maizey Hampton people, resulting in a practical severance so that the church there went its own way under

Thomas Lovel. There was also a secession in Cirencester of several who followed Richard Dowell, and the church dropped out of Association life again. Freeman died in 1737, and his successor Robert Major, bailiff at Coln St. Aldwyn, died in 1745. A scion of Bourton followed, Thomas Flower, who had been a pastor in London, so that this was a step toward a professional pastorate; his return to town in 1761 closed a period in the church's history.

At this time some prominent members were Joseph and William Freeman, sons of the pastor, and their cousin William Wilkins, an edge-tool maker. Joseph tried in 1771 to bequeath the meeting-house, which had been used, it appears, for just a century; but as it was copyhold, the desire could only be carried into effect by his daughter. Others were prompted to like generosity, and from the Bristol Academy a young student was obtained, William Dore, with whom the church settled down on the lines familiar to-day to us all. The steps as to property, endowment, educated pastor, are characteristic of the measures which preserved many churches through the critical years of the eighteenth century, while those which attempted to struggle on by the mutual services of their members, and refused to make financial provision for premises and minister, flickered out.

## The G.B. Association in Bucks.

Concluded from Page 184.

At an Association of the Baptized Churches Mett by  
Appointment at Aylesbury April 14: 1740  
Aylesbury John Harding R. Desire supply  
Ford W<sup>m</sup> Allen Elder

	Richard Dover R.	No Case	
Barkhamsted	Rich <sup>d</sup> Buttler	Elder	
	Francis Trustrum		
	James Young	Rs	No Case
	W <sup>m</sup> Adams		
	Thos. Wateris		
Leighton	Thos. Brittain	Elder	No Case
Sundon	John Yeomans	R	Supply
Amersham	Absent		
Wycomb	Absent		
Winslow	W <sup>m</sup> Wills	R	Supply

After seeking the Lord by prayer the following  
Question was Left on Consideration till next Associa-  
tion whether the Continuance of the Messengers office  
can be Defended & maintained by Clear Scriptural  
evidence

that Aylesbury be supplied as usual

that Sundon be Supplied as usual

that Winslow be Supplied as Usual if Bro. Beck Con-  
sents

Agreed that no Church Belonging to this Association  
Shall have their Cases Heard or Answered at any future  
Association by any Letter without Elder or Represent-  
ative being present & that Bro. Adams do apprise the

absent Churches both of this & the Foregoing Question.

Agreed that Letters be sent to the Absent Churches to Desire them to make good their places at the next Association & that this Association be adjourned to the Monday after Michalmas Day (Michaelmas day being on a Monday)

Also agreed that Something be Collected for the Widdow Fulks in the Respective Churches Belonging to this Association & that Bro. Thos. Brittain do preach a sermon Att the opening the Meeting which is agreed to be at Aylesbury Thos. Brittain Except 2 Last

Richard Butler

Articles

W<sup>m</sup> Allen

W<sup>m</sup> Wills

Francis Trustrum

Rich<sup>d</sup> Dover

James Young

John Harding

John Yeomans

W<sup>m</sup> Adams

\* \* \* \*

At an Association held at Wendover April 16 : 1750

Barkhamstead

Bro. Sexton Trustrum Elder

Ford

Bros Allen Elder and Goodwin

Wycomb

Bros. Phillips, Ayre

Amersham

Bro. Hobbs Representative

Aylesbury

Bro. Piety

Winslow

Bro. Hall Elder

Wendover

Bro. Goodchild

1<sup>st</sup> Agreed that Wycomb be Supplied from Barkhamstead as usual

2<sup>d</sup> Agreed also that Barkhamstead supply Wendover the last day of their Appointments and Bro. Piety 2 days in a month.

3<sup>d</sup> Agreed That Bro. Sexton Is Chosen and has Excepted of y<sup>e</sup> Messengers office and that Application be made Bro<sup>r</sup> Randall and Bro<sup>r</sup> Geere to ordain him to that office at Chessam: the time for y<sup>e</sup> ordination



to be fixed be ye Messengers at the next General Assembly: and that Bro. Piety by letter to ye General Assembly do acquaint them with ye Resolution of this Association

Agreed that this Association be held at Wendover the first Monday after St Michal—and that Bro. Sextor do Preach a Sermon at ye opening of the Meeting: to begin at ten a Clock. William Goodchild

Thomas Sexton

Wm Allen

Francis Trustrum

Jas. Hall

Thos. Piety

Jos. Goodwin

Francis Ayre

Henry Hobbs

John Harding

Edward Phillips

Elders  
&  
Repr.

\* \* \* \*

April ye 17<sup>th</sup> 1759

Whereas the Asosiation was appointed and none but Winslow Church appeared and therefore no asosiation held we require there atendance the first Monday after new St. Michalmas day next at Wendover

James Hall Eld.

Francis Cox

Joseph Keen

R<sup>d</sup> Cox

William Goodchild

Jos. Meakes

Benj. Brittain

Jos. Goodchild

\* \* \* \*

October ye 6<sup>th</sup> 1760 agreed that the Association be held at Chesham on The Monday after Easter next. The sermon to begin by eleven o'clock at farthest

}	Wittness	Thomas Sexton
		James Young
		Thos. Watts
		Jos. Goodchild
		Jonas Harding

Thus ended the Association's  
 None But Barkhamsted Church appearing  
 The other Sistr Churches being  
 Entirely Decay'd & Broke off from us  
 Because they were too stiff  
 in their mode of  
 Faith.

The Names of the Several Baptist Churches  
 That were once United in an Association  
 Held at Aylesbury in the County of Bucks  
 With ye names of their Elders & c in ye year 1722

Aylesbury Church the Elder	Bro Sturch	
Barkhamsted Do.—the Elders	{	
		Bro Cook
		Bro <sup>r</sup> . Widmer
		Bro <sup>r</sup> . Sexton m
	Bro. Young Sen	

Ford—Do. the Elders

Bro. Crips
Bro. Allen

Bro. Jas<sup>s</sup> Brittain  
 Bro Jas. Hall

Winslow Do.	Do Do	Bro. Geo. Wilkins
Wing	Do—Do—Do	
Stony Stratford	Do—Do—Do	Bro. Brittain
Sundon	Do—Do—Do	Bro. Thos. Brittain
Leighton	Do—Do—Do	Bro. Thos. Brittain
Wendover	Do—Do—Do.	Bro. Allen
Wycomb	Do—Do—Do	Bro Hobbs E <sup>d</sup> & Mess
Amersham	Do—Do—Do	Bro. Beck
May st		

1775 Now all y<sup>e</sup> Elders dead—But Jas. Hall of Winslow and his Church is dead & gone—& hes turn'd Calvin<sup>e</sup> &c

Barkhamsted Church remains but without an Elder or Mess<sup>r</sup> or Deacon &c

April 3<sup>d</sup> 1775

Barkhamsted Church

Now Settled under the pastoral Care of Bro. C<sup>o</sup> Cock & Bro<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Thrussoll &c which

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### Later Associations.

The despairing note with which the minutes are closed, points in two directions, the New Connexion, the Calvinists. Yet not till 1809 did Berkhamstead join the former, with Chesham and Tring; ten years elapsed before Ford and Wendover followed suit. Other churches collapsed or retired into isolation. In 1823 Ivimey gathered facts about only Chesham (Lower), Chenies, Olney, Colnbrook, Amer-sham; there were twenty-three others of which he recorded nothing. An association was formed in 1867, joined at once by nineteen churches, adding only nine by 1890; to-day it numbers thirty-three.

The Particular Baptist churches at Chenies, Chesham, Colnbrook and Woodrow, joined in 1775 with Hempstead, Hertford, Hitchin, New Mill, Cambridge and Harlow, to establish the Eastern Association. The manuscript minutes for five years are in the Angus Library: printed circular letters were issued till 1782.

## Pupils of John Ward.

ON page 2 of this volume, Mr. Brock stated that Ward set up a school for boys in Tenter Alley, Moorfields; and on page 28 it is noted that he drew up a list of persons educated under him. When that list is reduced to order from the chaos of jottings, it yields the following result:—

- 1715 William Denne.
- 1716 William May,\* Philip Henry Warburton.
- 1717, T. Horsley, John Oakes,\* Samuel Rolleston,  
Robert Nash (cancelled).
- 1718 John Gale,\* Robert Knight.
- 1719 J. Hodge,\* Isaac Kimber.\*
- 1720 Henry Asland, Samuel Willson.\*
- 1722 Samuel Newman.\*
- 1723 Barnardiston, Thomas Till.
- 1724 Nathanael Neale (attorney).
- 1725 Benjamin Fuller.
- 1727 J. Fowler,\* John Notcutt.
- 1728 Henry Girle.
- 1730 Joseph Paul, John Ricardson.\*
- 1731 Joseph Lloyd, John Maylin.
- 1732 Isaac Devis.

Undated: Israel Mauduit, Josiah W., John Weatherley,\* Philip Webb, Isaac Woollaston.

The list is not complete, for on page 22 it is stated that Thomas Hollis was a pupil. It is rather surprising to find that the school was continued long after Ward was appointed professor at Gresham College. Only about 1734 was it handed over to Isaac Kimber, a former pupil, and Edward Sandercock. At least ten of the boys, marked\* above, went on to an academy or a university and became ministers. In two cases, Barnardiston and Till, it is noted that they stayed three years.

## Dissenters' Schools, 1660-1820.

THE contributions of nonconformity to education have seldom been recognized. Even historians of dissent have rarely done more than mention the academies, and speak of them as though they existed chiefly to train ministers, which was but a very small part of their function, almost incidental. This side of the work, the technical, has again been emphasized lately by Dr. Shaw in the "Cambridge History of Modern Literature," and by Miss Parker in her "Dissenting Academies in England": it needs therefore no further mention.

A brief study of the wider contribution of dissent, charity schools, day schools, boarding schools, has been laid before the members of our Society. An imperfect skeleton, naming and dating some of the schoolmasters, may be pieced together here. It makes no pretence to be exhaustive; but it deliberately excludes tutors who were entirely engaged in the work of preparing men for the ministry, so as to illustrate the great work done in general education. It incorporates an analysis of the 1665 returns to the Bishop of Exeter, of Murch's history of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West, of Nightingale's history of Lancashire Nonconformity (marked N), of Wilson's history of dissenting churches in and near London. The counties of Devon, Lancaster, and Middlesex therefore are well represented, and probably an analysis of any county dissenting history would reveal as good work being done in every place. A single date marks the closing of the school. Details about many will be found in the Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, to which references are given. The schools are grouped in periods defined by the state of the law as to schools. Until 1672 they were quite illegal, till 1687 they were on sufferance; in 1714 it was intended to extinguish them, but the death of Anne occurred instead; till 1779 every master had to sign certain of the thirty-nine articles; in 1820 dissenters defeated Brougham's Bill to establish parochial schools supported by the rates but controlled by the clergy.

## I. Schoolmasters before 1672.

- Richard Adams, Mountsorrel, Leicester.  
 William Ball, Dartmouth.  
 John Bryan, D.D., Coventry. 1675. iv, 41.  
 Thomas Cocken, St. Keverne.  
 Thomas Cole, M.A., Nettlebed, Oxon. 1674. iv, 233.  
 Robert Coode, Cury, Cornwall.  
 William Coule, Barnstaple.  
 Stephen Coven, Halberton, Devon; "a wandering seditious seminary."  
 Samuel Cradock, B.D., Wickhambrook, Suffolk. 1706. iv, 241.  
 Thomas Delaune, London.  
 Thomas Doolittle, M.A., Moorfields, London. 1707. iii, 286.  
 John Drake, Sampford Courtenay, Devon.  
 John Fewen, High Bickington, Devon.  
 John Flavel, B.A., Dartmouth. 1691. iv, 252.  
 Richard Frankland, M.A., Rathmell, Yorks. ii, 422; iii, 20.  
 Theophilus Gale, M.A., Newington, Middlesex. Died 1678, school continued by T. Rowe. iii, 274.  
 Obadiah Grew, D.D., Coventry. 1689. iv, 41.  
 Henry Hickman, B.D., Stourbridge. 1675. iv, 46.  
 Nicholas Hodge, Penryn, Cornwall.  
 Samuel Jones, M.A., Brynlllywarch, Montgomery. 1697. iv, 245; vi, 136.  
 Hanserd Knollys, Bishopsgate, London.  
 Henry Langley, D.D., Tubney, Berks. 1679. iv, 47.  
 Lavercombe, Tavistock, Devon.  
 William Lea, Swimbridge, Devon.  
 Elizabeth Loveman, Westleigh, Devon.  
 Edward Manning, Dartmouth.  
 J. Maulden, Alkington, Salop. 1680.  
 Charles Morton, M.A. 1685 to New England. iii, 277.  
 Mary Mullins, Tavistock.  
 Christopher Nesse, Hunslet, Yorks. 1675.  
 Michael Prestwood, Fowey, Cornwall.  
 J. Reyner, Nottingham. iv, 251.  
 John Rowe, M.A., Newington Green. 1677. iii, 276.  
 Charles Segar, Blackburn. 1683. N, ii, 249.  
 Thomas Shewell, M.A., Leeds, Kent. Removed to Coventry, 1689-1693. iv, 43.  
 Christopher Taylor, Edmonton; Friend.  
 Margaret Underdon, Barnstaple.  
 Daniel Upton, Berry Pomeroy, Devon.  
 Hugh Warren, Fowey, Cornwall.

W. Whitaker, Bermondsey. 1672. Wilson iv, 333.

John Williams, Plimpton.

Several women in St. Martyn, East Love, Poluit and Liskeard.  
A school at Elswick, Lancashire.

A school built and endowed at St. Helen's, Lancashire.  
N, iv, 131.

## II. Opened between 1672 and 1687.

From the Indulgence of Charles to the Indulgence of James.

William Angel, Houndsditch. Wilson iii, 337.

Ralph Button, M.A., B.D., Islington. 1680. iii, 285.

Chadwick. Wilson ii, 385.

Matthew Clarke, Market Harborough. Wilson i, 474.

Francis Glasscock. 1706. iii, 284.

Stephen Lobb. 1699. iii, 282. These two, with Wickins, took  
over some of Morton's pupils and continued his school.

Richard Newcome, Manchester. 1716.

James Owen, Oswestry. Removed to Shrewsbury 1699, where  
he died 1706, the school being continued by Benion.

William Reynolds, M.A., Nottingham. 1698.

Thomas Rowe, Newington Green. 1705. iii, 277.

James Shuttleworth, M.A., Sulby, Northants. 1689. iv, 243.

John Sprint, Andover. Wilson iii, 137.

Lawrence Steele, Bristol Friends. Succeeded by Patrick Logan,  
he by James Logan, M.A.

Edward Terrill, Bristol. 1686. His bequests created the  
first permanent endowment for the training of ministers.

Edward Veal, M.A., Wapping. 1708. iii, 289.

Matthew Warren, Somerset. Taunton 1687-1706; on his death  
several west-country ministers developed his school into  
a co-operative establishment, which lasted till 1759.

John Weaver, Knell, Radnor.

Robert Whitaker, Fordingbridge. Wilson iv, 411.

W. Wickens, Newington. iii, 282.

John Woodhouse, Sheriffhales, Salop. 1696. iii, 387.

A charity school was built and endowed in Zoar Street,  
Southwark 1687.

## III. Opened between 1688 and 1714.

From the Toleration Act to the Schism Act.

Samuel Benion, M.D., Broad Oak and Shrewsbury. 1708.  
v, 18.

Samuel Bourn, Bolton; twenty poor children. Murch 61.  
Derby, N iii, 6.

- Thomas Brand, Ireland and Bethnal Green. 1691. Succeeded by Kerr.
- Samuel Chapman, Yoxford, Suffolk. Wilson ii, 33.
- John Chorlton, Manchester. Took over fourteen of Frankland's pupils. On his death in 1705 James Coningham took over the school, but closed in 1712. v, 73.
- John Cumming, Shepton Mallett. 1710. Murch 170.
- Benjamin Denton, M.A., Greenacres near Oldham. N v, 234.
- Thomas Dixon, M.A., M.D., Whitehaven and Bolton. 1729. vi, 20.
- Thomas Dowse, Corfe Castle. Friend.
- John Dunsford, Bampton. Rippon i, 305.
- Martin Dunsford, Kingsbridge. Rippon i, 305.
- W. Evans, Carmarthen. Took over pupils of Samuel Jones and Rees Price; before his death in 1718 arrangements were made to continue the school, which has developed into the Presbyterian College.
- James Forbes, Gloucester. 1712.
- Gee, Dukingfield. This school under other masters lasted till 1793. N v, 289, 102.
- Gilling, Newton. Murch 269.
- Edward Godwin, Hungerford. 1721. Wilson i, 382.
- Thomas Goldham, Burwash, Sussex. Wilson ii, 332.
- T. Goodwin, junior, Pinner. 1716.
- Joseph Hallett, Exeter. 1721. v, 155.
- John Hardy, Nottingham. Wilson ii, 283.
- Philip Henry, Broad Oak. 1706.
- William Jenkins, Sidcot, Friend. Sold to a successor 1728.
- Timothy Jollie, Attercliffe. 1714. iv, 334; vi, 136.
- Samuel Jones, Gloucester and Tewkesbury. 1721. v, 75.
- John Kerr, M.D., Highgate and Clerkenwell, 1723. vi, 20.
- John Langston, Ipswich. 1704. vi, 137.
- John Moore and son, Bridgwater. 1747.
- John Noble. Wilson i, 459.
- Joshua Oldfield, D.D., Coventry, Southwark, Hoxton. 1729. iv, 45; vi, 129.
- Charles Owen, Warrington. 1754. N iv, 216.
- John Owen, Welwyn, Friend.
- W. Payne, Saffron Walden. 1726. v, 81; vi, 136.
- Perkins, Stoke Newington. Wilson iii, 339.
- Joseph Porter, Alcester. 1721. v, 80.
- John Reynolds, M.A., Shrewsbury. Took over Benion's pupils. 1715? v, 20.



- Benjamin Robinson, Findern and Hungerford. 1701.  
Wilson i, 374.
- Edward Rothwell, Tunley and Holcombe. 1731. N iii,  
158-160.
- James Sampson, Tiverton. Rippon i, 305.
- Jacob Sandercock, Tavistock. 1729. Murch 490.
- Julius Saunders, Bedworth, Warwick. 1730? v, 68.
- John Short, Lyme and Colyton. 1699. v, 157.
- John Singleton, M.A., Hoxton and Islington. 1706.  
Wilson iii, 90.
- Joseph Stennett, London. Wilson ii, 604.
- Gilbert Thompson, Great Sankey, Friend.
- W. Tong, Coventry. 1702. iv, 44.
- Abraham Toulmin, Wapping. Wilson i, 320.
- Matthew Towgood, Colyton Shepton Mallet and Poole. 1729?  
v, 157.
- Ebenezer Wilson, Bristol. 1704. Wilson i, 144.
- Hugh Worthington, Ormskirk and Dean's Row, 1735.  
N iv, 193.
- John Yeates, Lancashire, Friend.
- Newcome mentions visits to the charity schools at Poulton and Ribchester, N i, 112; ii, 250. Syddall's trust provided a school at Stand, N iii, 224. Rossendale Nonconformists built a school at Bacup, 1695. The Society of Friends in 1691 had fifteen recognized schools; Ayton, Chiswick, Croydon, Fearnhead, Hemel Hempstead, Kendal, Penketh, Rawden, Shacklewell, Sibford, Waltham, Weston, Wigton, Worcester, Yealand.

#### IV. Opened between 1714 and 1779.

Until Schoolmasters were relieved from subscription to the Articles.

- Stephen Addington, Market Harborough, 1758-81. Wilson i, 506.
- Aikin, Kibworth.
- John Alexander, Gloucester. 1737.
- Matthew Anstis, Bridport. 1768 onwards. Murch 336.
- Caleb Ashworth, Daventry. 1751-98. Took over Doddridge's pupils.
- George Benson, London. 1750 onwards.
- John Barclay, M.A., Bolton. 1723-1729.
- Joseph Bretland, Exeter. 1773 onwards. Murch 446.
- Edward Brodhurst, Birmingham, 1720 onwards. Wilson iv, 173.
- John Cennick, Kingwood colliery.

- Joseph Cornish, Colyton, 1772 onwards. Murch 336.  
 Thomas Crosby, by Horslydown mathematical.  
 David Crosley, Goodshaw. 1744.  
 John Davisson, Trowbridge. 1721.  
 James Daye, Lancaster. 1736-1770. N i, 15.  
 Philip Doddridge, Northampton. 1729-1751.  
 John Eames, Moorfields. 1722 onwards. Murch 208.  
 Estlin, Bristol. 1770-1817. Murch 128.  
 Caleb Evans, Charity schools at Bristol, Downend, and Mangotsfield. Rippon i, 249.  
 John Fawcett, Ewood Hall, Halifax. 1773-1817.  
 John Fleming, Bridgnorth and Stratford-on-Avon. 1726-1740.  
 William Foot, Bristol. 1738 onwards. Murch 475.  
 Ralph Harrison, Manchester. 1774-1787. N v, 102.  
 W. Hassall, Rochdale. 1829. N iii, 242.  
 Helm, Hoghton Tower. About 1750. N i, 74.  
 Edward Hickman, Hitchin. 1758-1771. Wilson iii, 459.  
 Thomas Hill, Derby. 1720. Derby. v, 151.  
 Richard Hodgson, Nantwich. 1771-1801. N v, 6.  
 Philip Holland, Bolton. 1775-1789. N iii, 13.  
 John Holt, Kirkdale. 1757. N iv, 273.  
 Jardine, Abergavenny. 1766 onwards. Murch 153.  
 J. Jennings, Kibworth. 1722. vi, 188.  
 Isaac Kimber, Moorfields. 1734 onwards, with Edward Sandercock.  
 William King, D.D., Chesham. 1725-1740. Wilson iii, 299.  
 John Kirkpatrick, Bedworth, taking over pupils of Saunders. 1740. Murch 244.  
 Lamport, Honiton. Murch 261.  
 Ebenezer Latham, Findern. 1754. v, 151.  
 Samuel Lowthion, Newcastle. 1752-1780. N i, 312.  
 Thomas Lucas, Trowbridge. 1721-1743.  
 Samuel Medley, Soho and Watford.  
 Henry Merchington, Chinley. 1757 onwards. N v, 102.  
 Samuel Merwick. With others. 1760-1786.  
 John Milner, Yeovil. 1722-1731, Peckham. 1741-1757. Murch 223.  
 John Moor, Tiverton. 1721-1736. vi, 143.  
 John Needham, Hitchin. Wilson iv, 291.  
 Henry Philips, Salisbury, 1766-1789. Rippon i, 129.  
 Samuel Pike, London. 1760 onwards.  
 John Pope, Stand Grammar School. 1767-1791. N v, 34.  
 John Poynting, A.M., Worcester. Rippon i, 511.  
 Pryce, Talgarth. Rippon ii, 433.

- Caleb Rotheram, Kendal. 1737-1751. v, 158.  
 James Rowland. Moreton Hampstead. 1777-1803. Murch  
 479.  
 John Collett Ryland, A.M., Northampton and Enfield.  
 1758-1782.  
 S. M. Savage, Wellclose Square; assisted by Andrew Kippis  
 and Abraham Lees, 1762-1785.  
 John Towers, Bartholomew Close. 1770 onwards. Wilson iii,  
 234.  
 Martha Trinder, Northampton, 1765-1789. Rippon i, 140.  
 John Turner, Exeter. 1761-1805. Murch 446.  
 Benjamin Wadsworth, Attercliffe.  
 Walker, Framlingham. 1765 onwards. Murch 31.  
 John Ward, Moorfields. 1715-1734, then sold to Isaac  
 Kimber. List of his thirty pupils, with dates, Museum  
 Add. 6181, folio 181.  
 Samuel Wells, Cheltenham, about 1757: Rippon ii, 298.  
 Wilton and King, Hackney girls. 1750 onwards. Wilson i,  
 188.  
 The Wesleys founded at Kingswood a boarding-school for the  
 children of their itinerant preachers. John Seddon secured  
 a Public School at Warrington under trustees, 1757-1783.  
 The Friends established an Education Fund in 1758, and  
 opened a boarding-school at Ackworth.

### V. Opened between 1779 and 1820.

#### Till the era of Public Education.

- Joseph Barrett, Darwen. 1792-1795. Wilson ii, 164.  
 J. M. Beynon, Yarmouth. 1784-1814. N iv, 197.  
 David Bogue, M.A., Gosport. 1789 onwards.  
 Joseph Bretland, Crediton. 1780 onwards. Murch 131, 198,  
 445.  
 Thomas Broadhurst, Manchester. 1780-1793. N v, 35.  
 W. Bull, Newport Pagnel. 1783 onwards.  
 E. Chadwick, Preston. 1814-1820. N i, 33.  
 Thomas Clark, Clitheroe. 1815 onwards. N ii, 194.  
 Cogan, Walthamstow. 1788 onwards. Murch 26.  
 Robert Cree, Preston. 1819 onwards. N i, 18.  
 Benjamin Davis, Ffynon, Pembroke. 1828.  
 David Davis, Carmarthenshire. Murch 300.  
 John Evans, A.M., LL.D., Islington. 1792-1827.  
 John Evans, Bristol. 1816 onwards. Murch 39.  
 Grindrod, Manchester. 1780 onwards. N iii, 161.  
 Thomas Hale, Heckmondwike. 1794-1821. N v, 240.

- Jonathan Hodgkinson, Birket Bank, Wigan. N iv, 10.  
 Peter Houghton, Prescot. N iv, 153.  
 James Kenworthy, Moor Platt, Horwich. 1797 onwards.  
 N iii, 107.  
 James Lindsay, D.D., Newington Green and Old Ford. 1787  
 onwards. Wilson iii, 215.  
 Thomas Littlewood, Rochdale. 1783 onwards.  
 Mabbott, Bartholomew Close Charity. Rippon iii, 310.  
 William Newman, Bromley. 1796-1810, sold to John Freeman.  
 John Parker, Kersley, Lancs. 1800-1831. N iv, 113.  
 Martin Ready, Peckham. 1805. Wilson iv, 284.  
 William Roby, Manchester. 1803-1850. N v, 202-211.  
 W. Shepherd, LL.D., Gateacre. 1791-1847. N vi, 203.  
 Small, Axminster. About 1804. N v, 140.  
 Robert Smethurst, Stand Grammar School. 1798-1822.  
 N vi, 203.  
 W. Tattersall, Preston. 1782-1788. N iv, 31.  
 Taylor, Lancashire Friends in 1790. Murch 237.  
 Samuel Thomas, Hambrook. About 1803. Murch 50.  
 Timothy Thomas, Islington. Wilson i, 454.  
 John Whitridge, Oswestry. About 1819. N v, 134.  
 John Winder, Hob Lane, Edgworth. 1807-1847. N iii, 72.

From 1782 the work of Raikes drew general attention to elementary education; schools were established all over the kingdom, teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; owing to the demands of industrism, they met only on Saturday and Sunday: these Sunday Schools have gradually concentrated on Bible study. In 1808 the methods of a Friend schoolmaster were taken up by the Royal Lancastrian Institution, now the British and Foreign School Society, which established schools widely. Charity schools were still begun, as at Wild street; and even endowed, as at Kingston Lisle; Rippon ii, 385; iii, 118. But as from 1820 elementary education became a matter of national interest, and as from 1870 it has been provided at public expense, Nonconformists threw their energies into other branches. Many preparatory and secondary schools are still the property of private ladies. Public schools controlled by a permanent body had been shown most successful by the experience of the Friends since 1667. Despite three failures at Warrington, Manchester, and Silcoates, five institutions founded in this period are the fore-runners of many others:—Manchester 1783-1853 when it was limited to the teaching of theology, Mill Hill 1807, Sidcot 1809, Woodhouse Grove 1812, Newington, now Caterham, 1812.

# Letters of 1624, 1625, 1626

To Six English Baptist Churches

From the Anglo-Dutch Waterlander Church at Amsterdam.

Dr. EVANS of Scarborough in 1864 made known that in the Mennonite archives at Amsterdam, there were many manuscripts relating to English Baptist origins. He was furnished with translations of some, made by Prof. Müller, and he printed them in his *History of Early English Baptists*. In the first volume of our *Transactions* we added a rough translation of another letter.

Some of the originals were printed by Mr. Champlin Burrage in his *Early English Dissenters*. More of them will appear this year in our edition of John Smyth's works from the Cambridge University Press, including a photograph of a page of Smyth's writing. There is one group of letters which throws light on the English Churches from 1624 to 1626, and they may be thus indexed:—

Hans de Ries and Renier Wybrant, to Elias Tookey and his friends (from whom descends the church at Church Street, Deptford). Letter lost, but referred to, *Evans*, ii. 34.

Tookey to Ries, 29 March 1624. Letter lost, referred to, *Evans*, ii. 32.

Ries to Tookey, May 1624. Version in *Evans*, original in Burrage.

Tookey to Ries, 3 June 1624. Version in *Evans*, ii. 21. with false date, original in Burrage.

Ries to Tookey. Printed here for the first time, from MS. 1369.

Tookey to Ries, 17 March 1625. Version in *Evans*, ii. 37.

Ries to Tookey, 3 December 1625. Printed here for the first time, from MS. 1371. →

London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry and Tiverton to Ries, November 1626. Version from Dutch from Latin of 12 November from English, in *Evans*, ii. 26. The Latin in Burrage.

Anslo to Ries, 13 November 1626. Version in *Evans*, ii. 24, Dutch in Burrage.

Memorandum of replies by English messengers to questions by Ries. Version in *Evans*, ii. 30, Dutch in Burrage.

Final reply by Ries on behalf of the Dutch churches, to the Five English churches, 25 November 1626. Printed here for the first time, from MS. 1375; with version by Mr. R. Klickmann.

Of these six churches, only one is extinct, and it lasted till 1843. Can any other denomination point to five existing churches of a similar age, and produce documents to support its claim?

## Ries to Tookey, 1624.

**L**ICHT en waerheyt vloyende van Godt het waerachtighe licht ende wesentlycke waerheyt als eenen hemelschen dauw ende genadighen geestelycken reghen, dienende tot vruchtbare vermeerderinghe der kennisse Godts ende Christi ende der heylsamer leere alsmede tot een godtsalich leven ende heylighe wandelinghe—wenschen wy Dienaren der Vereenichde Gemeente Christi binnen Amsterdam onsen beminden *Elias Tookey* ende synen medeghenoten in de aenghevanghen kennisse der goddelycke waerheyt, van Godt den Vader door den dienst Jesu Christi. Amen.

Zeer waerde vrenden! Onse antwoorde op U laeste schryven met groote verduydicheijt van U.L. verwacht is, wat langhe vertogen. Wy syn daerin teghen onse voornemens selven tot onse verwonderinghe ende leetwesen opgehouden. Bidden wrindelyck dat ons sulcx int goede mocht affgenomen worden.

Deinhout van U.L. schryven is ons niet so smakelyck ofte vermakelyck gheweest als het vorighe, also wy daerin tot ons leetwesen mercken, dat ghylieden synde een cleen getal van persoonen niet en hebt eenen sin oft meyninghe, maer onder een anderen tweesins ende schillende sijt, waerwt wy besorghen (door 't gheene wy door ervarentheyt ondervonden hebben) dat int vermeerderen uwes volcx oneenicheyt, twist, tweedracht ende scheuringe soude moghen vallen, tot grooter ergernisse ende veler vredelievenden droefheyt. Wy en hadden niet ghedacht, dat onder so cleynen getal so veel geschils wesen soude.

Wy verstaen wt u schryven, datter sommighe onder U.L. syn ende dat omtrent het vyfde deel van U.L. gheselschap die niet recht en ghevoelen van de persoon Christi ende dat insonderheyt van tvoornaamste deel synes persoons, dwelck ons hertelyck leet is also de Kennisse Christi van allen rechtgheloovighen ghehouden wordt als een nootwindighe artickel des gelooffs nae t ghetuygenisse Christi Joh. xvii. 3, oock die so hooch van den apostel geexalteert wordt, dat de overvloedicheyt synder Kennisse sodanich is, dat alle dinghen als niet daerteghen en syn te achten, also wy door deselve Kennisse Christum ghewinnen ende in hem 'ngelyvet bevonden worden. De doolinghe in desen ende voornaemelyck int stuck synder Godtheyt is oock in sulcken aensien by den ghewaenden Christenen, dat sy veroorsaect vervolginghe ende vele swaricheyt over den dwalende, waerdoor wy besorghen, wanneer het bekent werde, dat wy sodanighe in onse broederschap hadden ingelaten, dat wy een ontydich onvruchtbaar cruys over

onse broederschap ende ghemeenten, die andersins by de onverstandighe volcken in genoechsamen haet syn, souden verwecken ende veroorsaecken, dwelck wy voorsichtelyck te ghemoet sien —derhalven ons toestaat t zelve doen wysselyck te verhinderen.

Wy hadden in ons schryven aen U.L. versocht, oft ghylieden oock verdraghelyck hielt ende onder u verdraecht deghenen die de Godtheyt Christi versaken oft Christum niet en bekeninen waerachtich Godt te syn in den Vader ende met den Vader ende H. Gheest; op dese onse vraghe antwoordt U.L. alleen stuckwys, seggende, datter gheen onder ulieden en syn, die de Godtheyt Christi versaken, maer het ander deel der vraghe: ofter gheen onder u en syn, die Christum niet en bekennen waerachtich Godt te syn in den Vader ende niet den Vader ende den H. Gheest? laet ghylieden onbeantwoort, daer nochtans meest aen is ghelegen. Dit doet ons twyffelen, datter sodanighe persoonen onder u geselschap syn ende verdraghen worden. Begeren derhalven U.L. sal believen grondtyck hierop te antwoorden ende mede, also ghylieden onse bekentnisse by geschrift hebt, oft ghy met ons verstaet ende eenich syt in t gheene daerin van ons bekent wordt van den eenighen Godt, teweten datter alleen een eenich Godt ende goddelyck wesen is, waerin bestaet Vader, Soon ende H. Gheest. So U.L. yet teghen dese onse bekent enis hebt, dat laet ons weten, opdat wy den anderen wel ende recht moghen verstaen, eer wy voortvaren in vredemakinghe, ende naemaels in vrede, als Christenen toecomt, moghen leven, dwelck wy van herte Christelyck wenschen dat gheschiede.

Belanghende het eedtsveren schryft U.L. dat ghy den eedt om uwen coninck getrou te syn niet en condt weygeren, sonder scult, schade ende voor verraders gehouden te worden, ende stelt ons voor eenighe vraghen. U.L. sal weten: so onder dwoort *ghetrouwicheyt* begrepen sy den coninck ofte dlandt met wapenen voor te staen ofte beschermen, so souden wy gheensins sulcken eedt den onsen toelaeten ofte vry spreken, ende des te min, also wy den Christenen onghoorloft houden, in eenicherley maniere te sweren oft eedt te doen. !

U.L. heeft ons oock ghenoechsaem, verstaen, dat wy onse ghemeenten alle ghebruyck van wapenen affleeren end niemant in onse broederschap en ontfanghen ofte toelaten, die ghesint is crych, oorloghe oft wapenen te hanteren. Onse redenen ende oorsaken syn U.L. voor desen bekant geworden; derhalven onnoodich hier te verhalen. So ghylieden in desen met ons eenich syt ende daerenboven soudt beloven, uwen coninck oock in de bescherminge door wapenen ghetrou te syn, ende tzelve daernaer van u gheyschet werde te gehoorsamen, soudt ghy dan niet

van uwen coninck ofte overheden ghehouden werden voor meynedighe ende verraders? Dit sal U.L. believen nae te dencken, ende so ghy dan uwen eedt betracht ende uwen coninck ghehoorsamende, hoe smertelyck, ergelyck ende droeffelyck sulcx dan voor onse ghemeenten wesen soude, can U.L. naedencken. Derhalven sien wy in deser sake weynich oft gheene winste.

Wat aengaet eenighe ander artickelen, in U.L. schryven ghedacht, daerin soudē wy lichtelyck een middelweeh vinden, our den vrede te voorderen ende de aenneminghe in de broederlycke ghemeenschap te volstrecken, waert also dat wy in de ghemelde stucken een goede wt comste sghen, dwelck ons van ganscher herten soude lieff syn, also wy de verbreydinghe der ghebenedyder waerheyt midts de vermeerderinghe des ryx Christi herttelyck wenschen, Godt oock desgelycx daerom smeecken ende bidden. Wy syn oock beraden gheweest, mannen tot ulieden te schicken om ulieden, nae de aenneminghe in onse broderlycke ghemeenschap, in goede christelycke orden, naeysch der H. Schrift, te stellen, maer de ghemelde swaricheyt causeren vertreck.

Aldus veel weerdighe, wel beminde vriden heeft ons goetgedocht U.L. te antwoorden. Overlegt alles wijselyck, ende volherdt in heylighe ghebeden, godtsalighe oeffeninghen ende een heyligh leven, vertrouwende Godt, dat syn werck in ulied en aengevanghen heefd sal 'tselve tot syn eewighe ende salighe genade syn. Verwacht syn genade met lydtsaemheyt. De hulpe onser ghebeden willen wy, u, als die u lieffhebben ende u salicheyt wenschen mededeelen. Wy groeten U alle en weuschen u wysheyt ende der siellen welstant ende bidden andermaal: houdt ons tvertreck des schryvens ten goeden.

Onderteeckent wt den naeme der dienaren der Vereeniche ghemeente Christi binnen Amsterdam by ons

HANS DE RIES

REYER WYBRANTSZ.

## Ries to Tookey, 1625.

Anno 1625 den 3 December in Amsterdam.

Elias Toky tzampit degheene, die met hem yveren nae de waere kennisse der evangelische waerheyt, wenschen wy ondergeschreven volstandicheyt ende gedurighen voortganck in de rechte middelen, die in dese heylige sake tot een ghewenscht salich eynde voorderen oft strecken, van Godt den Vader door den dienst Jesu Christi. Amen.

Zeer behertichde vrienden! Uwen brief van den yē Maart



is ons wel behandicht, doch wel twee maenden nae datum des brieffs. t Heeft ons goedt gedocht U.L. te bestellen dese antwoorde.

Ons heeft welgevallen, dat ghylieden tvertreck onses schryvens nae der lieffden aert int goede hebt genomen, alsmede dat ghy des voornemens syt, om te volherden in heylighe gebeden, goddelycke oeffeninghen ende een heylich leven waertoe wy U.L. den segen Godts wenschen ende uwer in onse devocien ende ghebeden voor den Heere sullen gedencken.

Wel doet ghy dat ghylieden stilstaet int gebruyck der sacramenten ende censuren, totdat de liere Godt ueen genadighe wtcomste verleene. Weest nocht aus niet suymachtigh, om met geestlycken gemoeden en vurige gebeden dagelycx t beteekeende in de H. Sacramenten aendachtelyck te bëgeren van Godt den Vader door Christum, die geseten is ter rechterhandt der mayesteyt in de hoochte ende een bediener is der hemelsche goederen. Onse sorghe, die wy gedacht hebben in onse leste schryven, is niet geheel sonder redene, want de ervarentheyt heeft onse oudheyt geleert ende droeffelyck doen ondervinden, hoeswaerlyck een groote menichte volcx de verdragelycke van de ouverdragelycke geschillen connen siftten, vock de verdragelyckheyt in gewortelt can worden, waerdoor dan in dese onse omliggende plaetsen onder groote gemeenten vele ergelycke schoringhen ende deelinghen syn ghevallen, die oock door de wyste ende verstandichste onder den volcke, die gemeenlyck het minste getal syn, oft sy wel met alle vlyvt derteghen verstandelyck arbeyden, niet couden gehindert worden. Dit doet ons door redenen, in ons schryven gemelt, uwer lieden engeluck besorghen, toch wy wenschen van herten, dat onsen ancxt oft vreesse taller tyt onnut ende te vergeeffs, maer uwe hope int ondervinden van gedurighe eenicheyt mocht waer bevonden worden.

Recht schryft ghijlieden, datter *drie* saken syn, die ons beswaren uwen inganck tot ons ofte volcomen vereeninghe met onse broederschap te volstrecken, saghen niet liever dan dat deselve naer Godes believen mochten wechgenomen, vrede ende christelycke eenicheyt gevonden worden, also wy niet en twyffelen, oft tzelve soude strecken tot Godes eere, verbreydinghe der evangelischer waerheyt ende veler gelovighen blyscap.

Tn der Godtheyt Christi verclaert ghy ulieden met ons eens sins te wesen, ten ware dat wy ulieden verbinden wilden dry, onderscheyden personen in de Godtheyt te gelooven, waerop wy antwoorden: also de woorden der persoonen in de H. Schrift nerghens ghevonden en worden, so hebben wij se in

onse gedruckte bekentenis des ghelooffs oock niet ghebruyckt. Willen derhalven ulieden noch niemant daeraen binden, so weynich wy ons selven daeraen verbonden houden. t F ons genoech dat wy Godt bekennen ende van Hem spreken, gelyck de H. Geest door de wtvercoren heyligen Godts van Godt gesproken ende Godt bekent hebben. Dewyl ghy dan onse bekentnisse des ghelooffs vanden eenigen Godt, Vader, Soon ende H. Geest, verstaen hebt ende bekent met ons eenich te wesen, jaé tot meerder versekeringe wt druckelyck schryft, datter niemant onder ulieden is, die outkent dat Christus Godt is, maer dat ghy alle ontwyffelyck ghelooft, dat Christus nae den geest wtter selfde wesen en substancie is metten Vader ende H. Gheest wy, affirmeeren, so laten wy ons dese Uwe bekentnisse welgerallen ende wenschen dat in de ander artickelen een gelycke eenicheyt mocht gevonden worden.

Wat den eedt belangt, recht segt ghy, dat de eedt niet en was een wyse van meuschen aengenomen, maer van Godt selven gebruyckt, ende van de foden ende fodengenooten veelvuldich over goede en rechtveerdighe saken geoeffent, etc. Dit overleyt synde dwingt u te dencken, dat de eedt gheen figure gheweest is, om van Christo te niet gedaen te worden, etc. Dit is ulieder seggen, waerop wy antwoorden.

Oft het wel also is, dat de eedt den foodtschen volcke toegelaten van Godt ende de fodengenooten gebruyckt is, oock gheen figure oft ceremonie gheweest is, so volget daerwt geensius, dat de eedt den Christen volcke des nyeuwen testaments vry ende toegelaten is, want daer syn vele ende verscheyden wetten ende gheboden den foodtschen wettelycken volcke van Godt gegeven ende geboden, dat oock gheen figuren ofte ceremonien en waren, die nochtans den evangelischen volcke niet aengaen, geboden noch ghegeven syn ende onder tvolck des nyeuwen testaments niet mogen noch behooren ingevvert te worden, als daer syn de wetten der gerechts ende der policy, want soude men dese in de kercke des nyeuwen testaments willen invaeren ende achten den Christenen gheboden ende gegeven te syn, wat veranderinghe dan in alle republieken most aengesteld worden, condy lichtelyk nae dencken.

Hier soudén wy connen een groote menichte van geboden ende wetten, so der rechten wraken ende policy U.L. voor oogen stellen, die onder de ceremonien ofte figuren niet mogen gestelt worden ende wy om de cortheyt verbygaen, ende so wy achten gheenssius van U.L. onder den christenvolcke en sult willen geoeffent hebben, waerwt ghy sien condt, dat alle het ghene

onder den wettelycken volcke eens geboden ende geoeffent is onder den Christenvolcke niet geboden ofte te oeffenen geboden is, waerwt ghy sien ende mercken condt, dat het niet en volght tgeene ghy meyndt te volgen, dat de wettelycke geboden, die gheen figuren oft ceremonien geweest syn, onder den christenvolcke souden plaets hebben.

Hierby, gedenckt dat Moyses een dienaer gheweest is onder den wettelycken volcke int huys des ouden ende niet des nieuwen testaments, dat Godt door Moyses tot den foodtschen volcke, maer tot den christenvolcke door synen Soon Jesus heeft gesproken, die als coninck, gebiedier ende wetgever van Godt is ingeleyt int huys des nieuwen testaments, ende dat van wege des niet Moyses, maer de Soone onder de christen schare in alles moet gehoort ende gevolght worden. Want van desen heeft Moyses voorseyt, dat Godt syn woordt in synen monde soude leggen ende door hem spreekken, wat hy den Christenvolcke gebieden soude ende beveelt ons den Soone te hooren, ons also wysende van hemselven tot den Soone. Wildy dan Christenen syn, hoort den Sone ende laet Moyses den foodtschen volcke bevolen syn.

Wt gemelder vorsaken soude in beyde strydtpunten niet Moyses, maer Christum gevraecht ende ghehoort worden. Oft heeft Moyses claerder van der Christenen wet gesproken als Christus? ende heeft de wet oft wettelycke leere meer claerheynt dan de evangelische? hoe schryft dan Paulus: ist dat de dienst, die de verdomenis predickt, claerheynt hadde, veel te meer is de dienst, die gerechticheynt predickt, in claerheynt, want oock dat deel, datter verclaert was, en is niet verclaert teghen dese overmatighe claerheynt, want, ist dattet claerheynt hadde dat ghene dat ophout, veel meer salt claerheynt hebben datghene datter blyft, etc. Dewyl dit also is so soude de waerheynt deser strydsaken niet wt de donckerheynt der wet, maer wt de overmatighe claerheynt des evangeliums gesocht worden, dat wy by Christum des werelts licht ende synder Ghemeente overste priester, propheet, wet gever ende leeraer, in wien de dienst der wet door Moysse gegeven ten eynde is gheloopen. Dese seght wtydruckelyck tot de synen aldus: Ghy hebt gehoort, dat tot de ouders geseyt is: "ghy en sult gheenen valschen eedt doen, maer ghy sult." Godt uwen eedt houden, maer ick segge u, dat ghy in geenderley wyse en sult sweeren, noch by den hemel, want hy Godts stoel is, noch by der aerde, want sy, syne voetbanck is, noch by Jerusalem, want sy is eenes grooten conincx stadt, noch by u hooft en suldy niet sweeren, want ghy niet een haer wit oft swart maken en condt,

maer u woorden sullen syn ja, ja, neen, neen, wat daerboven toegedaen wordt, dat comt wt den quade. Hierby voecht de leere Jacobi cap v, vs 12.

Tn |dese woorden Christi en is geen duysterheyt, waer deselve syn n aecht ende claer. Hy stelt den Joden eerst voor oogen, wat Godt door Moysen den foodtschen volcke van het eedtswezen heeft gheboden, maer hy selne, die meerder was als Moyses, gebiedt den synen ende seyt: maer ick (*ick*, seyt de Heere Jesus) segge u, dat ghy in geenderley wyse en sult sweeren. Hoort wat Jesus seyt: in geenderley wyse, seyt hy, en suldy niet sweren. Als hy verbiedt in geenderley wyse te sweren, so verbiedt hy oock nae wettelycke wyse te sweeren, welcke wettelycke wyse hy te vooren gedenckt, seggende: ghy hebt gehoort, dat totten ouders geseyt is. Ghylieden waent, dat Christus door de gemelde woorden niet den wettelycken eedt, maer t misbruyck van den eedt, daerin de foden in hare particuliere tzamensprakingen gevallen waren, den Christenen verbiedt, maer de wt gedruckte woorden Christi syn u meyninghe contrarie, want geseyt hebbende wat door Moysen geoorloft oft geboden was vant sweeren, segt hy tot de synen: "maer ick segge u, ghy en sult in geenderley 'wyse sweeren'—ende neemt also het oude wech ende stelt yet nieuws oft meeders in de plaetse, nae din hout der proffecyen, dat is, ick sal myn woort in synen mondt geven, die sal tot hen (verstaet: den christen-volcke) spreken al dat ick hem gebieden sal. Item Psalm lxxviii en Matth. xiii, 35 ick wil mynen mondt openen in gelyckenissen ende wil wtspreken de verborgentheyt van beginne der werelt ende noch Hebr. iii, 5. Moyses was getrouw in al syn huys tot getuygenis desghenen dat geseyt soude worden. Merckt op die woorden *dat geseyt soude worden* ende leert daerwt, dat het door Moyses niet al geseyt was, maer datter tot den volcke des nieuwen testaments noch yet door den Sone soude geseyt worden, dat door Moyses niet en geseyt was.

Laet u oock niet duncken, dat Jesus gheen goedt orateur geweest is oft dat hy niet so wel als Moyses en heeft connen wt drucken den wil desgheenen die hem gesonden hadde. Want hy heeft gheen minder maer een veel hooger volmaght engeest ghehadt den Moyses oft yemant van syngesellen. Psalm xliiii, 8. Houdt u dan, als Christenen toecomt, niet aen Moyses, diens wet tot op Johannes heeft geloopen, maer in Christum den voleynder des ghelooff wt gedient heeft, ende hoort syn stemme. Hy seyt tot den synen (onaengesien door aenwysen de eedt oft het wettelyck sweeren toe gelaten was): ghy en sult in geenderley wyse sweeren.

Wanneer Christus den eedt door dese woorden voor den volcke des nieuwen testaments niet en had willen afschaffen ofte wechnemen, maer alleen t misbruyck der eeden, so soude hy niet geseyt hebben: ghy hebt gehoort, dat totten ondsten geseyt is "ghy sult gheenen valschen eedt doen," en verhalende also de woorden, die in de wet gelesen worden, maer sonde t misbruyck, dat de Joden pleechden, gedacht hebben en soude geseyt hebben: ghy lieden segt onder malcanderen, oft de Pharizeën oft Schriftgeleerden, oft ume Ousten, de wet misduydende, seggen tot u: men mach lichtveerdich ofte te vergeeffs in de dagelycxse handelingen sweeren ende dat volcht ghy, maer ick segghe u: ghy sult in geenderley wyse lichtveerdich oft te vergeeffs sweren.

Maer de Heere en gedenckt niet eens tghene de Phariseën oft Schriftgeleerden oft de oudsten des volx oft het volck selve als een misbruyck lichtveerdich deden, maer tghene dat Moyses tot den wettelycken volcke geseyt hadde. Derhalve wordt door Christus door de woorden "ghy en sult in geenderley wyse sweeren" niet alleen t misbruyck des wettelycken eedts, maer t ghene de Heer segt, dat totten oudsten geseyt is, dat is het eedtsweeren door Christum den synen verboden,—gebiedende in plaetse des eedts gheen hooger bevestinghe als ja, ja, ende neen, neen, te gebruycken. Dat dit de sin, meyninge ende toestant is der woorden Christi blyckt wt hetgheen in denselven capittel Matth. v over andere wettelycke gheboden van Christo gehandelt is. Want als hy, tghene Moyses door Godts bevel het wettelyck volck geboden had ende toegelaten hadde van den scheydtbrief, heeft willen wechnemen ende een meerder en hooger gerechticheyt den synen leeren ende gebieden, segt hy: daer is oock gesproken: wie hem van synen wyne scheyt, die sal haer eenen scheydtbrief gheven, maer ick segge u, wie hem van synen wyve scheyt ten sy om overspel, die maeckt dat sy overspel doet ende wie de affgescheydene trout, die doet oock overspel, etc. Mercket wat Christus de Heere seydt: hy gedenckt het gebodt synes Vaders van den scheydtbrief, door Moyses den volcke Godts gheboden, so blyckt: Deuter. xxiv, 1; Mal. ii, 15. Syt ghy op u wyff gram, so scheydt u van haer, seidt de Heere de Godt Israels. Her blyckt dus, dat de Heere niet alleen om overspel, maer om andere oorsaken weer, den wettelycken volcke niet alleen georlooft, maer geboden hadde haer wyven te verlaten ende eenen scheydtbrief te gheven; oock dat deselve wyven aen andere maunen mochten trouwen; Maer niet eenich misbruyck des scheydtbriefs oft alleen het lichtveerdich scheyden,

maer de saecke selve verhielt de Heere Jesus den synen, wechnemende wat Moyses in deser sake geseyt hadde, ende een meerder ofte hooger gerechticheyt als de wettelycke eyschende, segt hy: (on aengesien) daer is gesproken, wie hem van synen wyve scheydt, die sal haer eenen scheydt-brieff gheven, maer ick segge u, wie hem van synen wyve scheydt, ten sy om overspel, die maectt dat sy overspel doet ende wie de affgescheidene trout, die doet oock overspel.

Met wat redenen soude men hier mogen seggen, dat Christus in die gemelde woorden alleen soude berispen t misbruyck ofte het al te lichtveerdich scheyden van den wyve, dwelck eenighe onder de foden mochten gepleecht hebben ende hat hy geensius t gebruyck van den scheydtbrieff te gheven onder de Christenen in syn volle cracht gelaten hebben? Wy achten niemant die wel besint is ende de waerheyd wil eeren.

Ghelyck het day in desen blyckt, dat Christus, verhaelt hebbende wat de wet seyt van den scheydtbrieff, door de woorden: maer ick segge u, wie hem van synen wyve scheydt ten sy om overspel, die maectt dat sy overspel doet, etc., niet alleen en straft het lichtveerdich scheyden oft eenich misbruyck dat de fodengenooten in deser saecke mochten geoeffent hebben, maer in den grondt wechneemt de gheheele sake van de wet des scheydtbrieffs als een sake, die hy onder de synen niet en wil geveffent hebben, ende wyst haer eenen hoogeren wech, daer Moyses niet van en heeft gesproken, wt druckelyck leerende tghene by Moyses noyt geleert en was, namelyck dat de affscheyder om eenighe ander sake maecte dat de affgescheydene vrouwe overspel dede ende dat deghene die se trouwde oock overspel dede, siet daer ende mercket dat Christus in den cappitel Matth. v niet alleen so ghy waent de misduydinghe der wet, valsche glosen oft alleen het misbruyck van saken in de wet geboden en straft, maer veel meer eenighe by Moyses geboden oft den Jodischen volcke toegelaten den synen verbiedt ende een hoogen ofte [meerder] gerechticheyt van de synen eyschet.

Wt allen desen ende wat noch meer soude connen geseyt worden, dat wy om de lanckheyt te vermyden verbijsaan, blyekt seer naetelyck, dat Christus in de gemelde woorden niet alleen straft, verbetert ofte wil wechnemen t misbruyck des wettelycken eedts, maer veelmeer dat hy den synen wtdruckelyck verbiedt het wettelyck sweeren, willende dat sy in plaetse des eedts geen ander woorden als jae ende neen gebruycken sullen. Leest hieroner de commentaren Erasmi, Chrisostimi ende meer

anderen: sy sullen u mogelyck tot verlichtinghe strecken.

t Ghene ghylieden schryft, dat ulieden beweecht om het eedtsweren te behouden oft als geoorlooft te achten, beweecht ons niet, also het niet en is Christi leer, gebodt oft bevel, maer tghene ons crachtechlyck beweecht het eedtsweren te verlaten, syn Christi allerclaerste woorden: maer ick segge u, ghy en sult in geenderley wyse sweren, etc. Dit is een wt druckelyck verbodt door Christum den synen ghegeven, dat wy ons onderwerpen moeten, also de Vader wt den hemel ons bevolen heeft, hem te hooren.

De oorsaken, die u bewegen, syn dese nae inhoudt uwes schryvens De eerste is omdat Paulus, so ghylieden meyut, heeft gesworen ende wyst aen twee plaetsen 2 Kor. ii, 1; ende Gal. i. 20. De eerste plaetse luydt aldus: ick roepe Godt aen tot een getuyge over myn sielle, dat ick ulieden sparende niet weder tot Corinthen gecomen en ben. De plaetse totten Galaten wordt aldus gelesen: so wat ick u schryne, Godt weet ick en liege niet! Dat noemt ghylieden sweeren oft eedt doen ende meyndt, dat yemant tot een ghetuyge aen te roepen oft sieh op Godes kennisse oft wetenschap te bewepen so veel sy, als nae wettelycke aert by den levendighen Godt te sweeren. Maer waer leest U.L., dat by Godt selve oft onder den wettelycken volcke sulcke forme van woorden oyt gebruyckt syn int eedtsweeren? oft dat deselve woorden oft sodanighe erghens in de H. Schrift voor eedtsweren ghehouden syn? Wy achten ghylieden en sult ons gheen plaetse counen wysen; daerom wy oock t gebruyck van sulcke woorden voor gheen eedtsweren oft wettelyck sweren; by den Jodischen volcke gebruyckt, en connen houden.

t Is een gheheel ander sake yemant tot een ghetuyge te roepen oft hemselven te beroepen in een questieuse sake op yemants kennisse oft wetenschap, oft by yemant te sweeren. Oft sweren wy elcke reyse by de meuschen, als wy haer om yets te betuigen roepen? oft als wy ons beroepen in sake van questie op yemants kennisse en wetenschap? waarmede sult ghy dat proberen? Als men yemant tot een getuyge heeft gewepen oft om getuygenis te gheven van een sake die hy weet ende hem bekent is, so wordt daernaer eerst door de overheyte van den getuyge de eedt oft het sweeren gevordert, die dan syn getuygenis met den eedt bevesticht. Waerwt dus blyckt, dat yemant tot een getuyge te roepen noch hem te beroepen op yemants wetenschap oft kennisse van saecken, gheen eedt oft eedtsweeren sy ende volgeus dien dat Paulus, de gemelde woorden gebruyckende, gheene wettelyc-

ken eedt gebruyckt noch gesworen heeft. In den brief aen synen gelieden Timothees cap. v, vs. 21, schryft de apostel aldus: ick betuyge voor Godt ende den Heere Jesu Christo, ende voor den wtvercoren engelen, ende 1 Thess. ii: 1, 2, 5 beroept hy hen op de wetenschap ende kennisse der broederen. Soude Paulus daerdoor by de engelen ende de broederen ghesworen hebben? Dat sy verre! Sult oick, so wy vertrouwen, als ghy de sake met meerder opmercken sult naegedacht hebben, een beter gesicht oft voordeel cryghen ende volgeus dien mercken, dat de woorden Pauli 2 Cor. ii, 1; Gal. i, 21, tot hewys des eedtswerens qualycksyn aengetogen ende niet hewysen connen, ende dat van wegen de glose, die ghylieden oner de woorden Christi gemaect hebt, niet en can bevesticht worden. Daerom blyven wy by de naeckte, wtgedruckte, claere woorden Christi: maer ick segge u, ghy en sult in geenderley wyse sweren. Dese hebben, houden ende volgen wy; u raeden wy die oock te volgen ende te houden ende U glosen en ofte meuschelycke gedacht ende voorgenen te laten varen, etc., t Is sekerder op den text als op de glose te steunen.

Hierby gedenckt, dat de H. Moyses den hemel ende aerde tot een ghetuyge heeft aengeroepen, dat hy den Israliten leven ende doot, gebenedydinghe ende vermaledydinghe voorgelesen hadde, dat zo heeft Moyses daerdoor by den hemel ende aerde ende also by creaturen ghesworen, so salt ons, achtervolgende dit exempel, oock gevorloft syn by creaturen te sweeren, maer dat sy verre. t Blyckt dan dat een ander sake is, yemant tot getuyge te roepen oft by yemant te sweren.

Dat den engel Godts gesworen heeft by den Levende oan eeuwicheit tot eeuwicheyt, bewyst de H. Geest Apoc. x, 6, so ghy recht aenwyst, maer sulcx bewyst niet in dit ons ghexhil, also het een bysonder exempel is, daerwt men geen algemeene wet oft regel maecten mach, so weynich men oock van het bysonder tot het algemeene mach hesluiten oft argumenteren.

Ghylieden behoort oock te weten, dat de engelen haren by sonderen dienst ende wet hebben, also oock wy Christenen. Ons staet te letten op t ghene ons Godt door Christum heeft geboden ende niet op t ghene hy syn engel als een bysonder dienaer in een bysonder exempel heeft bevolen. Ende gebiedt ons derhalven dit exempel des engels so weynich te sweeren, alst ons gebiedt tloecxken, dat de engel in de handt hadde, dwelck ons onbekent is, in de handt te nemen, ende int sweeren onsen rechtervoet te setten op de zee en den slincker op de aerde; maer so weynich u dat is een navolglyck exempel, so weynich oock het sweeren des engels.



Alle exempelen syn gheen wetten, die ons na te volgen staen. *Josep* de vrindt Godts heeft by dleven *Pharaons* ghesworen. Is ons dit exempel een wet, die ons nae te volgen staet? Wy achten dat ghylieden van een beter gevoelen syt, ende volgens dien sien condit, dat het sweren des engels ons voor gheen wet oft naevolgelyck exempel en can verstrecken ende derhalven qualyck tot u voorgheven geappliceert is.

De plaetse totten *Hebreëen* cap. vi, daarvan ghy seght, dat wy daer een voorbeelt hebben van Godt ende den meuschen dieut oock niet ter saken. Dan dat Godt gesworen heeft loochent niemant: det staet dan niet in questie. Maer dit: oft Godt met syn sweren den volcke des Nieuwen Testaments een navolgelyck voorbeeldt geweest is ende een wet ende regel gegeven heeft, om nae te volgen. Wy seggen: neen! also wy tzelve onbewyselyck houden. Gelyck wy dan oock onbewyselyck houden, wat forme van woorden Godt gebruyckt heeft int sweren, ter plaetse die de auteur totten *Hebreëen* gedenckt want by *Moyses* en is de forme des eedts niet gemelt, ende wat de auteur totten *Hebreëen* gestelt heeft, dwelck verduyts wordt *voorwaer* is een wordeken, also het in de Griexsche sprake staet, so swaer om verduytschen, dat oock de taelgeleerden niet al eenderley en syn van ghevoelen ofte eenderley formé van woorden int verduytschen stellen, dwelck nochtans vooral noordich ware, als ons het sweren Godts tot een naevolgelycke wet soude streeken. Want de 'forme van woorden, tot eenen rechten eedts gebruyckt, moet niet by ons gedicht, maer van Godts selven ge oeffent oft ons voorgeschreven syn.

t Is waer deselve auteur verhaelt, wat gewooute tot synder tyt onder de meuschen was ende seydt: de meuschen sweren by eenen meerderen dan sy syn ende de eedt is hêt eynde van alle twistinge onder haer. Maer dit bewyst oock niet in onsen geschille, want als hy seydt: *onder haer*, so blyckt dat hy spreeckt van de gemeene werelsche meuschen endè niet van der Christenkercke. Anders had hy moeten seggen: de eedt is het eynde van alle twist onder ons ofte onder de meuschen ende ons. Want dat het wordeken *menschen* in der H. Schrift niet altyt in genere tzamen de werelsche ende Christenen en vervaet, blyckt *Matth. xvi, 13*, al waer *Jesus* syn discipelen vraechde: wie seggen de *menschen* dat ick ben, de sone des meuschen? De discipelen antwoordden: sommighe seggen, dat ghy *Johannes* de Dooper sijt, de sommighe *Elias*, de sommighe *Jeremias* oft een van de propheten. *Christus* seyde: wat segt ghylieden dat ick ben? waerwt naectelyck blyckt, dat het wordeken *menschen* niet altyt en vervaet de geloovighe endè

ongeloovighe tzamen, maer alleen de ongeloofighe, also Christus nae der discipelen antwoorde syn jongeren int bysonder vroecht: wie segt ghylieden dat ick ben? In een gelycken sin moet het woordeken *menschen* Hebr. vi genomen worden, dwelck de woorden *onder haer* bevestigthen: *onder haer* seyt de apostel, ende niet *onaer ons*.

Dat wt oft door het eedtsweeren veel goedt soude commen voor de siellen ende lichamen der meuschen schryft ghylieden. Maer dat yemant daerdoor aen syn sielle soude gebetert worden oft eenich goedt outfanghen connen wy niet sien; wilden tselve wel wat breeder van ulieden verclaert ende aangewesen hebben, wat het voor een goedt is, dat yemants sielle door het eedtsweeren can becomen. Ende oft het al so waere, dat yemant nae den lichame daerdoor eenich goedt geschiede, so can hy tselve door der Christenen jae-woort (wanneer sullex in plaetse van eedt wordt outfanghen ende aengenomen, gelyck hier in onse landen gexhiet, doordien de overheynt weet, dat wy voor christelyck houden niet te sweren ende gheen hooger bevestighe over de ghetuygenisse, die wy gheven, en doen dan met jae ende neen) so wel genieten als door het eedtsweren. Endé oft oock yemant in lichamelycke saeken door den eedt conde ghedient worden, so ist noehtans den Christen ongeoorlooft, also wy Godt meer moeten ghehoorsamen als de menschen.

Dat ghylieden oock invoert de woorden Christi, dat hy Christus niet gecomen en is, om de Wet oft Propheten te breken, maer om te veroullen—en is niet teghen ons, can oock ulieder meyninghe niet bevestigthen. Want so ghylieden meyndt, dat de wet Moysis in Christum niet en is ten eynde ghelooopen, maer den Christenen tot de miuste letter ende tittel toe noch ghebidt ende van de Christenen behoort onderhouden te worden waerom en laet ghy dan u ende uwe kinderen nae de wet niet besnyden? waerom en offert ghy niet nae dinhout der wet? waerom en onderhoudt ghy niet tgebodt datter is van den scheydtbrieff ende trout veel wyven, dwelck Christus, ende niet Moyses, wtspreect voor overspel? waerom en outhout ghy u oock niet van verckenvlees, tversticke ende tbloedt der dieren? waerom en onderhoudt ghy met de Joden oock niet den sabbat ende outsteect opten sabbat vier in alle huysen teghen de wet? ende noch meer als hondert dergelycke saeken, die de wet ghebidt. Ghedenckt toch dat Christus seyt Matth. V en Luk. XVI dat de Wet ende de propheten tot op Johannes gepropheteert hebben; ende wat Petrus in de heylighe vergaderinghe binnen Jerusalem geseyt heeft tot degheenen, die de geloovighen tot de besnydinghe nae dinhout des wets wilden

dwinghen, te weten ditte: wat versoeckt ghy dan nu Godt met oplegginge des joesc op de halsen der discipelen, dwelck noch onse vaderen, noch wy niet en hebben connen draghen, maer wy ghelooven door de ghenade onses Heeren Jesu Christi salich te worden, ghelyckerwys als sy oock, etc. Hoort wat Petrus seyt, die noemet Godt te versoecken, wanneer men den Christenen met het jock der wet wil beswaren. So en ghebiet dan oock de wet Moyses den Christenen niet, verstaet niet verder dan Christi wet, leer ende leven den Christenen ghebiet. Leest noch breeder ter selver plaetse der aposteelen ende der gauscher vergaderinghe oordeel over dese sake. Wy, schreven sy apostelen ende anders ende broeders, wy wenschen salicheyt den broederen wt de Heydenen, die tot Antiochiën ende Syriën ende Ciliciën syn, want wy ghehoort hebben, dat sommighe van de onsen syn wtgegaen ende hebben u verstoort met woorden ende ume sielen wanckelbaer gemaect, seggende: ghy, sondt u laten besnyden ende de wet houden, denwelcken wy niet bevolen en hebben etc ende verder: het behaecht den heylighen geest ende ons u gheen beswaringhe meer op te leggen, dan alleen dese nootsakelycke saecken, dat ghy u onthout van den affgoden offer, vant bloedt ende verstickte, van oncuysheyte etc. Merckt de heylighe apostolixhe vergaderinghe heeft degheenen, die de Christenen met de wet Moysis wilden beswaren, wedergesproken ende ghewilt, dat haer niet meer en soude opgelyt worden, als de ghemelde stucken. Dit denkt nae, ende wat meer van des wets eynde bij Paulum wordt ghelesen, dwelck wy, om de lanckheyte te vermyden, ongedacht laten, ende ghy sult sien connen dat Christus door de woorden van U.L. aengetoghen gheensins en heeft willen leeren, dat de wet Moysis tot de minste letter ofte tittel toe onder de Christenen soude plaets hebben, ende volgens dien, dat u bewys vant eedtsveren ulieder voorgeven niet bewyst. De Heere en seyt oock niet alleen, dat de minste letter of tittel van de wet niet vergaen en sal, maer seyt daerby: totdat het al vervult worde, waermede hy het eynde der wet in syn vervullinghe ghestelt heeft. Alst nu alles door hem volbracht ende vervult was, wat in de wet van hem vorseyt was, heeft hy aen den cruyse geroepen: het is vervult! ende daermede des wets eynde aenghewesen.

Aldus veele hebben wy tot ulieder verbeteringhe van den eedt oft het eedtsveren te willen antwoorden. Nu sullen wy tot den crijeh comen ende op ulieder voorgeven oock onse meyninghe verclaren.

Naedien dat ghylieden, so u schriften an ons gesonden getuygen, tot kennisse Christi nae den gheest ende Christi ampt

in der gloorien ende heerlyckheyt, daer onse bekentenisse van meldinge doet, ghecomen soudt syn, heetet ons seer vreemt ghegeven, dat ghyliden de ware Christenen van Godt door Jesum Christum met den gheeste Christi ghesalvet ende der natuere ende sin Christi deelachtich ghemaect, den bloedighen crych om aertsche ende vergancklycke dinghen oorlooft ofte toestaet, also gheen dinck min en schynt met de nature, gheest, leere, leven ende sin Christi te stemmen noch en is te vereenighen, als het vreedt, bloedich cryghen, dwelck by den aertschen coningen, princhen ende vorsten wordt gep leecht ende gedreven. t Is naer ons insien een seer merckelyck teeken van uwe blindtheyt, dwelck ons hertelyck bedroevet ende dunckt ons dit alles daer wt te vloeyen, dat ghy meer aen Moysen als aen Christum hanget ende liever Moyses als Christus in desen hoort ende volgt. Dan so ghy in deser saken alleen den Sone, die ons met eender heerlycke goddelycke stemme van den hemel is geboden te hooren, wildet oragen ende hooren, oock op syn voetstappen, exempel ende daden wildet mercken, so soude u den lust tot cryghen haest outsincken ende een christelyck bedencken by u vervorsaeckt werden.

Onse meyninghe, dat cryghen ende stryden met vleeschlycke waepenen nae der vleeslycke oft aertsche coningen, vorsten oft princen maniere om aertsche dinghen den Christenen ongeoorloft is, en rust niet alleen op de woorden Christi Matth. v: "ghy en sult den guaden niet wederstaen," maer wy hebben verscheyden schriftuerlycke gronden neffens deselve oorden, die ons bewegen deselve woorden Christi te verstaen, ghelyck wy die verstaen, ende het bloedigh crychvoeren doen vluchten ende verwerpen.

Den Isreliten is den crych gheoorloft, ja gheboden gheweest, want haer was een seecker landt van Godt beloovet, dwelck hy haer door tghewelt des sweerts gheven wilde tot een eeuwighe besittinghe; maer wat gelykenisse heeft dat met ons Christenen oft wat oorsake is daerin, dat ons den crych oorloven soude? Also ons gheen belofte van Godt gedaen is van seecker landt, plaetse oft stadt, oft bevel gedaen en is om de inwoonderen te verdelgen met den sweerde, te verbannen ende haer landt, steden ende goederen in te nemen ende te hextten etc, veel min dat wy belofte hebben, dat den lieven Godt in sulcken handel met ons sal syn, onse hulpe, sweert, qheweer ende wapen sal syn.

Dewyl dan de Christenen gheene dusdanighe beloften oft ggeboden hebben, hoe mach dan den crych haerlieden, als eertijts den foden, vry, geoorlooft oft geboden syn? dat wilt nae.

dencken, ende oock daerby dat de coninghen ende prinsen onder den wettelycken volcke met haer lieder ampt voorheelden oft figuren gheweest syn van Christo Jesu den geestelycken gesalfden Melchisedeck. David ende Salomon, coninck des vredes ende der gerechticheyt, ende synen gheestelycken ampte onder synen hemelschen rycke ende gheestlicken coninkryck; de Christenkerck oft vergaderinghe in den Nieuwen Testament. Dewyl dan de coninghen onder de Wet, soowel als de priesters, met haeren ampte figuren ende voorbeelden gheweest syn van Christo Jesu ende syn syn geestelycke regeringhe, ampt ende dienst ende de wettelycke figuren ende voorbeelden in Christum onder hem ende syn volck geeyndicht syn, so moet dan oock dat ampt der coninghen, waeronder het crychvoeren oock begrepen was, so wel als het priesterlycke ampt, dwelck was tslichten ende offeren der dieren nae de wet, onder de geloovighe des Nieuwen Testaments ophonden, ende moghen derhalve de Christenen so weynich crych voeren als offerhanden nae de wet pleghen. Dit wilt naedeucken.

Hier henenens dieut aengemerckt de proffecye des heyligen patriarekx Jacobs Gen. xl, ix: 10 de conincklycke roede en sal van Yuder niet genomen worden, noch de meester van synen voeten, totdat de helt comme, etc. Want dese proffecye leert claerlyck dat de conincklycke macht ende regeringe, oock sweerdt ende crychoeren behoort, van den volcke Godts ghenomen sonde worden, ghelyck oock in ende nae de comste Christi gheschiet is. Sonden nu de Christenen tzelve wederom aengrypen, so most bewesen worden ende blycken, dat dat wechgenomen sweerdt, als oock het crychvoeren, de kercke Christi, dat volck des Nieuwen Testaments, van Godt gegeven, geboden ende bevolen is, dat wy achten onmogelyck te syn, ende van wegen des het crychvoeren ende tgebruyc des sweerts den Christenen ongeoorloft houden. Als de liene Godt oock gewilt heeft, dat het Yoodtsche volck crych tegen haer vyanden voeren ende hauthaven soude, so heeft hy haer wetten door Moysen gegeven, hoe sy de crych oeffenen ende met haer vyanden handelen souden, maer sulcke oft diergelycke wetten, die tot den crych passen ofte tot het crychswesen behooren, en heeft Godt door Christum den Christenvolcke niet ghegeven, so heeft Godt oock niet ghewilt, dat Christenen cryghen oft haer vyanden niet vleeslycke wapenen aetasten sonden. Jesajas ende Micheas, beyde propheten des almachtighen Godts, hebben door den H. Gheest van de kercke des Nieuwen Testaments gepropheteert ende haren standt, wesen ende doen seer naerstelyck beschreven, seggende aldus: in de leste daghen sal

de berch, waerop des Heeren huys staet, opgerecht worden hooger dan alle bergen ende boven alle heuvelen verheven sy ende alle volcken sullen daer toeloopen ende sy sullen haer sweerden tot ploechysers ende haer spiecen tot sickelen maken: gheen volck en sal teghen het ander gheen sweerd opheffen ende en sullen niet meer cryghen leeren. Mich. iv, Js. ii. Merckt aen: dese dinghen seggen beyde propheten van den volcke des Nieuwen Testaments; het eerste, dat sy haer swaerden ende spiecen (verstaet de vleeslycke wapenen, die men in den crych ghebruyckt) sullen tot niet maken; het tweede, gheen sweerd meer en sullen verheffen, ende het derde niet meer en sullen leeren oorloghen.

Hoe mocht toch yet claerders teghen het crychvoeren der Christenen opgebracht worden, als hier door beyde propheten geseyt is? Sy bevestighen, dat het volck des Nieuwen Testaments sal sweerdeloos oft wapeloos wesen: gheen sweerden en sullen verheffen ende oock niet meer leeren oorloghen; dats verre van oorloghen pleeghen oft crychvoeren. Wy bidden ende vermanen u dese der propheten woorden, ghetuygenisse ende merckteecken, die sy voor de kercke des Nieuwen Testaments gegenen hebben, oupartydich, met begeerte ende lust tot kennisse der waerheyt te hedescken: twyffelen niet, oft sal u dienen tot verlichtinghe.

De waerheyt deser proffecyen is oock ghebleken in de eerste kercke, door Christum ende syne jongeren ghebouwt; want die is als een kudde schapen, weerloos, sonder sweert ende wapen gheweest, toch wel voorsien niet gheest ende macht, goddelycke ende gheestelycke wapenen, waerdoor sy alleen dat rycke Christi ghebouwt, opgerecht ende beschermt hebben.

De eerste kercke is gheweest de allersuyverste; verciert met de hoogste gaven ende vruchten des H. Gheestes. Sy is gheweest als een beeldt ende exemplaar, daernaë alle navolgende Christenkercken moeten geformeert ende gebeeldt werden. So moeten dan alle Christenkercken nae dit voorbeeldt oock wapenloos, sonder sweerd oft crych syn.

Tot desen voeghen wy tghene by de propheten in ghebyken sin geseyt is ende ghelesen wordt Psalm xl, vi: 10: comt hier ende aenschout de wercken des Heeren, die op aerde sulcke verwoestinghe heeft aengerecht, die daermaectt, dat de cryghen ophonden tot aen het eynde der aerde, die de boghen breeckt, spiecen antwee slaet ende wageus niet vier verbrandt. Esai. ix. 4: alle oorloghe, oproer ende bebloede cleederen sullen verbrandt ende metten viere verteert worden, want ons is een kindt geboren, een soon is ons ghegeven, wiens heers-

chappye op syn schouderen is ende hy heet Wonderlyck, Raedt, Vreese, Eeuwich Vader, een vreedtsaem prince, opdat syn heerschappye groot werde ende des vreedts gheen eynde. Hidem cap. lxx. 24. Den wolff en dat lam sullen by malcanderen weyden, de leeuw sal stroo eten, ghelyck een rundt, ende de slange sal aerde eten; sy en sullen gheen schade doen, noch yet verderven op mynen gauschen heylighen berghe, spreeckt de Heere. Ende noch cap. xi. 9. Men en sal niemant quaet doen noch quetsen op mynen heylighen berghe. Voecht hierby tgheene by Sachariam wordt ghelesen cap. ix, dat Messias in syn comste de heerwaghens Ephraëm sal wtroeren metten perden ende ruyters van Jerusalem ende de bogen, die men in den crych ghebruyckt, sullen gebroken worden, want hy sal vrede leeren onder de Heydenen. Wt welcke prophecyen der heylighen propheten ghyliden naectelyck sien ende mercken condt, dat in de comste Christi door Christum onder de synen alle oorlooghe, oproer, heerwagens, ruyters, boghen ende alle crychswesen sal verstoort ende wechgenomen worden, want hy sal geen crychvorst, maer een vreedevorst syn, gheen crych leeren stichten noch aenrechten, maer vrede. Derhalven dat crychswesen desen vreedevorst syn natuer, aert ende wesen gheheel vreemdt is ende synen, die van synder aert ende nature, gheest ende sin syne, oock ongeoorloft ende onvry. Dit benestighen oock de woorden Christi op tmeë verscheyden reysen tot de synen ghesproken, als sy twisteden om de hoocheyt, te weten dese: ghy weet dat de wereltlycke princen heerschappye hebben ende de groote ghebruycken ghewelt onder haer; also en salt onder u niet syn; merckt doch, dat Christus door dese woorden de heerschappye ende tgewelt der wereltlycke princen, waeronder de crych ende het crychswesen behoort, den synen gauschlyck outseyt ende affspreeckt, want onder u, seyt de Heere, en salt also niet syn.

Hiertoe doet oock Jesu Christi errenstachtich bevel aen Petrum ghedaen, doen hy den Malcum de oore had de affgeslagen: doet u sweert in syn plaetse, want alle die tsweert nemen, om te slaen, die sullen metten sweer de vergaen, oft meyndt ghy, dat ick mynen Vader nu niet bidden en mach ende hy sal my seynden meer dan 12 legioenen der engelen. Waer met Christus oock de vrage synder jongeren beantwoorde, oft sy metten sweerde daerin slaen sonden? de synen also verbiedende tgewelt haerder vyanden metten wereltlycken sweerde te wederstaen, maer lydtsamelyck t cruys op te nemen, tsweert niet aen te grypen maer in syn plaetse te laten ende Godt, die machtich is een mennichte van engelen te seynden,

hoewel een eenighe genoeg ware om de vyanden te verdelghen, de sake op te draghen. Waerdoor dan oock erachtelyck blyckt, dat de Christenen met den sweerde haer vyanden gheen wederstant doen moghen, ende volgeus dien dat haer het crychvoeren ongeoorloft is.

Dit bevestighen oock de woorden Christi tot Pilatum, gesproken van syn ryck ende jongeren, seggende: myn coninckrycke en is van dese werelt niet; waer myn coninckrycke van dese werelt, so soudén myn dienaers voor my stryden, opdat ick den foden niet overgelevert en worde, maer nu en is myn coninckrycke niet van hier, etc. Hoort dese woorden Christi ende laet u die ter herte gaen. Hy Christus betuycht, leert ende bevesticht, dewyl syn coninckryck niet van deser werelt oft werelts is, dat derhalven syn jongeren voor hem te stryden ongeoorloft is. Ist dan den Christenen ongeoorloft voor het meeste ende hoochste goedt te stryden, crych te voeren ende menschenbloedt te vergieten, veelmeér ist haer ongeoorloft voor aertsche coninghen oft haer aertsche goederen crych te voeren ende met aertsche wapenen te stryden. Oft mach men om het minste goedt meer doen als om het meeste ende opperste? Dat sy verre.

Eyndelyck streckt tot een vast ende bondich bewys in deser sake, het leven Christi, alle geloovighen tot een naevolgelyck exempel voorgesteld, in welck exempel endè voorheélt, hoewel hy Christus niet alleen verschenen is, om een priester, maer oock een coninck synes ryx te syn, gheen wereltlycke macht, sweert, crych, crychswesen oft yet desgelycx en is gebleken. tEn sonde dan in syn lidmaten oft navolgers, die syn ghelyckheyten moeten betrachten, oock niet ghesien oft gevonden worden, want de Heylighe Gheest wil, dat dese als haer Heere ende Meester gheaart ende ghesint syn. Oft hebbén wy, eenen ghew apenden, geharnasten Christus? Geensius. Oft is dit weerloose, ongewapende lammeken syne jongeren, jae alle gheloovighe gheen voorbeelt? Hy is: want, so Petrus seyt i Petr. ii, 2, heeft hy ons een exempel gelaten, dat wy syne voetstappen soudén naevolgen. Is dit waerachtich, ghelyck het is, hoe can dan in syn jongeren dan crych of het crychvoeren plaetse hebben? Oft isser gelyckheyten, daer het hoofd souder wederstandt lydet, ende de leden met stercke wederstant van aertsche wapenen stryden, daer het hoofd weerloos, maer de ledematen gewapent syn, daer het hoofd hemselven in syn eyghen bloedt vervet ende voor syn vyanden wt lieffde tot haer behoudinghe wtshoyt, maer de ledematen oft jongeren het bloedt haerder vyanden tot haer vyandts verdervinghe vergieten ende



haer lichaem bloedtverwich maken, daer het hoofd alleen met geestelycke wapenen in eenen geestelycken rycké régeert, tzélvé opbout ende beschermt, maer de ledematen met aertsche wapenen in een aerts regiment van aertsche dinghen regeren, cryghen, stryden ende heeftigen, weeden, bloedighen crych voeren, ende een aerts ryck soecken te bouwen ende te berchermen. Maer ghelyck het verre van daer is, dat in dese ende meer derghelycke saecken, die aen het bloedich cryghen vast syn, eenighe gelyckheynt is oft wesen can tusfchen Christum ende deghene, die haer Christenen noemen ende haer den crych, crychvoeren oft met aertsche wapenen te stryden, haer vyanden te benechten ende weder te staen laten behagen ende hanteeren, also ist oock verre van de euangelische waerheynt, dat sulcke onglyckheynt in Christo ende syne lidmaten sonde hestaen. Want in dese is gelyckheynt ende eenicheynt, so dat errenstachtich vierich gebedt Christi betuycht Joh. xvii. Heylighe Vader (biddet de Heere Jesus) bewaer se in Uwen naem, die Ghy my ghegeven hebt, opdat sy één syn, gelyck wy! ende daernaer: opdat sy alle één syn, ghelyck Gy Vader! in my ende ick in U, dat oock sy in ons één syn, etc. De lidmaten des lichaems Christi syn dan met Christus, haer hoofd ende Heere, eeusgesint Phil. ii hebben den sin Christi 1 Kor. ii: 16, die haer van Christo gegeven is, opdat sy soudén bekennen den Waerachtige ende syn in den Waerachtigen, te weten in Christo Jesu den Sone des Waerachtighen Godts, die daer is waerachtich Godt ende dat eeuwighe leven. Derhalven heeft dat crychooeren so weynich plaetse in Christi jongeren, discipelen oft ware Christenen, als het in Christo Jesu selven gevonden is oft plaetse ghehadt heeft. Want ist dat de aertsche wapenen Sauwels desen geestelycken David niét en passen ofte voegen, hoe voegen sy dan syn lidmaten, die in synen lyne niet als steekende dystelen oft doornen, maer als liefflycke wyrancken ingelyvet syn ende met Christi eens wils ende sins syn, achttervolgende de woorden Pauli, dat sy van Christi vlees ende ghebeente syn?

Die de lidmaten Christi het cryghen toepassen, wat doen die anders, dan dat sy eenen Christum dichten, wiens hoofd aen den cruysche hangende ongewapent was en wiens ander leden ggeharnast ende met wapenen voorsien waren, die in syn handen een bloedich sweerd hadde ende syn ander lidmaten met allerley crychrustinghe ende vrede wapenen omhaugen was? Verstaet, so een schilder so tbeeldt Christi schilderde ende eenen ygelycken ten thoone voorstelde, wat christenherte soude hem daeroner niet outsetten, den schilder strafweerdich spreken,

misgrysen ende oordeelen, dat hy den Heere Jesum groote injurie aengedaen hadde? Nochtans beelden ende schilderen sy met gemoet ende siunen op die wyse den Heere Jesum deghene, die de lidmaten Christi oft de Christenen het cryghen opdrin ghen, vry ende geoorlooft spreken, en willen noch niet misdaen nich Christum outeert hebben. O groote blindtheyt!

Wt dese wat wy nu van het bloedich crychvoeren gheseyt hebben, mocht ghy, liene vrienden! sien, hoe die woorden Christi Matth. v, 38 te verstaen syn: ghy hebt ghehoort, datter geseyt is ooge om ooge, tant om tant, maer ick segge u, ghy en sult den quaden niet wederstaen, maer ist dat u yemant aen u rechtewange slaet, dan biedt oock de ander, etc. Dat dese woorden, also sy met hetghene de Heylige Geest der prophecyeen door de propheten van den standt der kercke des Nieuwen Testaments ende tghene meer van deser materien heervoien geducht was, moeten vereenicht worden, dat sy dan sulcke limitacie ofte moeten vereenicht worden, dat sy dan sulcke limitacie ofte verclaringhe niet en counen lyden als U.L. wil, maer dat sy den navolgers Christi het wederstaen der quaden naer wettelycke aert gans verbieden ende ongeoorloft spreken. Wat verder by U.L. gheseyt is, dat Paulus de wereltlycke macht heeft aengeroepen tot bescherminge ende yet meer desghelycx, bewyst niet in der saken, want so weynich daer wt volget, dat Paulus, die tot een apostel Jesu Christi vercoren ende geroepen was, soude hebben moghen een crychsman, worden ende een apostel ende diënaer des H. Evangeliums gebleven hebben, so weynich volgtel oock van de gemeyne Christenen. t Is al te gheringhe ende foudameutloos, wat in desen door U.L. geschreven is in so een groote, seer sware, sorchelycke, peryckeloose sake, als het bloedighe, wreede, woeste crychvoeren is in der kercken Christi in te voeren, ende dat noch teghen de voorsegginghen der propheten, Christi leer, exempel ende voetstappen. Wy bidden U.L. hertelyck, dat ghy u laet welgevallen onse antwoorde en deselne met aendaecht opmerekte ende leest, totter waerhêyt te overlêsen, Godt om syn genade ende verlichtinghe te bidden, ghelyck wy dan ons helasten willen U.L. nae der lieffde aert in desen te hulpe te comen, hopende, dat de lieve Godt door syn groote vrindelyckheyt U.L. in de staende geschillen sal verlichten ende een breeder eenigheyt veroorsaken tot eenen lieffelyken voortganck in tghene ghylieden ende wy van herte veuschen, streckende ter eere Godts, verminderinghe van secten ende veler stichtinghe.

Wy vermanen ende bidden U.L. oock grondelyck te

bedencken, hoe sorchelyck het is over uwe syde in desen te dolen, also ghylieden daerdoor u sult schuldich maken aen t bloedt, dat yemant in den crych sal gestort hebben, door die vryheyt, die ghy hem tot cryghen geleert hebt. Maer al waert schoon, dat wy het rechte verstant in desen mochten missen, dwelck wy voor seecher houden, dat wy niet en doen, so en sullen wy nimmer door het affraden vant crychooeren van deghene, die ons gehoor geven, aen syn sielle schade toebrèngèn, want nimmer en jal daerdoor verdoemt worden noch verdomelyck soudighen, omdat hy het crychooeren, bloedtvergieten ofte dootslaen geoloden heeft. In ulieder meyninghe is dan het meeste peryckel, sorghe ende swaricheyt geleghen, byaldien ghy in der sacken doet, ghelyck wy houden, dat ghy doet.

Dese sluytende groeten wy u altzamen hertgrondelyck: de ghenade Godts sy met u allen. Amen.

## Ries to the Five Churches, 1626.

De broederschap, die nae de ordeninghe Christi ghedoopt syn ende den doop der ghelooirghen bekennen ende leerèn woonende tot Londen, Lincoln, Sarum, te Coventry ende Tyvertonnen in Engelant, wenschen wy onderschreven Leeraren der Vereenichde Ghemeenten Christi in Hollants vrede endè vermeerderinghe in ware wysheyt door Jesum Christum onsen Neer ende alghemeynen Salichmaker. Amen.

Behertichde vrinden! Wy hebben met welghevallen ontfangen seecher brieff door twee moer broederen aen ons ghesonden, waerwt wy geerne werstaen hebben twee christelycke ghenegentheyt ende herttelycke wilverdicheyt, om met onse ghemeenten ende broederschap hier in Hollant te verdraghen ende te vereenighen Dwelck wy als een bysondere deugdt in Ulieden aengemercht ende den Godt der lieffde endè des vredes daer over ghedanckt hebben, wenschende dat sodanighen yoer ter eeren Godts ende veler stichtinghe ende betèringhè onder ulieden niet op en hielde ende ooch in vele ander volchen aenghesteken werde, tot vorderinghe der eenigheyt onder de ghenaemde Christenen ende afbreuck der menuicherley verscheden vergaderinghen, die haer al met den christennaeme nae Christum noemen laten.

De twee lieve vrinden uwe broederen aen ons ghesonden, van wiens stantvasticheyt ende ghetrouwicheyt voorde saeke Christi int bestendich lyden van een lauge en verdrietighe ghevanckenisse ghylieden ghetuygenisse geeft, syn ons aenghe-naem, lieff ende weert gheweest, ende des te meer also sy door

yoer ~~em~~ christelycke eenicheyt tusschen ulieden ende ons te meer also sy door yoer om christelycke eenicheyt tusschen ulieden ende ons te voorderen haer niet en hebben laten ende ons te voorderen haer niet en hebben laten verdrieten, so eën verre reyse aen te nemen ende dat noch in onbeguamen winterdachsen tyt. Wy bidden Godt, dat hy haer de weldaet vergelde.

Wy hebben uwe schrift een ons gesonden met opmercken ghelesen ende met beyde uwe broederen ghesproken ende nerstich ondersocht toerschild in de lere tusschen u en onslieden, ende vinden tzelve tot noch toe soe groot, dat de eenicheyt, die wy, van herte ter eere Godts wenschen tusschen ulieden endé ons gualyck ofte niet en soude connen volstrecht worden.

Tengaende de schillende punten van U.L. in u schryven aen ons aengeteekent, te weten dese 1<sup>o</sup>. dat mē alle Sondagen het avontwael des Heeren behoart te houden, 2<sup>o</sup>. dat eener, die door oplegginghe der handen int bisschops ampt niet ghestelt is, de sacramenten bedienen mach, 3<sup>o</sup>. dat Christenen moghen de waarheyte eender sake met eede bevestighen, 4<sup>o</sup>. dat christenen moghen het magistraetsampt bedienen ende de misdadighe, niet nae Moysis Wet, maer nae de wetten des lants, daer sy. totten ampte geroepen worden, straffen, vleeschelycke wapenen ghebruycken, crych ende oorloghe voeren ende tghewelt haerder vyanden met gheweere wedervechten ende tegenstaen, etc. Van dese saken oft gesehil len, tusschen ulieden ende ons bestaende, hebben wy, met uwe boden ofte gesanten woorden tat des anders onderrechinghe ghehadt, maer gheen eenicheyt in der saeken connen treffen tot onsen leedtwesen.

Uwe broederen ende gesanten sullen U.L. ons montlyck ghespreck connen voordraghen, wast alles in de penne te vervaten oft u toe te schryven, soude te lanck ende te moyelyck vallen. Ghy sultet cort ende verstandelyck van uwe boden hooren moghen, die wy vertrouwen dat u de waarheys der saken oprechtelyck sullen aendienē.

Dochs hebben wy haer ter handt ghestelts copye van seecker brieff over een tijt geleden aen Elias Toky geschreven, waerin deguestie van den eedt ende het ampt der overheyte wordt verhandelt, grondt ende reden gestelt van onse leere ende ghevoellen in beyde punten. Deselve brieff mach U.L. verthooven ende tot aller onderrechinghe gebruyckt worden, opdat de eenicheyt, die wy van herte wenschen ende geerne saghen, mochte gevoordert ende volstrecht worden. Want in de tegenwoordighe ongelyskheyte oft sevende gheschil en soudē onse ghemeenten tot vereeninghe niet te beweghē syn, en voornamelych om t punct van tgebruyck der wapenen ende

thouden van t bloedtgevecht. Want wy hebben in dese onse landen ghesanaecht, wat ellende, jarnmer ende lasten by eenighe dieden naeme droeghen van Doopsgesinde aengevecht ende gevloyt is wt tghemelde ghevoellen, also dat wy, beneffens dat wy voor seecken houden dat het met de gaddelycke Schrift des Nieuwen Testaments niet en verdedicht wordt, om meer ander seerghewichtige redenen tzelve onder ons niet souden mogen in laeten cruypen oft toelaten.

Sluytelyck bidden ende begeren wy, ghylieden wilt met u broederen tot ons ghesonden verstaen ende in de vreesè Godts overleggen ende proevende woorden ende redenen, die sy mèt ons ende wy met haer ghehadt hebben, Godt, den ghever van alle goede ende volmaeckte gaven daerueffens biddende om wysheyt.

Wy, bidden oock den lieven Godt, dat Hy U.L. meer ende meer verlichte tot synder eeren, aller siellen solicheyt endé voorderinghe van vrede ende christelycke eenicheyt.

Seer behertichde vrinden! wiens welstaot wy in alle declen hertelyck wenschen, syt altramen der ghenade Godts bevolen.

In Amsterdam, desen 25 Novemb. Ao. 1626. by ons

HANS DE RIES.  
REYNIER WYBR,  
PEETER ANDRIESZ,  
CORNELIS CLAESZ.

## Translation of the Final Letter.

**T**O the brotherhood of churches, baptized according to Christ's ordaining, confessing and teaching Believers' baptism; residing in London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton, in England.

We, the undersigned, ministers of the "United Churches of Christ" in Holland, wish you peace and increase in true wisdom through Jesus Christ our Lord and common Saviour. Amen.

Heart-dear friends! Through two of your brethren we received with great pleasure a certain letter which you had addressed to us. We were pleased to understand your Christian desire and hearty readiness to confer and unite with our churches and brotherhood here in Holland. We note this as a special grace in you, and have thanked the God of Love and Peace for it, hoping that such zeal for God's honour may not cease, but rather lead to improvement and edification amongst your-

selves; and also kindle in other nations a desire for unification of the so called Christians, and for a diminution of so many communities naming themselves Christians after Christ.

We welcome the two dear friends, your brethren, which you sent to us, whose stedfastness and faithfulness to the cause of Christ we admire; for which cause, as you have informed us, they suffered continued persecution, long and painful imprisonment. We loved and honoured them and this the more for their earnest efforts in the furtherance of Christian unity between yourselves and us; for their courage also in undertaking so long a journey, and that also during the unpleasant winter season. We pray that God may reward this act of well-doing.

We have attentively perused your letter to us, also discussed same with both your brethren, carefully examining the differences in the teaching between yourselves and us. We find these presenting difficulties to the union so great, that the harmony, or oneness between yourselves and us, which we, to the honour of God so heartily desire, can hardly, if at all, come to pass.

With reference to the points in dispute mentioned by you, viz.

1st. That the Lord's Supper should be administered every Sunday.

2nd. That any one, not ordained by the laying on of hands by a Bishop, may administer the Sacraments.

3rd. That Christians may by an oath certify the truthfulness of a case.

4th. That a Christian may hold the office of a magistrate; punishing evil doers not according to the laws of Moses, but those of the country. To use carnal weapons, to quell tumults, and to resist or defeat the country's enemies with gun, or in organized warfare &c.

In these matters we have tried to correct or adjust existing differences between yourselves and us, with your messengers; but, to our sorrow, we could not arrive at an agreement.

Your brethren representatives will tell you all that was said by word of mouth; too long and somewhat difficult to repeat in writing. You will receive a full statement from your messengers, who, we feel sure will present to you a concise and correct acct of all that passed.

We have, in addition, handed to them a copy of a letter, written some time ago to Elias Toky, wherein the questions of the "Oath" and the "Office of Magistracy" are fully discussed with chapter and verse in support of our teaching

and views on both points. Said letter may serve to be both instructive and convincing to yourselves; so that the unity, which we heartily wish to see, may be fostered and completed. For, under existing differences or with unsettled convictions, our churches would not be induced to agree to the proposed union; especially on the points of the use of weapon, and of warfare. We have, in these lands, had a taste of the misery, sorrow and burden caused by some bearing the name of "Dooopsgezinde" (of so called Anabaptist persuasion) who spread said perverse views, and apart from that we verily hold that in the Divine Scriptures of the New Testament nothing has been found for its defence, we could not admit of it for more than one very important reason.

In conclusion we pray and beg that you, with the brethren sent to us, will understand, and in the fear of God weigh and prove the words and conversations which they had with us, and we with them; asking God, the giver of all good and perfect gifts for wisdom from on high.

We beseech you, seek the Lord, that He may more and more enlighten you for His honour's sake, for the saving of all souls, and the promotion of peace and Christian concord.

Very heart-dear friends! whose well-being in all directions we heartily desire, we commend you all to the Grace of God.

At Amsterdam, this 25 Nov<sup>r</sup> Anno 1626.

Signed

Hans De Ries  
Reynier Wybr[ants]  
Peeter Andriesz  
Cornelis Claesz.

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### The Nominated Parliament of 1653.

At the Museum, 669.f.19.3 gives a list of this famous assembly. The following members are those who were, or became, or were closely allied to, Baptists. Cornwall; Robert Bennet and Francis Langdon. Devon; John Carew. Hertford; Henry Lawrence. Leicester; Henry Danvers. London; Samuel Moyer. Middlesex; Arthur Squibb. Somerset; John Pyne and Dennis Hollister. Surrey; Samuel Highland. Sussex; William Spence. Wales; Hugh Courtney and Richard Price. Co-opted; Major-general Harrison. In all, not one tenth of the whole.

## Notes.

### Henry Jessey and St. George's.

Mr. Horace Warde, M.A., has been good enough to test the often repeated statement that Jessey was rector of St. George's, Southwark, in the times of the Commonwealth. Calamy had stated only that he preached there in the morning, but Crosby said that in 1660 he was "ejected from his living;" and this is the phrase that has been varied and embroidered.

William Rendle, F.R.C.S., late Medical Officer of Health for the parish has written an interesting account of "Old Southwark and its People." After quoting Walter Wilson's version, he comments at page 82:—"It is not likely . . . that Jessey was then rector of St. George's; he was probably lecturer or curate; as lecturer it was perfectly consistent that he should have another congregation elsewhere." This would be a case parallel to John Simpson, noted at III, 123. And Mr. Rendle points out that William Hobson is recorded as the legal rector 1639-1688 in the list by Manning and Bray, Surrey III, 654. This is exactly parallel to the position of Swadlin at St. Botolph's.

Mr. Warde has therefore examined the registers, and finds that in 1776 a great clearance of them was made at the rate of three-halfpence a pound, so that no records remain earlier than 1700, except a few registers back to 1600.

One of these contains entries of "christnings" right through the Commonwealth period. This is highly suspicious, and the fact of the book being orderly suggests that it is a late compilation. In any case, it gives no obvious clue to the persons who made the entries. But there is a smaller volume composed of pages of parchment and paper bound in disorder, some even upside down. They appear to be the original sheets of the period 1653 to 1657, and they mostly record marriages, which are certified by Sam Hyland or Robert Warcupp; a few are certified by George Potts, Thomas Lee, Thomas Vincent or Christopher Searle, as being solemnized "by" the certifier. Jessey's name does not appear anywhere.

The interpretation of these originals is not hard. The Nominated Parliament adopted the system so familiar to us, of having a lay Registrar of Marriages, births, &c. Hyland and Warcupp were members of parliament, and justices of the peace. It was in the latter capacity



that they were entitled to solemnize marriages. The Registrar would then receive the certificates from any of the officiating persons. When the system ended, his collection seems to have been placed among the parish archives, and to have been roughly bound.

We gain the negative evidence that Jessey took no part in certifying any birth, death or marriage in the parish. The 1671 biography asserts that he was morning preacher there, but Mr. Warde asks if there is any documentary evidence existing to show that he had any connection with St. George's.

### **John Leeds of Manchester.**

The records of the Court Leet in Manchester give a graphic picture of town administration from 1650 to 1687. One or two early Baptists figure; Mr. Jones was fined in 1666 and 1675 for letting his swine wander without rings in their snouts; John Wiggans was fined in 1675 for a broken pavement. John Leeds, who interests us because in 1672 he took out a licence for Baptists to worship in his house, figures often. In 1668 he lived in Market Street lane, and next year it was his duty to notify all strangers who came to live there. In 1670 his business as chapman had so increased that he bought several messuages in Toad Lane, next year he added a barn and orchard near the Acres, and bought a house near the Hanging Ditch. He was appointed to many offices; especially market-looker for corn, weights and measures, white meat—an office shared once with another Baptist, Edward Gathorne: it is amusing that he was fined fourpence for a wrong measure of length; finding another man's corn-bushel short, he was assaulted and blood was drawn. After much neglect to scour a ditch, he turned a water-course into it and got into more trouble; but proved so able to defend himself that his opponent made him steward of Pownall Hall, Wilmslow.

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\* \* Members in *Class A* pay £1 is. per annum, and receive all publications issued during the year; Members in *Class B* pay 5s. per annum, and receive the *Transactions* of the Society; the Life Subscription is £10 10s.

## Annual Meeting, 1915.

**T**HE Society met at 4.30 on Thursday 22 April, in the Council Chamber of the Baptist Church House, the President in the chair. After prayer by Professor Farrer, the reports were submitted as below, and were adopted.

The Society approved the principle of supplying the Transactions to all members of the Congregational Historical Society, free of charge, the Transactions of that Society being similarly supplied to our members; and the committee was authorised to complete the arrangement.

The committee and officers were re-elected.

A paper was read by Dr. Whitley on the Contribution of Nonconformity to Education; and discussion was shared by Miss Irene Parker, Messrs. Thornton, King, and other members and visitors.

The meeting closed with prayer.

N.B. The paper was published in June by the British and Foreign School Society, and the author presented a copy to every member.

## Report for 1914.

THE seventh year of the Society's work has shown steady progress. It is pleasant to find that churches and individuals in quest of light on the past, are turning without hesitation to claim the help which the Society is increasingly able to afford. One western church, whose story was somewhat of an enigma to itself, placed its documents at our disposal, and when the skein had been unravelled, held a special meeting to hear the result, forwarding a resolution of thanks: the result is published in our April number. Co-operation of this kind, the Society is always glad to enter upon.

A list has been made of the Stuart State Papers which have to do with Baptists, and it is hoped that these may be published at intervals in the Transactions. The printing of the works of John Smyth has been delayed by the war, but it is hoped that the two volumes will be issued together before Christmas, from the Cambridge University Press.

Your committee has negotiated with the Congregational Historical Society for an interchange of Transactions to all subscribers; and a special resolution will be submitted to you on that point.

A large gift of books from the library of the late Evan Edwards of Torquay has been very welcome, and as others have come from Mr. Chadwick, it has become necessary to acquire a large case in which to store similar gifts. Members are reminded that these are available for research. Our file of Baptist Magazines still lacks bound volumes between 1866 and 1884. Sets of Association circular letters are also desirable, and other official reports which have lost

their living interest, but which are invaluable for historical purposes.

On behalf of the Committee,

G. P. GOULD, *President*,

W. T. WHITLEY, *Hon. Secretary*.

## Treasurer's Account, 1914.

To	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1913	9	10	6
Subscriptions and Donations	105	12	0
Sales through the Trade	2	2	0
	<hr/>		
	£117	4	6

By	£	s.	d.
<i>Transactions</i> —Printing and Publishing—			
Vol. IV, parts 1 and 2	34	9	3
Charges on special volume for 1913	8	10	0
Book-cases for Society's Library	8	0	0
Research expenses, works of reference, &c.	5	19	0
Advertising, circulars, stationery, and stamps	2	14	6
Bank charges	1	3	7
Balance forward	56	8	2
	<hr/>		
	£117	4	6

Signed, J. W. THIRTLE, *Hon. Treasurer*.

Audited and found correct,

HAROLD KNOTT, *Hon. Auditor*.

March 16th, 1915.

## A RETROSPECT.

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### THE CONTRIBUTION OF NONCONFORMITY TO EDUCATION UNTIL THE VICTORIAN ERA.

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*A Paper read to the Baptist Historical Society.*

By W. T. WHITLEY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.HIST.S.

Two hundred years ago, "dissenters, in proportion to their numbers, were more vigorous in the course of education than Churchmen were. They not only helped in promoting charity schools; they had good institutions of their own. In some places the Nonconformist school was the only one to which parents could send their sons."

Such is the testimony of Dr. Plummer in his *History of the English Church in the Eighteenth Century*.\* It is not surprising that closer studies of the subject have been undertaken in the last five years. In the *Cambridge History of Modern Literature*, Dr. W. A. Shaw, of the Record Office, has appended a list of some Nonconformist Academies to a chapter on the literature of dissent for 1680-1770. Also from the Cambridge University Press has come a monograph on the same subject, by Miss Parker, lecturer in the training college for women teachers at Cherwell Hall, Oxford. These two studies, however, deal with only a part of the subject, the Academies. These are usually considered as they trained for the dissenting ministry, and though Miss Parker emphasizes and illustrates the value of these Academies to general education, neither student professes to expound the activity of Nonconformists in other grades of school. The purpose of this study is therefore to leave alone the technical and professional side of the Academies, even to disuse that name, and to indicate three sides of Nonconformist contributions to general education: Elementary schools, Secondary schools, Literature. Here and there it will be possible to give illustrations, and all shall be chosen from unworked fields, especially owned by Friends and Baptists. Tables are available, relating chiefly to Devon, Lancashire, and London, which will show the large number of schools hitherto uncatalogued; but their names shall not be obtruded here.

It is necessary, however, to indicate the state of the law at different periods, that it may be realised how shackled Noncon-

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\* Edition 1909, p. 15.



formists were in their attempts to supply the need. For centuries it had been recognised that religion and education were closely associated ; not only did the Church provide schools, but it controlled them. It went further, and established such a monopoly that no school might be taught without licence from the bishop of the diocese. Thus there were no Nonconformist schools till Laud fell in 1640.

A period of comparative free trade set in at once, and lasted till Cromwell in 1655 issued a proclamation that no man who had fought for Charles might keep a schoolmaster as tutor ; no minister ejected or sequestered might keep a school. The principle once restored was accepted as natural, only in 1660 it was applied to cut the other way round, and all Nonconformist schools were utterly illegal. For thirty years they existed only on sufferance, and an informer could make a living by prosecuting, or could crush them out of existence. Not only so, but new laws were enacted to limit the supply of teachers. It was evident that many ministers ejected in 1662 might turn naturally to teaching, both trying for posts in the grammar and other established schools, and opening private schools. The Five-Mile-Act therefore tendered to all ejected ministers certain declarations and an oath of non-resistance ; the effect of these would be to deprive them of the " opportunity to distil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's subjects." If they refused these declarations, they were not only limited in their choice of residence, which was a very old feature of the law, but were forbidden to " teach any public or private school, or take any boarders, or tablers that are taught or instructed by him or herself or any other ; upon pain for every such offence to forfeit the sum of forty pounds."

Relief came with the Revolution, when the Toleration Act provided that schools might exist, on conditions which included that the master must sign most of the XXXIX. articles. The result was an instant opening of schools on all sides, and this movement increased when the judges in 1700 decided that the bishops' courts had no jurisdiction except over grammar schools, and when a further decision next year declared that no licence at all was needed for elementary schools. This was a great gain, for Bishop Patrick of Ely had congratulated the rector of Dodington on " stopping the progress of the Anabaptist faction by applying yourself to the justices to call the unlicensed schoolmasters to account," and had told how he himself refused a licence at Littleport, and was trying to organise systematic refusals.\* Fresh suits were therefore instituted in the courts, John Owen of Welwyn being prosecuted, and the plea being urged that " the right of teaching school belongs to the minister." Richard Claridge, another Friend, formerly a Baptist, was tried, and Chief Justice Holt laid it down that the law was

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\* Cole MSS., xxx. 148, cited in Stoughton : Church of the Revolution, edition 1874, p. 418.

aimed at Papists, not at Protestant Dissenters. A vigorous literary attack was begun by Samuel Wesley as soon as Anne ascended the throne, and repeated attempts in Parliament resulted in the Schism Act, which restored the clerical monopoly. Anne, however, died the very day when it was to come into force, and it was quietly repealed in a year or two, though Archbishop Sharp said that the "Dissenting Academies were a standing menace to the Church." The course was then plain till the upheaval produced by the American Declaration of Independence, which found its echo in a successful claim for the repeal of the law which required dissenting schoolmasters to sign the articles. Thenceforward there was no legal restriction, and Nonconformists had only to wrestle with the problems of finance and of social stigma.

This background of legal disability being kept in view, we may now notice that Nonconformists never submitted to be debarred from keeping schools of their own, even in the time of strenuous persecution. We look first at the provision made for the masses of the people.

#### I.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

For the earliest, and most striking, expression of the Nonconformist passion for education, we turn to Massachusetts. Before that colony was twenty years old, while Charles yet lived, the thirty towns decreed that each town must have a school, that if the families numbered 100, it must be of grammar rank, to supply the new Cambridge with a stream of students. Here is not only elementary education, but an educational ladder, planned and reared. In Pennsylvania again, when the power of the Friends was dominant, it was enacted among the first laws that every parent must have each child able to read and write by the age of twelve; and a system of schools was in operation by 1689.

In England the task was more complex, because of pre-existing institutions. Yet no sooner did the Cavaliers of Charles II. attempt to revert to the conditions under his father, than they found it impossible to set back the hands of the clock. When the Bishop of Exeter called for reports as to schools in 1665, the rectors sent up the names of fifteen men in Devon, besides several women; in one case is the curious touch that the "seditious seminary" was wandering, recalling the hedge schools of Ireland or the peripatetic schools of Wales.\* In Lancashire there was a secluded district, so flat and marshy as to be called the Fylde or Field, with only one little town, Poulton. A few miles away, at Elswick, some Nonconformists built a school, and out of the school grew a church which celebrates its 266th anniversary this summer. St. Helen's was a village further south, neglected by the Establishment, where the people at their own cost had built a chapel, and where after the

\* Lyon Turner : Original Records, i. 178.

Restoration they built and endowed a school; the control of these by Nonconformists led to a series of lawsuits, and this case ended in ejection from the chapel, but seems to have left the school in their custody. In the hills over which the Rossendale forest had spread, two preachers did such good work that the people subscribed and built a school at Bacup, available on Sunday for the use of Protestant Dissenters. Here again, though the trust was perfectly explicit, the Anglicans encroached, and at last with the connivance of a trustee broke open the building which had been locked against them, and took possession. David Crosley, one of the preachers named in the trust-deed, settled at Goodshaw, a few miles over the hills, and maintained himself by keeping school on his own premises. Further south, at Bolton-le-Moors, a charity school was founded by Samuel Bourn, where twenty poor children were taught at his expense: he had had experience in harder times of gaining his living by teaching a private school at Derby.\*

Thus, a single county, at that time one of the most backward, illustrates many kinds of elementary school all at work before the seventeenth century ran out. There is no reason to think that it was in advance of other parts of the country, and one or two cases, mostly of the next century, may indicate that this variety was general.

When James II. issued his Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, and some Jesuits opened a Charity School, three Southwark laymen combined to offset it by a Protestant Dissenters' Charity School, built in Gravel Lane and named Zoar.† Funds for its support were raised partly by subscription, partly by adding a second storey which was let out for Sunday services; and the fact that Bunyan preached there once or twice has at once given it notoriety, and obscured the main fact that the upper floor was but an annexe to a Dissenters' Charity School, the first in London though outranked by Lancashire. The example was improved under George I., when Baptists and Pedobaptists united on equal terms to establish a Charity School for forty boys of eight years old, with twelve younger ones to be taught by a mistress; they met eight hours daily in summer, six in winter. At the end of their course the managers aided in apprenticing them. Expenses were met by subscription, and by collections after a sermon every two months. The first master was a Baptist.‡ The London Friends leased a large building in Clerkenwell, where by 1754 they educated nearly six hundred children. A generation later, the school was transferred to the Islington Road, and the numbers increased.

In Wales, Thomas Gouge started schools, and not long after 1674, three hundred towns were profiting. But an essential part of his plan was to teach English, and the schools died with him.

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\* Jerom Murch: History of the Presbyterian Churches, &c., p. 61.

† Wilson: Dissenting Churches, iv. 188.

‡ Crosby: History of the Baptists, iv. 118.

Native effort was more lasting ; even in 1697 the Independents had schools on Sunday in the Neath district. Dr. Williams, the great Nonconformist benefactor, made large bequests for the education of the poor. His trustees were directed to appoint several schoolmasters, at a salary of £8, to teach twenty poor children in each of several towns named. Since, however, the clergy and leading inhabitants of several of these towns resisted the establishment of schools using the Assembly's catechism and conducted by Dissenters, the scheme was varied, and other towns were substituted, such as Newmarket in Flint, Pwllheli in Carnarvon.\* These schools grew in number and value, and to-day there is a fine boarding-school for girls at Dolgelley.

Other Nonconformist Charity Schools are heard of at Bartholomew Close and at Shakespeare's Walk, Wapping ; from the latter, Adam Taylor dated his history of the General Baptists.

His brother Dan began his career at Birchcliffe as master of a private school, which grew so fast that he engaged as usher John Sutcliffe, afterwards famous at Olney. The West country had shown many such : the Dunsford family had three members owning private schools at Bampton, Kingsbridge, and Tiverton, at one time.

Other schools were established under the auspices of churches, and we hear of Caleb Evans riding to inspect the work at Downend and Mangotsfield, as well as in Bristol itself. These cases lead us to consider a new type, the Sunday school.

The eighteenth century showed a change in the social and economic conditions. The invention of various machines for spinning and weaving, which could be driven by water-power, led to the rise of mills where hundreds of people assembled, almost ending the old home manufacture. Then it was found that the machines could be tended by children, adults being needed only to remedy breakdowns and to install the machines. And thus the opportunity for the multitude of children receiving any education was most seriously abridged. In two or three quarters independently it was recognised that Saturday afternoon and Sunday were the only times left free. It is claimed that the fruitful seed was planted by a Dissenter, William King, a woollen-card maker at Dursley. When visiting Gloucester jail, he called on Raikes and told him of the success he had obtained ; Raikes responded that any further movement would prosper better from the Church of England than from Dissent.

Once known, "Sunday schools" sprang up far and wide. This name has such a different meaning to-day that many people are ignorant of the scope of these schools at first. They met on Saturday as well as Sunday, and on both days taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, giving all the schooling that many children ever received ; promotion to the writing-class was reserved at some schools for those who were proficient in the Bible. The accounts of some early Lancashire schools show

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\* Monthly Repository, xi. 379 (1816).

quills and pen-knives, sand-troughs for the juniors to write in—by no means a modern American invention—singing classes, and items like straps, whether to be applied round books or round children being uncertain. Some teachers were paid by the church, on the old Charity school method ; others were volunteers from the church.

In Wales, the Sunday Schools developed in two directions. Edward Williams, of Oswestry, an Independent, soon branched out with Circulating Day Schools, and before the century closed had thirteen, with 553 scholars. Morgan John Rees, of Pontypool, a Baptist, grafted on Night Schools, and met a great need by writing school books in Welsh.

In another respect the Sunday schools marked a new conception of education for the people at large. Around London and Westminster there were barely four thousand boys and girls in all the Charity schools, and the children were marked out by a special costume—a habit surviving to-day chiefly at Christ's Hospital, Chetnam's Hospital, and a few scattered institutions. It seems to have been thought that clothing and education were complementary, and as funds for clothes were hard to come by, the numbers benefited were but few. But the Sunday schools offered education to all comers, on the simple condition of coming with clean hands and face ; and in some districts children were even paid to come, in actual cash, which to-day is commuted into treats and prizes. It was a new ideal, the dawn of popular education for all, and for its own sake.

Two or three interesting Baptist cases may be given from London. The church at Old Ford engaged a mistress, who worked up the school so well that presently there were four branches away from the main premises. After fourteen years one was differentiated into a charity school, and opened daily ; this continued till a change in the public attitude caused it to be merged into a newer type. The church at Wild Street sought to lighten the darkness round Drury Lane. More interesting is the story of the school connected with the Kingsgate church in Eagle Street. A girl of Portsea, Ann Price, came here in her seventeenth year, when her mother married the pastor, and at once exerted herself to start a school. It succeeded so well, that at her death four years later a tablet was erected to commemorate her services ; and a generation later the last public act of her stepfather was to open new premises for the school and as almshouses, as a second tablet testifies.

The appearance of schools maintained by churches or societies reminds us to look at the great Society of Friends, which from the beginning evinced a steady interest in education. In 1667 George Fox advised the setting up of a school at Waltham for teaching boys ; also a girls' school at Shacklewell, for instructing them "in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation." Specially noteworthy is their care for girls ; in 1681 at Aberdeen their mistress saw not only to book-learning, but to their being taught to support themselves by the weaving

of stockings.\* The fact that Friends were more highly organised than other dissenters accounts for the fact that their masters were soon gathered into conference, to plan a curriculum; but their chief work did not lie in education for the thousand, and their admirable work within their own ranks will be considered presently.

The Methodists also were well organised, and so we hear of Whitefield beginning a school for the children of colliers at Kingswood, whose first master was John Cennick. Orphanages arose in Georgia and then at Newcastle, early examples of that philanthropy which is so well evinced by Dr. Stephenson's Homes to-day.

It is from the Friends that there came a great development of elementary education, on a national scale. One of their members, Joseph Lancaster, began teaching poor children in 1798, and opened a room in the Borough Road, Southwark, in 1801, with the inscription over its doors:—"All who will may send their children and have them educated freely. Those who do not wish to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they please." The success was so rapid that he could not engage assistants enough, and devised the plan of monitors, elder scholars keeping order and helping in the teaching. This led on to his training teachers, and so effective were his methods that he won royal support, and by 1808 was founded what was soon known as the British and Foreign School Society. Its work extended fast, so that similar schools were opened in the interests of the Established Church: the sequence of events was summed up by Lord John Russell two generations later:—"The clergy of those days—even the liberal clergy—were generally opposed to the education of the poor; but finding the cause of education made progress they agreed, in 1811, to set up a society for founding and maintaining schools." Thus we may even say that the effective impulse towards the nation assuming the duty of educating all children was given by a Friend.

But there have always been adults who wish to make up their early deficiencies. In 1817 the Congregationalists of Kirkham established four Adult schools, but the effort was not maintained on those lines. Another experiment was made at Nottingham, but again it was the Society of Friends, which in 1845 began at Birmingham a movement which has spread widely, till now there are more than two thousand such schools associated and working on systematic lines.

## II.—SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

So far we have traced how Nonconformists had a substantial share in the great task of offering education to all comers. We now turn to consider what has been done in the field of secondary education, and we shall find that here some pioneering was accomplished.

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\* Barclay: Inner Life, 482.

This was especially seen in the character of the new schools established, even by men who had been bred in the old style. Take, for instance, Hanserd Knollys, who indeed had been touched with the spirit of the colonies, but returned to take a share in rebuilding the Mother Country. We often think of him as a preacher, but while that is true, he earned his living by keeping a school. In this he was so successful that he had amassed enough money by 1658 to buy a building on the old Artillery Ground in Spitalfields, outside the walls. This he re-modelled into a school, to which many city merchants sent their sons. It is somewhat surprising that while he prepared them for a commercial life, apprenticed out in some of the City companies, yet he was conservative enough to keep up the old classical traditions. This, however, is amply proved by the books which he wrote for the purpose, including grammars of Hebrew and Greek and Latin, and the roots of the New Testament. These little works of 1663 onwards may surprise us as intended for City apprentices, to whom they were dedicated; their importance lies largely in that he was independent enough to compose his own introductions and not rely on the ancient books, written by Latins for Latins. And this pioneer work was presently followed up by Jehudah Stennett with a little Hebrew grammar.

Bristol was then the chief port, where commerce was supreme. Edward Terrill devoted himself to a school preparing for this, and found it so remunerative that despite frequent fines, he left a large estate devoted to teaching, whence has grown up the Bristol Baptist College training for the ministry. Ecclesiastical bigotry was very strong at this city, and Colston expressly excluded dissenters from any benefit in his endowments. The challenge was at once taken up by the Friends, never prone to sit down meekly under persecution. As soon as the temporary Conventicle Act expired, they began negotiating for a school-master to teach in their meeting-house daily. By 1674 the work was actually begun, in the teeth of a new and permanent act, and the third successive master was of such education and value that he closed his career as Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

A generation later we see how the example of Knollys was improved, in that a layman, Thomas Crosby, kept a mathematical school on Horselydown in Southwark, where young gentlemen were boarded and taught arithmetic, algebra, geometry applied to measuring, surveying and gauging, trigonometry applied to navigation, geography and astronomy, the use of globes, charts and other mathematical instruments, with book-keeping. The school flourished for twenty years, and then an advertisement of 1740 shows a partner; and the premises were good enough to accommodate a church which was for a time without a building.

A few years later again, and Liverpool had come to the front as a port, with the result that John Holt and his son kept a mathematical and commercial school there, with a special eye on navigation and accounts. The advertisements of Crosby, offering to take pupils from a grammar school and qualify them speedily

for business, read singularly like those of modern Colleges of Business, or even like the crammers who make a speciality of Civil Service coaching; it is clear that the contempt of the practical man for Winchester and Dulwich and Shrewsbury is no recent growth.

Turn then to establishments which might compare with the ancient Grammar schools, and we shall see that Nonconformists could appreciate this side of education, while they were enlightened enough to improve it. The Restoration found some of them in masterships at such schools, and ejected all who would not fall in with the new order of things. So it fared with Sagar of Blackburn, who had such confidence in his own ability that he quitted the school, resigned the endowment, and opened a rival private school on the same lines, close at hand, to which many pupils followed him. So again with Thomas Delaune, who when ejected from a grammar school simply continued his work at his own risk. This was very real, and after repeated fines he turned to printing; but accepting in good faith a challenge from Dr. Benjamin Calamy, he was thrown into prison, where he died. Another successful master was Thos. Singleton, from Eton, who came near London and established himself in the rural village of Hoxton, where his school was conducted on the old traditional lines. A century later, the best classical school in all Wales was kept at Castlehowell for fifty years by David Davies.

If these were professional schoolmasters, there were many others, ministers, who, being ejected from their livings, sought to support themselves by teaching. Richard Adams, at Mountsorrel, was told by the justices that if he preached he would be sent to jail, but they would not object to his opening a school. The earliest notable case was at Coventry, where matters were perhaps facilitated by a Baptist butcher, John Hobson, being chosen mayor. Obadiah Grew at once started private tuition, and there is much correspondence in the State Papers as to the local feeling which prevented the enforcement of the laws. The most remarkable case was certainly that of Richard Frankland, who in the remote hamlet of Rathmell, near Giggleswick, built a fine school, to which pupils came from all over the north. He was too bold indeed, and had to flee to another hamlet, Natland, and had to stop altogether in the reaction after the Popish Plot. But when James II. began courting the dissenters, he opened again at Attercliffe, and when the Toleration Act secured liberty, he triumphantly reoccupied his school, which became a Nonconformist centre where synods and ordinations were held. Modern pilgrims say that though the premises are now used as a farm, the old bell that wakened the boarders is yet remembered as hanging on the wall. For twenty years one of his early pupils aided him, teaching French, Italian, German and Dutch. Of his 308 pupils, 47 went on to universities, especially Leyden; eleven became schoolmasters.

The number of people who earned their living as masters of schools, but are generally spoken of as ministers, is rather



surprising ; and the fact has to be borne in mind when we wonder at the low salaries paid by churches. Their pastors were often not whole-time men ; it may even be said that some pulpit duties were taken as a relaxation from the cares of running a school all week. This, too, may explain the decay of so many churches, which had only the remnants of a schoolmaster's energies. One recent expert even says that in the eighteenth century it was almost the rule that the Dissenting minister kept a private boarding school for boys. He cannot have become rich even so, for Caleb Rotheram at Kendal charged only twelve guineas a year, and left them to pay fire, candle and washing.

There were, however, many others who did divine that the work of teaching was honourable enough and important enough to claim all a man's thought and energy. Joseph Stennett did indeed take a pastorate, but he then disposed of his school. John Ward again, himself a pupil of a doctor whose sole occupation in Highgate and Clerkenwell was teaching, opened a rather high-class school. Mr. Brock told something about this in his study of Ward\* ; it need only be added that when he was chosen professor at Gresham, he sold the school to a former pupil, Isaac Kimber, who was thus enabled to serve a poor London church as pastor. Kimber in turn sold to Sandercock when he went down to Nantwich.

Ward's school brings us to a problem that exercised many teachers, the curriculum. Was it enough to continue on the old lines, teaching the same hackneyed subjects with the same ancient text-books ? Ward himself deliberately retained Latin as the medium of instruction, with the quip that its compulsory use greatly diminished the flow of chatter. And he was in excellent company, for right down to the middle of the eighteenth century we can trace the same habit. At the numerous excellent schools run by dissenters, both day and boarding, Latin text-books and Latin conversation were the rule. There was more to be said for this than we quickly recognise. Latin was still the language of scholars all over Western Europe, and it was the only tongue in which George I. and his prime minister could converse. Both therefore for scholastic purposes and for the Grand Tour it had real value. Text-books were written in Latin by Dutchmen like Erasmus, Moravians like Comenius, and the French educators of Port Royal. To adopt English meant to cut off pupils from the stream of continental life and thought, and to push them up what was at best a lagoon, even if somewhat spacious. And this was the more dangerous when Prussia was just entering on a course of compulsory universal education, intended to bring her, a small nation, to the front by sheer force of knowledge.

The question was ignored by most English teachers, but it was deliberately faced and discussed by the Society of Friends.

George Fox, as early as 1649, had been troubled as to the need for pious schools; ten years later a General Meeting at Skipton had bidden each particular meeting help parents in the education of their children. Fox had undertaken a tour of "our Latten schools," and was apparently not easy in his mind as to thoughtlessly perpetuating the old methods. The yearly meeting of 1690 urged that masters and mistresses be provided, faithful Friends, for teaching and instructing children. A meeting of schoolmasters was called, and as there were some fifteen schools approved by the Society, it is clear that there would be some experience to compare.\* After some prolonged deliberation, it was decided to disuse Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Terence, Ovid, Erasmus, Esop's fables, Corderius, &c., which had hitherto been used by Friends for the instruction of youth in the Latin tongue. It is true that the reasons were moral rather than scholastic, that "heathenish authors" were not deemed likely to be useful in forming the mind, or to be "agreeable to truth"; but whatever the motive, the fact stands that the Society did in 1705 convene an educational conference of experts, who did reform the curriculum. They were not averse to Latin as Latin, and even revised Lily's grammar, which had held its own for nearly two centuries, and was destined to trouble Etonians for years to come. Nor did they eschew the ancients, for Cato was introduced, with the Vulgate; but there also came in *Sententiæ pueriles*, Castalion's dialogues, *Academia celestis* or the heavenly university; while the value of modern Scotch educators was recognised in the adoption of Buchanan and Barclay.

The lead given by the Friends was not rapidly followed. An important school under Samuel Jones, a graduate of Leyden, held first at Gloucester, then at Tewkesbury, was conducted wholly in Latin; though there were such modern books as Locke; some of his MS. lectures are yet to be seen in Dr. Williams' Library, at the Memorial Hall, and at New College. The value of his work may be seen not only by the few pupils who became ministers, including Joep the first Bristol tutor and Andrew Gifford of Eagle Street, with Joseph Butler and Archbishop Chandler; but also in four Doctors of Medicine, Hollis the antiquary, an attorney, and a Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with two or three authors; no had record for twelve years. Now, Jones' school ended with his early death in 1719, and within a generation Latin had vanished as the medium of instruction. The transition is well marked by the practice of Doddridge at Northampton, who kept school from 1729 to 1751. At the beginning he was like Crosby, and would take lads from the grammar school, intending to give a finishing course; but the numbers grew, once touching sixty-three, so that he engaged two assistants. He himself lectured in English, and towards the end Latin had become almost an extra. In the second half of the century it would appear that a sound English education was the staple offered, in which

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\* Barclay: *Inner Life*, 496.

Latin might be studied as a subject of drill in grammar and for its introduction to the ancient literature, but was no longer used as the universal medium of communication between scholars.

Northampton was a great centre of Nonconformist education. Though Doddridge closed, John Collett Ryland brought his school from Warwick eight years later, and continued till he removed it to Enfield in 1786, when he devoted himself purely to scholastic work. During his Midland career, there was a flourishing girls' boarding school, kept by Martha Trinder from 1765 to 1789, to which pupils came from many parts; her merits are extolled on a tablet in the Baptist church. Her establishment was paralleled by others at Honiton, Bristol and Hackney; and indeed the Young Ladies' Seminaries of that period might occupy much attention in themselves.

We must, however, pass on to another great development which was contemporaneous with Ryland, the establishment of Public Schools, established or controlled by subscribers or governors or trustees, and not run at the pleasure of a headmaster. These were of course no invention of Nonconformists, for many Grammar Schools under the control of boroughs can be traced back to the Plantagenets, as at Preston. But Nonconformists had not had enough corporate solidity to establish similar institutions, though the Friends had undertaken to recognise, and to some extent control, many private ventures. There is one case, at Dukinfield, where a school can be traced through the eighteenth century in one building; but we are imperfectly informed as to its constitution and the composition of the governing body.

The new era dawned in the north, and almost simultaneously two institutions were founded. One was promoted by a Presbyterian minister of Warrington; he obtained many subscribers, the trustees secured premises in that town, and, what was more important, admirable teachers in Joseph Priestley, who took the opportunity to learn chemistry from a Baptist surgeon, and became the foremost scientist of his age, and Joseph Holt, the successful head of the Liverpool mathematical school. Although a great deal has been written about this school, so that we have full lists of the students, the curriculum, &c., yet it closed its doors in 26 years. The failure was due partly to putting a minister at its head, instead of either of the competent educationists, each of whom had already done good work independently; partly to a growing distrust of the religious views of the promoter, the trustees, and the headmaster; partly to the incompetence of the latter to maintain order, so that the school obtained a well-deserved bad name for rowdiness. It is fortunate, however, that the new departure in Nonconformist school management was vindicated by a lasting success. In 1758 the Friends, whose pioneer work in many ways has never been adequately recognised, formed a committee to consider the right direction for progress.\*

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\* Barclay: *Inner Life*, 550.

An Education Fund was soon raised, and presently a school was founded at Ackworth, near Pontefract, which continues to this day. So popular did it become, that presently many Friends, who had supported themselves by keeping approved schools, found their livelihood menaced. The seriousness of this problem may be seen when we note that in Ireland Mountmellick flourished from 1701 to 1782, that Shackleton at Ballitore had the training of Edmund Burke; but the corporate spirit triumphed, and a Nonconformist Public School was assured support against private interests. Another attempt was made by the Lancashire Presbyterians at Manchester; the institution was removed to York, then back again, then to London; and in 1853 it narrowed its scope to theology, so that the Manchester College, now at Oxford, no longer plays any part in general education. Without touching one or two other failures, attention may be called to Mill Hill, now in its second century, and to Sidcot, where private Friends had long taught, but where in 1809 the Society established its second Public School. Wigton followed in 1815, Bootham at York in 1823. Others with more than a hundred years to their credit are the Methodist school at Woodhouse Grove, midway between Leeds and Bradford, and the Congregational school at Caterham. Both were at first for the sons of ministers, like Wesley's foundation at Kingswood; but both have widened their scope to different degrees. So successful has the system of public management proved, that several schools originally private or proprietary have been transferred, and there are not many quarters of the kingdom where a parent cannot find a good Secondary School under permanent Nonconformist management.

From the Secondary School a boy or girl proceeds often to a university. Have Nonconformists done anything in this direction? They intended to, for Cromwell drew up plans to found one at Durham; but two centuries passed before there was any attempt to repeat the experiment. Meanwhile we must look again to the American colonies to see what Nonconformists desired and achieved. Harvard and Yale stand to the credit of the Independents; the Friends made an attempt in 1689 at Philadelphia, though the institution did not develop far enough. Presbyterians are responsible for what is now Princeton, and even in the throes of the War of Independence they endowed Virginia with a college commemorating Hampden-Sidney. It was in 1765 when the Baptists took their share, and obtained a charter for the Rhode Island College.

Funds for this were contributed from the Baptists of England, and the question soon arose whether they should not have a college of their own, at home. They did get so far as to establish a Bristol Education Society, absorbing the work initiated by Terrill nearly a hundred years before. Dr. Andrew Gifford was then minister at the Kingsgate church, one of the most cultured of Baptist pastors, a pupil of Samuel Jones and student at Gresham College, a fine antiquary, assistant librarian at the

British Museum, in touch with Scottish universities, peers, and even the king. He pleaded hard that the Society should seek for Bristol such a charter as had recently been granted, under the authority of the same king, for Providence. But the tutors were too timorous, the Society too little imaginative, and the opportunity was lost.

If, however, we are not slaves to words, and will look at facts, we may justly say that many of the better boarding-schools already mentioned, although they were private ventures, with only three or four teachers, were yet doing work of university rank. This was recognised at the time in various ways, for students from Taunton and three or four other schools were allowed terms at Leyden or the Scotch universities; some Anglicans actually preferred to send their sons to be taught by dissenters, rather than let them mark time at Oxford or Cambridge; Butler, who went to both, speaks of his years at the university as worse than wasted after his course with Samuel Jones. Thus, in reality, though without charters or permanence, Nonconformists did give for quite two generations the best university education in the kingdom.

The tendency of the nineteenth century has been to free education from all ecclesiastical control. Colleges indeed are still founded in connexion with one communion or another, but the older universities have been thrown open to all, and the newer are neutral in fact as well as in name. Towards this moulding of opinion, it may be thought that Nonconformists have done their share.

### III.—LITERATURE.

So far we have looked at the actual schools and schoolmasters; but an army in the field is helpless unless supplied with munitions, and with leadership in ideas. What have Nonconformists done in the way of school-books, of educational thought?

School-books are hardly literature, and we no longer live in a day which retains in use the classical works of Lily, Donatus, Euclid. It is therefore easy to forget that Milton not only taught pupils, but wrote an *Accidence* and compiled an enormous Latin Dictionary, printed after his death. Colonel Henry Danvers, a rather famous Baptist contemporary, compiled a little book of Proverbs which was in use for eighty years, edition after edition appearing. More dramatic was the venture of a young country tailor, Benjamin Keach, who drew up a *Primer in English* which excited such horror that he was honoured with a State Trial, and was placed in the pillory for it. The whole large edition was destroyed so utterly that he himself could never get a copy; that mattered little while he had his brains, and he rewrote it. It profited by the advertisement, and ran to many editions, both in England and Massachusetts, where good books were valued. Time would fail to tell of the publications.

by Tryon, Crosby, Isaac Watts, John Fawcett, John C. Ryland, John Evans, Walkden Fogg, John Collett, William Bengo Collyer, Hannah Neale. But perhaps some of us have learned from the Pennsylvania Friend who came to live near York, and whose grammar, written 120 years ago, has kept alive the fame of Lindley Murray.

From the arsenal turn to the admiralty; from writers of ephemeral text-books to masters of method. Here again Milton heads the list with his Tractate of Education. His somewhat nebulous ideas were by no means so practical as those of his contemporary Baptist, Richard Haines, a Sussex philanthropist, who put out many pamphlets as to industrial training and poor-law children. On his death, another thinker took up his plans, John Bellers, and was fortunate enough to enlist the sympathy of William Penn and other Friends in an attempt to realise them by voluntary effort. Another indefatigable theorist was Daniel Defoe, to whom is really due much of the modernising of method which we have already noted. A generation later, the leader was Joseph Priestley, who not only taught and investigated, but set forth his theories and his experience in a systematic treatise.

There is no long list of such writers, but this is a remark true for all England, and not for Nonconformists alone. Comenius, Frœbel, Pestalozzi, Montessori have few British analogues. Our national habit is not to think out *a priori*, but to experiment and occasionally to discard the outworn on *a posteriori* results, or, as unkindly critics put it, to muddle through without seeing how or why. When we look at the state of education at the beginning of the eighteenth century and at the end, we cannot but see four changes of great import, not to be paralleled for centuries before.

To begin with, education was freed from shackles, so that men who wished to teach might teach, without being subject to any veto. It may be that this opened the way to charlatans and to Dotheboys Hall, but a period of unrestrained liberty was a great gain; and even yet it has not given way to any control of teachers by teachers, as in the case of other professions in which men engage; the guiding principle remains yet that professional licence, if carried too far, will certainly bar the way to success.

Then, education was freed from the conventions of a dead past, and was related to the needs of daily life. The title of Priestley's essay, "A Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life," shows that the aim had been discerned, and clearly stated.

Thirdly, and as an obvious corollary, education was now imparted in English, even in its highest branches. The very universities had to recognise this needed change and to yield.

Lastly, with the barriers of law, custom, language thrown down, it had become evident that education must be offered to all, and that quite freely.

Such were the special contributions made to national education before the Victorian era by nonconformity ; subsequent advances are in the same general line and have been supported, if not initiated, by the Nonconformists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, even if it takes more care to isolate their special contribution.

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