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Congregational Historical Society

Annual Meeting

The usual Autumnal Meeting was held on Wednesday, 11th October, 1905, in one of the rooms of Trinity Congregational church, Leeds, Rev. J. Brown, D.D., in the chair.

Rev. BRYAN DALE, M.A., of Bradford, read a paper on the "History of Early Congregationalism in Leeds." Hearty thanks were voted to Mr. Dale for his paper, and he was requested to place it in the hands of the secretary for publication.

Rev. F. IVES CATER of Oundle then read an interesting paper on "Robert Browne at Achurch," illustrated with photographs of Browne's cottage, and of some pages of the Achurch register. It was shewn that Browne had not received prelatie ordination until after his appointment to Achurch; that during his entire incumbency he had a licensed curate; that local tradition, supported by several facts, is to the effect that his conformity was little more than nominal; and that the man whom, in his old age, he was supposed to have assaulted was one with whom he had long held strained relations. Some doubt was expressed as to his supposed insanity.

A discussion followed, in which mention was made of recent discoveries by Mr. Burrage (see "Notes and Queries"). Thanks were warmly accorded to Mr. Cater for the new facts he had brought to light, which appeared altogether favourable to Browne's character; and he was requested to place his paper in the hands of the secretary for publication. In complying with this request Mr. Cater intimated that he was hoping to clear up one or two still doubtful points by further examination of contemporary records.

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President : Dr. JOHN BROWN, B.A., Hampstead.

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- (a) Life Members, paying Twenty Guineas in lieu of Annual Subscription.
- (b) Honorary Members, paying an Annual Subscription of One Guinea at least.
- (c) Ordinary Members, paying an Annual Subscription of Five Shillings.

Subscriptions may be paid to the Treasurer or Secretaries; *see above*.

New members are entitled only to the *Transactions* and the other publications issued in the year they join. Subscriptions rank against the calendar year, *i.e.*, from January 1 to December 31.

New Facts relating to Robert Browne

THE new facts relating to Robert Browne, which, with considerable diffidence, I have the honour of bringing to your notice, can be arranged most naturally if I attempt to sketch in merest outline the life of Robert Browne from the time of his submission to the Established Church to the year of his arrest and last commitment to gaol.

I would remind you that the following is the account generally given of the order of events in Browne's life, from his return from Scotland in 1584 to his election to the mastership of St. Olave's, Southwark, in November, 1586: That, on his return in 1584, he was arrested by the Bishop of London, possibly imprisoned, cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, but, through the interposition of the Lord Treasurer, was released and sent to the care of his aged father at Tolethorpe: That, after a few months, Robert is allowed to reside in Stamford, thence in the spring of 1586 he goes to Northampton, preaches there, is cited by the Bishop of Peterborough, refuses to appear and therefore is excommunicated. Thereupon, Browne submits, and, having signed a guarantee of good behaviour, is elected master of St. Olave's, Southwark.

Now, there are several material points in which this account needs to be corrected. It is usually stated that the date of Browne's submission is uncertain. If, however, we can rely upon the unambiguous testimony of Stephen Bredwell (and

I know no reason to suspect that excellent contemporary witness) the date of Browne's submission can be fixed even to the day. For the double and independent testimonies of Fuller and Bredwell lead us to the conclusion that the result of Browne's interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in October, 1585, was the submission of Browne, there and then, to the Established Church, by written promise at least. Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer, in his letter to Browne's father dated "this eighth of October, 1585," gives the following account of the incident (Fuller, *Church History*, vol. 5, p. 65) :—"I thought good, considering he was your son, and of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury, in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable favour he could shew him, before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort ; He hath besides yielded unto his lordship such further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him" What this "further contentment" was S. Bredwell tells us in his *Rasing of the Foundations of Brownism* (London, 1588.) It was a formal written submission or subscription ; a document bearing Browne's own signature, and consisting of answers to several "interrogatories" (possibly four in number) in addition to the general subscription. Bredwell evidently had access to the original document, for not only does he quote parts of Browne's own version given in a "writing" against Bredwell (the *Answer* to Bredwell's *Admonition*), but he also quotes parts in what appear to be the very words of the manuscript.

What were the contents of that document? It contained among other matters these words (and I quote Bredwell's extracts) :—"I do humbly submit myself to be at my Lord of Cant. commandmēt,

whose authority under her Ma. I wil never resist nor deprave, by the grace of God etc.' " (p. 127). The third "interrogatorie" was "'Do you acknowledge the Church of England to be the church of Christ, or the church of God? and wil you promise to cōmunicate with the same in praiers, sacramēts & hearing of the word? & wil you frequent our Churches according to law or no?' to this he subscribed affirmatively" (p. 134). "His 4. interrogatorie was this 'Will you promise also quietly to behave your selfe, & to keepe the peace of this church and that you will not preach nor exercise the ministerie, unlesse you be lawfully called thereunto?' To this also hee answered affirmatively, & that he would perfourme the same accordingly" (p. 137). Lastly, Bredwell tells us (p. 140) "Besides the subscribing to these interrogatories, hee furthermore wrote his submission; a point or 2. whereof I will likewise set in the vewe of the Reader. 'Firstly' (saith he) 'I refuse not to communicate in the Sacraments. For I have one childe that is alreadie baptized, according to the order and lawe, and by this time in mine absence, if God have given my wife a safe deliverance, and the childe doe live, I suppose it is also baptized in like maner. Further, my servants being three, doe orderly come to their owne Parish Church, according to the lawe, and communicate also according to the Lawe.' Hereupon hee addeth 'To all these poyntes that they are true, I do subscribe with mine hand and name, this 7. of October, Anno Dom. 1585.'"

I would have you notice how well this date agrees with that of Burleigh's letter, viz., October 8th, 1585. Burleigh sends Browne home to his father upon the day after his submission. Thus we have two unimpeachable and independent contemporary witnesses testifying that the date of

Browne's submission was October 7th, 1585. Strange to relate, Dexter and all subsequent historians have confused this submission in October, 1585, with an incident in the following year, viz., Browne's signing his agreement to certain conditions upon his election to the mastership of St. Olave's in November, 1586. If Waddington's extracts from the minute book of the school are accurate, the two documents are totally different and separate. The following is the extract given by Waddington (*Historical Papers*, 1st series, pp. 46, 47):—

“Item. The 21st day of November A.D. 1586, was chosen to be schoolmaster Robert Browne, upon his good behaviour & observing these articles hereunder written—

“First. That you shall not intermeddle with the minister or disturb the quiet of the parishioners by keeping any conventicles or conference with any suspected or disorderly persons.

“Secondly, That you shall bring your children to sermons & lectures in the church & there accompany them for their better government.

“Thirdly. If any error shall be found in you & you are convinced thereof, that you shall, upon admonition thereof, revoke it & conform yourself to the doctrine of the Church of England.

“Fourthly. You shall read in your school no other catechism then is authorized by public authority.

“Fifthly. That you shall, at convenient times, communicate in this parish, according to the laws.

“Sixthly. Not being contented to answer & keep these articles, no longer to keep the schoolmastership, but to avoid it.

“Subscribed by me Robert Browne, according to my answers, before all the governors & the distinctions & exceptions named.”

The “submission” in October, 1585, defined Browne’s general outward attitude towards the State Church, and lays down the conditions upon which he obtained release from imprisonment. The “subscription” in November, 1586, defines his attitude towards the parish of Southwark and lays down the conditions of his tenure of the office of schoolmaster of St. Olave’s. It is regrettable that these two distinct documents have been confused.

After his submission on the 7th of October, 1585, Browne retired to the scene of his boyhood, his father’s home, Tolethorpe Hall, carrying with him Burleigh’s letter. His father’s expectations as to his full conformity were disappointed, and it was soon apparent that the reconciliation to the ecclesiastical authorities was not as complete as it could be. The father wrote to Burleigh to ask permission for his son to reside elsewhere than at Tolethorpe, a permission which Burleigh granted on February 17th, 1585/6. It is difficult to say whether Robert availed himself of that freedom. Probably he did not; for very shortly afterwards we find him getting into trouble again with the authorities, this time at Little Casterton, the parish in which Tolethorpe Hall is situated. The fortunate discovery of an entry in the Peterborough diocesan records brings to light a hitherto unknown incident in Browne’s life. The churchwardens of Little Casterton appear to have presented Robert Browne and his wife as recusants to Richard Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, who started a suit against them in his Chancellor’s Court. The case was brought before Mr. Richard Fletcher, S.T.P., surrogate of Henry Hickman,

vicar-general of the bishop, and was heard "in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary within the Cathedral Church of Peterborough." There were three hearings, on April 19th, May 5th, and June 25th, 1586, respectively. The charge brought against him was "that he will not come to the Church," and the same charge was brought against his wife. At the second hearing the case was *in statu quo*. On coming up for the third hearing it was stated that the case had been transferred to the bishop's cognizance, and that a personal interview had taken place. It is doubtful whether a record of this interview remains, nor is it easy to say what was the issue of it. Probably Browne was persuaded again to promise outward conformity. In any case I venture to suggest that this citation, trial, and personal interview are the plain historical events out of which grew the improbable and unauthenticated story of Browne's excommunication.

Nothing further is known of Browne until his appearance at St. Olave's, Southwark, as school-master. I will not deal in this paper with the period of his life spent at Southwark beyond remarking that in Bredwell's book there is abundant and conclusive evidence that Browne's conformity was hardly even of the letter, and certainly not of the spirit.

At what date Browne resigned his mastership I cannot say. It must have been early in the year 1591, for in the *Institution Book* among the Peterborough diocesan records occurs an entry of which the following is a translation:—"On the thirtieth day of June, Anno Domini 1591, Robert Browne, clerk, was admitted and instituted to the rectory of the ecclesiastical parish of Little Casterton in the county of Rutland and diocese of Peterborough," etc. The patron of Little Casterton was

Francis Browne, Robert's eldest brother, and the occupant of Tolethorpe Hall at that time. The entry is incomplete, for there is no signature, an unusual omission. In the bishop's visitation of that year Mr. Robert Browne appears as rector; but in November of the same year Philip Browne, Robert's elder brother, was instituted, and the records give one the impression that Robert in the meantime had been deprived. However, on the second of September, 1591, Robert was admitted and instituted rector of the parish of Achurch-cum-Thorpe Waterville, in Northamptonshire. The entry indicates that the living, by lapse of time, had reverted to the patronage of the Crown. Thus again is Browne indebted to the kind offices of his kinsman and protector, Lord Treasurer Burleigh. Browne signs this entry with his own hand, but in both the entry and his signature his name is spelt "Broowne."

The next record I have to call your attention to is one of great interest and importance. It is none other than that of Browne's ordination, and runs as follows:—"On the last day of September, 1591, Robert Browne, Bachelor in Arts of Corpus Christi Cambridge was admitted to the holy orders of deacon and priest." This valuable entry enables us to make two positive statements answering at once two questions which have hitherto baffled all students of Browne's life. First, Browne was not ordained by the Bishop of Ely while at Cambridge (*circa* 1578); for, had he been, that ordination would have been valid in 1591. ("The bishops seales," of which he speaks in his account of his Cambridge life, *A true and short Declaration*, etc., was probably only a licence to preach.) Secondly, Browne was never excommunicated; for, had that extreme course been taken by Bishop Howland against him, he would have been "reconciled" to

the Church and not ordained *de novo*. The date of Browne's ordination seems late, but in mediæval times a presentee was allowed a year within which he must take holy orders.

Robert Browne was rector of Achurch-cum-Thorpe Waterville for the long period of forty-two years, and most of those years are shrouded in darkness. What glimpses of the man we do get increase our interest in and deepen our sympathy with him. The parish register, so faithfully kept by him, contains many comments upon the persons whose names occur there; and these comments, so far from being "always uncalled for and sometimes severe," as Dexter states, appear to me to be generally useful and always kindly and indicative of a genuine interest in his parishioners. Since I hope to be permitted to publish my transcript of these entries in a future issue of the *Transactions*, I will not deal further with them here.

Browne appears to have employed preachers or curates during the whole of his incumbency. The first we meet with is a Mr. Wells, who even married a couple in 1603,—the only instance we have of Browne leaving that duty to his curate, except for the period of his absence (1616-26). From the Peterborough diocesan records we learn that on January 11th, 1611, "Robert Thirlby (?) A.M. of Achurche" was licensed to teach. On December 18th, 1614, Jacobus Southwell, A.M., was licensed to serve the cure of Achurch so far as pertains to the office of priest. On September 24th, 1615, Robert Henson, clerk, A.B., was licensed to serve the cure of Achurch in the office of deacon. On April 15th, 1622, John Barker, clerk, A.M., received two licences: (1) To serve the cure of Achurch, and (2) to preach. Arthur Smith was curate, we know, from June, 1616, till April, 1621, but I have not yet found the record of his licence.

Whether Browne himself preached from the pulpit of Achurch or not we cannot positively say. Probably he did not. He appears to have discharged no parochial duties whatever from June, 1616, to June, 1626, that period when the parish register was filled up by other hands than Browne's. And here we reach the most tantalizing problem of Browne's life. Where was he from 1616 to 1626, and what doing? Dexter suggests that Browne, for a long time tottering in intellect, here tumbles entirely into the pit of insanity, and was sequestered for a while. I do not propose to argue the point now (my object being only to state new facts relating to Robert Browne), but I will venture to say that I cannot find sufficient proof anywhere to justify Dexter's theory of madness. The evidence he alleges has, in my opinion, been misinterpreted, and there are several scraps of evidence destructive of his theory. My own theory is that from 1616 to 1626 Robert Browne gave up even those few official duties he had hitherto discharged as rector, that he might give exclusive ministerial oversight to a Brownist congregation he had formed at Thorpe Waterville, in his own parish. This much we do know, that Browne lived for a period of his life in a thatched house at Thorpe Waterville, still in existence, and called by the villagers even to this day "The Old Chapel," or "The Chapel House." This house, which, until a few years ago, bore the date 1618 on its chimney, contained, at its west end, a large room or hall, measuring about 24 feet by 15, and well suited to be the meeting-place of a small nonconforming congregation. This hall was entered by a round-headed door on the west side (quite a separate door from that to the house proper) and contained at least one narrow window, somewhat ecclesiastical in appearance, now bricked up. The house is at present occupied

by a Mrs. Smith Morris. Her late husband was born in it, and could remember several structural alterations to have been made ; all, in fact, that I shall mention. The hall was altered by the father of the late Mr. Smith Morris, who divided it into two portions by a brick wall, throwing one portion into the dwelling part of the house, and at present it is used as a kitchen. Possibly the present kitchen window occupies the place of an earlier narrow window similar to the one above mentioned. The remaining portion of the hall is used as a barn, a new doorway having been made and the old round-headed one boarded up. The central portion of the house contained the dwelling rooms of the family. The east end of the house contained what was formerly Browne's granary, but the door has been bricked up and the room is now converted into a bedroom. Near to the house on the east side there still stands a large barn, called by all the villagers even now "The Tithe Barn." Between that and the granary stood Browne's stables, but these were pulled down some 25 years ago. I have made many careful enquiries among the older inhabitants of the village, and they all give much the same story, viz., that a parson of Achurch was turned out, built this chapel house, held services there, and ended his days in gaol. The father of the late Mr. Smith Morris first lived in the house about 1802, and he used to tell the same story. I have not been able to trace the tradition farther back, but it is quite possible that Mr. Smith Morris, senior, knew some of the lineal descendants of Browne, for we know that there were some living in the parish in the last decade of the 18th century, and there may be some even now. The tradition is firmly held by all the villagers. The evidence in support is only circumstantial, yet it is strong. We have the

disappearance of Browne's handwriting from the Achurch register, the date on the chimney of this old house, the ecclesiastical style of the hall, the presence of the tithe barn and granary, the statement of Bridge that Browne lived in this very house (Bridge's *Northamptonshire*, although not published till 1791, was written much earlier in the century), Fuller's testimony, and, lastly, the continuity of the tradition.

Some reference may be expected to the "schism" entries in the Achurch register and their relation to this theory. There are nine such entries containing the words "in schism," as, for example, "Joane Greene the daughter of Sylvester Greene baptized in schism at Lilford." I propose to discuss these entries when I publish the register; I fear they do not throw any clear light on our problem, for the first three of these entries occur in 1616 and are not in Browne's hand. Were that fact to stand alone it would be a strong argument in favour of the above theory, but in 1629, 1630, and 1631, occur six more "in schism" entries, and these are in Browne's hand. At present I am not prepared with an explanation of this curious feature of the register.

But one of these "schism" entries helps us to see the closing incident in Browne's life at Achurch in a clearer light. I refer to the entry:—"November 7. 1630. A child of my ungracious Godsonne Robert Greene, baptized elsewhere in schism." From the use of "ungracious" in this entry, and from certain other entries, it seems that Browne had quarrelled with the Greens. Fuller tells us that this godson of Browne's was the constable of the parish, who "somewhat roughly & rudely required payment of a rate." Doubtless this uncourteous conduct towards poor old Browne sprang out of the long standing quarrel, and the strained

relations account for the fact that Browne "happened in passion to strike him." I take it to have been an accident—the old man's sudden resentment of the repeated insults of a young man towards whom he had stood in a relation almost parental. And this is the last glimpse we have of this remarkable man.

The new facts I have had the honour of bringing before you will necessitate a reconstruction of judgment concerning Browne. A more careful examination of his life and opinions will tend to shew that, while Browne clearly grasped and enunciated the ideal of Congregationalism, he did not advance to the position of independency of State establishment. He struggled for a spiritual conception of the Church, an *ecclesia* of the godly, a company of the "most forward," not identical with the parish. Early in life he failed to convert England to this ideal, and in Holland they failed to actualise it. But for his aristocratic connections, above all his great protector the Lord Treasurer, doubtless Brown would have perished. Coerced by family pressure, Browne promised formal conformity. Probably he promised not to print and publish any more books, which may be the reason why the various works he wrote after October, 1585 (and we know of five or perhaps six) were sent abroad in "sundrie written copies" only. At Achurch he regards himself as a mere State official, a parish officer, and scrupulously discharges all parochial duties, takes a humane interest in his parishioners, but finds his heart to live chiefly in the spiritual ministrations to the *ecclesia* which met in the old thatched house at Thorpe Water-ville.

F. IVES CATER.

Oundle.

The History of Early Congregationalism in Leeds

ABOUT the year 1538 John Leland, the antiquary, wrote "Leedis 2 miles lower than Christal [Kirkstall] Abbey on Aire Ryver is a praty market, having one Paroche Church. The town standeth most by clothing." Leeds standeth most by clothing still, being the metropolis of the woollen manufacture; and the "praty market" has grown into one of our principal cities.

At the date just mentioned public worship was conducted in the "one paroche church" in accordance with the old order of religion. But the first steps of the Reformation had been taken. Henry VIII. had broken with the Pope, and become "the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," with power "to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies and other enormities and abuses." After much controversy and many changes the Anglican Church was constituted in government, doctrine and worship substantially what it is at the present time. The people of Leeds fell in with the new order of religion without opposition. But, as Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, remarks, "the Reformation went on by very slow paces till the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the deservedly famous Mr. Robert Cooke revived a deep sense of true religion and piety." He was vicar from 1590 to 1614, a notable disputant in the Roman Catholic controversy and a diligent preacher of Protestant or Puritan doctrine. Of Puritanism as a revolt against "popish" vestments and ceremonies in the Anglican Church there is at this

period little trace ; and absolutely none of any Separatist movement like that which took place at Scrooby on the borders of Yorkshire.

Robert Cooke was succeeded by his brother Alexander Cooke, who was a still more zealous opponent of Roman Catholicism. He was also something of a Nonconformist ; for on his presentation to the vicarage by the trustees of the living, some of the inhabitants signed a petition against him stating that " he had been deprived of a former benefice for his nonconformity and not subscribing, &c., and continued in the same schismatic disposition." At his death in 1632 he was succeeded by Henry Robinson, who was looked upon as a Puritan, and " much resorted to by the Puritan party for direction and advice," but who at a later date lost his living on account of his Royalist zeal.

Two years later (1634) a second church, St. John's, was built in Leeds by Mr. John Harrison, a wealthy benefactor ; and (with reference to the choice of the first minister of the new church) Archbishop Neile, a friend and supporter of Laud in his rigorous repression of the Puritans, wrote to him " Against the conceit that the people ought to have the choice of their minister I am resolutely opposed " (September 15). A few days afterwards (September 21) the archbishop came to Leeds to consecrate the new church ; and when his chaplain, Dr. Cosin, in his morning sermon strongly insisted upon the necessity of a rigid conformity, and Robert Todd, the newly appointed incumbent, preaching in the afternoon, said something that seemed to be at variance therewith, the latter was forthwith suspended from his office for twelve months ; and it was only by the urgent solicitation of Mr. Harrison and Sir Arthur Ingram of Temple Newsam that the suspension was removed. Shortly afterwards (1636) Joshua Hill, a devoted

Puritan minister at Bramley (one of the eight chapels connected with the parish church) was cited to appear in the Archbishop's Court at York for "not wearing the surplice, and for other acts of nonconformity"; but a few hours before the summons reached his house the good man had gone where episcopal mandates are of no account.

These instances of Puritan conviction and episcopal severity, though slight in comparison with what occurred elsewhere, are sufficient to shew the tendency of the times that preceded the Puritan Revolution, in which Puritan and patriot became one in their struggle for liberty in Church and State.

The Puritan Revolution, 1640-60

At the commencement of the Civil War Leeds was held by the Royalist army, and besieged by the Parliamentarians under Sir Thomas Fairfax (23 January, 1643); and when one of the Parliamentarian companies gained an entrance into the defensive works near the bridge, Jonathan Schofield, the Puritan minister at Cross-stone chapel, near Todmorden, led the singing of the first verse of the 68th psalm.

Let God arise and scattered
 Let all His enemies be;
 And let all those who do Him hate
 Before His presence flee.

The town was taken after a two hours' fight. The royalist vicar, Robinson, escaped with others by swimming on horseback across the river, and he never returned, but settled down in a quiet country parsonage, where he remained undisturbed to the end of his days. In the following year

(July 2, 1644), the victory of Marston Moor assured the supremacy of Parliament. Great ecclesiastical changes were effected. Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer were set aside. As the price of the assistance of the Scots in the war, the Solemn League and Covenant against "popery and prelacy" was adopted and generally swallowed by clergy and laity. Measures were also taken by Parliament to establish a national Presbyterian Church on the ruins of episcopacy; but these measures were never fully carried out, owing to the opposition of the Independents and the army under Cromwell, who sought a larger toleration than such a system permitted.

In consequence of the prevalence of the plague in Leeds, which swept away 1,300 persons, the parish church was shut up from July, 1645, to April, 1646. During this anxious period Robert Todd remained faithfully at his post. He was a strong Presbyterian; rendered such doubtless by the arbitrary treatment of Archbishop Neile and by still more cogent reasons. In 1648, along with Thomas Hawksworth, minister of the parochial chapel at Hunslet, and Joseph Bodin, lecturer at the parish church, he signed the *Vindiciae Veritatis*, a pamphlet in which 41 Presbyterian ministers of the West Riding declared: "We abhor and protest against a toleration of all consciences and worship . . . and as we cannot approve or allow of Independency or Erastianism, so we are resolved by the Grace of God never to consent to the toleration of Arianism, &c., &c., or any erroneous opinions whatever . . . And we are resolved to act (upon the order recently passed by Parliament), patiently waiting for the full establishment of this Presbyterian government in all the parts thereof." But that full establishment never came. "The triumph of the army," as Dr.

Shaw remarks, "struck a death-blow at the Presbyterian discipline. Its discipline lost its penal sanction." Elders might be appointed and "classical presbyteries" formed, but they were destitute of coercive authority. Mr. Todd, nevertheless, "set up discipline" at St. John's in December, 1649, his assistant being James Sale, a native of Pudsey. Some years later (1655) we find reference to a "classical presbytery" at Leeds, Thomas Hawkesworth, of Hunslet, being moderator, and James Sale, scribe. But this was simply a voluntary association of a few ministers for ordination purposes. Leeds was largely of Presbyterian sentiments; and the Presbyterians were bitterly disappointed at the failure of their scheme of Church government, for the most part unfavourable to Cromwell's rule, and desirous of the Restoration.

When the parish church was reopened after the plague in April, 1646, a new vicar appeared in the pulpit, *viz.*, Peter Saxton, M.A., a native of Bramley, who had just returned from New England, whither he had fled to escape prosecution on account of his nonconformity. On his homeward voyage, it is said, the ship was overtaken by a violent storm, and in imminent peril of foundering, and when the mariners, who could not be brought to pray before, came trembling to him like dying men, they found him in an ecstasy, with his arms stretched out toward heaven, and exclaiming (in his native dialect), "Hey for Heym! Hey for Heym!" (Oh, who is now for Heaven! Who is bound for Heaven!). He did not sign the *Vindiciae Veritatis*, and was probably more of a Congregationalist than a Presbyterian. His ministrations were not acceptable to all; yet he was a pious and learned divine, and being a great Hebrew scholar constantly carried his Hebrew

Bible with him into the pulpit. Although accustomed to use in his sermons many homely expressions that made his hearers smile, he often by his pathos melted them into tears. At his death in October, 1651, he was succeeded by William Styles, formerly of Hull, a Puritan royalist, who lived to witness the restoration of Charles II., for which he had often prayed.

Now it was while Mr. Styles was vicar that there came (in 1656) to be his assistant as lecturer at the parish church one who must be accounted the father of Congregationalism in Leeds. This was Christopher Nesse. He was born at North Cave in the East Riding in 1621, admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, May 17, 1638, aged 16, and graduated M.A. In 1642 he settled at Beverley, where he kept a school and was assistant preacher at the minster. Here he became associated with John Oxenbridge, M.A. (the friend of Andrew Marvell), a decided Congregationalist, and was instructed by him more fully in the Congregational way. Oxenbridge was admitted to the Congregational church at Yarmouth (of which William Bridge, one of the five Dissenting Brethren in the Westminster Assembly of Divines was pastor) Nov. 5, 1643, "and was assistant thereunto, improving his gifts and abilities for the edification of the same." In the minutes of that church it is recorded that on August 13, 1644, "John Oxenbridge and Jeane Oxenbridge (his wife) were dismissed to the furtherance of the work of God in Yorkshire." Soon afterwards we find him preaching at Beverley Minster. He is said by Cotton Mather to have become pastor of a church at Beverley in 1644, and Edwards, the Presbyterian, says that an Independent church was formed there in that year. He remained four or five years. When, in 1650, Dr. Winter of Cottingham,

also a Congregationalist, was appointed provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Christopher Nesse succeeded him there, and ministered with much success until his removal to Leeds "in a far larger harvest-labour, having some thousands of hearers." He had been acquainted with William Styles when vicar of Hessle-cum-Hull, and to this fact we must attribute the invitation to become his assistant.

No Congregational or "gathered church" existed in Leeds at this time. There were only three such churches in the whole of the surrounding district, *viz.*, at Woodchurch (West Ardsley), near Morley, under Christopher Marshall from New England; at Sowerby under Henry Roote; and at Bradford-dale, now represented by Kipping Congregational church, Bradford. If there were any others all records of them have been lost. The formation of a free, spiritual society, self-governing and independent of external control, was comparatively a new thing, at least in the north of England; it was only possible where there were a few persons individually convinced of its necessity; it involved (as was felt) a very serious responsibility on the part of those who took part therein; and it demanded the most careful and prayerful consideration. It is not surprising therefore that Christopher Nesse, occupying as he did a subordinate position at the parish church, and having around him several fellow-ministers who were by conviction Presbyterians, should not attempt such an enterprise. All he could do was to imbue his hearers and friends with his own principles as he had opportunity. And that he did so we know from the statement, to which reference will be presently made, that it was in the heart of many of them to "embody themselves" in a Congregational church at the time of the Restoration.

II The Restoration, 1660-72

With the restoration of Charles II. episcopacy came back into power, the Book of Common Prayer was re-introduced, sequestered incumbents who were still living were restored to their places, and a proclamation was issued against holding conventicles or religious meetings outside parochial churches and chapels. On the death of the vicar, old Mr. Styles, March 16, 1661, a strong popular feeling was manifested in favour of the appointment of Edward Bowles, an eminent preacher at York Minster ; but he was set aside for John Lake, a high Anglican, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester and a non-juror ; and such was the opposition to the latter that it was found necessary to call on a troop of horse to secure his induction. Mr. Bowles was a Presbyterian, and had taken a prominent part in bringing back the king. He lived long enough to regret with other Presbyterians the success of their endeavours.

After Lake became vicar it was speedily made evident that Christopher Nesse could be no longer lecturer at the parish church. "I was forced from my pulpit at Leeds," he says, "for teaching the doctrine that all divine worship must have a divine warrant ; preaching ever after thereabout where God opened a door." He then joined the fellowship of the Congregational church at Woodchurch, April 21, 1661, and preached for a while at the old parochial chapel of St. Mary's, Morley, which was in the hands of Nonconformist ministers. The Act of Uniformity had now come into force (24 August, 1662), and it was followed by the Conventicle Act (1664), the Five Mile Act (1665), and the New Conventicle Act (1670), all which were designed to render the existence of

religious communities outside the Anglican Church impossible.

Here some notice must be taken of the other ejected ministers in the parish of Leeds. (2) Robert Todd, the Presbyterian, when ejected at St. John's, "though he mourned in secret, continued his attendance on public worship, and afterwards preached privately in his own house, till his last sickness; when R. Cholmley, Esq., in gratitude for the good he had received under his ministry, desired his leave to send for a physician. 'No,' says he, 'there is but one in England who can do me good, and that is King Charles, by giving me liberty to preach.'" He died Jan. 16, 1664. His assistant, (3) James Sale, retired to Pudsey and joined his venerable friend, Elkanah Wales, in holding private meetings there. In addition to these three (out of the four ministers in the borough), others were ejected at the parochial chapels, *viz.*, (4) Thomas Hawksworth, the Presbyterian, at Hunslet, who was driven by the Five Mile Act to Alverthorpe, Wakefield, and died there in 1667; (5) Robert Armitage at Holbeck, who was also driven away by the same Act, but subsequently returned, held meetings at Lillbury House, and lived to a good old age; "so far was he from a party spirit that it was never known whether he was Presbyterian, Congregational or Episcopalian"; (6) Nicholas Cudworth at Beeston, an Independent; and his assistant (7) Leonard Scurr; (8) Lloyd of Farnley; and (9) Bovill of Bramley. The master of the grammar school (10), John Garnet, M.A. (son-in-law of Mr. Todd), also lost his place for his nonconformity. After their ejection these ministers sometimes ventured to preach in parochial chapels when they were vacant, or the incumbent consented to their doing so; but they could not, of course, erect any meeting-places

of their own, nor even assemble for worship in private houses without exposing themselves to severe penalties. In their common sufferings, however, they were drawn more closely together in sympathy and service, the old contentions between Presbyterians and Independents were laid aside, and if they formed churches or religious societies, these societies, though often called Presbyterian, were substantially Independent.

After Christopher Nesse was driven from Morley by the Five Mile Act he went to reside at Clayton, near Bradford, and frequently preached to the Congregational society or church in Bradford Dale and in other places. He formed an intimate friendship with Oliver Heywood, ejected at Coley, who was deservedly styled by Thoresby "that good man, itinerant preacher or apostle of these parts." He held "fasts" and other religious services with him, and he is referred to in his diary in a very pathetic note: "1669, April 5. This day Mr. Nesse buries his sweet son that was wont to ride abroad with him. Oh, why was it not my case?" The boy, seven years of age, was interred at Bradford parish church. When persecution became somewhat less violent Mr. Nesse bought a house in Hunslet, where he kept a school; and in 1669 we find him mentioned in the Returns of Conventicles made to Archbishop Sheldon, viz., "Hunslet, Nesse; Holbeck, Armitage; Leeds, Naylor and Smith." According to the same returns Nesse often preached at Shadwell, Coley, Pudsey and Tong.

Being a corporate town Leeds was a dangerous place for conventicles, especially when, as was often the case, the mayor and justices were inimical to Nonconformists, whom, as Thoresby says, they commonly called by "the odious name of Presbyterians," and were zealous in executing the iniquitous laws passed for their suppression.

Yet men like Heywood fearlessly visited and preached in the town and its vicinity. He sometimes held service in the public chapels at Hunslet, Bramley and Shadwell, and more frequently in private dwellings; and he has recorded in his diary the names of many worthy men who faithfully stood by the ejected ministers and, in spite of danger, threw open their houses for their ministrations. Such were Ralph Spencer (a merchant of Meadow Lane, Hunslet), Robert Hickson of Briggate, Joseph Jackson, Samuel Ellison, James Moxon, Matthew Boyse (who had returned from New England), Samuel Goodall and others too numerous to name. On one occasion, when Heywood was preaching at William Thomson's, Kirkstall, the meeting was broken in upon by a constable, a justice of the peace (Ald. Foxcroft), and two others; but Heywood escaped by "a private way into the barn" (May 25, 1668), and immediately afterwards went into Leeds and preached as he had often done before. On another occasion when preaching at Little Woodhouse (March 14, 1670), he was apprehended by the constables, and carried before the mayor, Ald. Godfrey Lawson, who "treated him like a fury" and put him into the common prison, where he spent the night, but through the mediation of friends was released on the following day.

Two other ejected ministers (both of them Congregationalists) must be mentioned among the faithful witnesses of those days. One is Thomas Hardcastle, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, who after his ejection at Bramham preached at Shadwell chapel (1664), in the absence of a regular minister, and was once and again arrested with some of his hearers, and imprisoned at Leeds, at Wakefield, and in York Castle. The other is Timothy Roote (son of Henry Roote),

ejected at Sowerby Bridge, who was also apprehended for preaching at Shadwell (28 August, 1670), conveyed to York, "put into the low gaol with 12 thieves, had double irons laid on him for four days"; and was at length released through the urgent intercession of Capt. Hodgson, the old Independent, of Coley. These instances (and many others of a similar kind might be given) shew how these Nonconformists laboured and suffered during the ten years that followed "Black Bartholomew day." Then came a break in the storm.

III The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672

Charles II. assumed the power of dispensing with the penal laws against Nonconformists (though with less regard for them than for Roman Catholics, of whom he was really one), and issued his Declaration of Indulgence, March 15, 1672, stating that there was very little fruit of all those forcible courses and many frequent ways of coercion that had been used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons, and allowing a convenient number of public meeting-places to men of all sorts that did not conform, provided they took out licences, &c. Of this liberty Nonconformists freely availed themselves. In Yorkshire 75 licences were taken out for ministers, besides about an equal number for places not their own houses; 47 being denominated Presbyterian teachers, 25 Congregational or Independent, two Anabaptist, and one Antinomian (though these designations cannot always be relied upon). But the time of liberty was brief. The Cavalier Parliament being still in existence, fully set upon the maintenance of the absolute supremacy of the Church of

England, and opposed to all toleration, whether of Nonconformists or Roman Catholics, induced the king by the refusal of supplies to annul his declaration twelve months later (March 7, 1673). And when meetings continued to be held he issued a fresh order for their suppression (Feb. 3, 1675).

In Leeds one of the first of the licences was granted to (1) Christopher Nesse, to teach in the Main-riding House, Leeds, as a Congregationalist (May 2, 1672). Main-riding was the name of a district of the town, and the house referred to was situated in Water Lane, "beyond the bridge." Heywood notes in his diary that on June 5th, 1672, he "preached in Mr. Nesse's new meeting-house and had a very great auditory." Here the first Congregational church was formed soon afterwards, and here Nesse preached for about three years, when he was compelled by persecution to flee to "another city."

Another licence was granted to (2) James Sale (of Pudsey) to teach at a house called Free School House at Leeds Town-end, as a Presbyterian; and another to (3) Thomas Sharp (an ejected minister of Horton, Bradford), for the same place. Here a second congregation met before the erection of Millhill chapel, the first public service in which was held on the 25th March, 1674. Ralph Thoresby says of the latter: "It is said to be the first and is certainly one of the stateliest fabricks (supported by a row of pillars and arches *more ecclesiarum*) built upon that occasion in the north of England." It cost £400, which was contributed by John Thoresby (the father of Ralph) and others, who held it as their common property. Shortly after it was opened two bailiffs informed against 50 persons being at Millhill, May 24 and June 6, 1674; but these bailiffs were convicted of perjury at York, and the Nonconformists suffered no

penalty. At the same time John Thoresby and others were indicted at York for "being at a conventicle at Leeds in a house called Sybill's." A little later in the same year (August 26, 1674), when service was being conducted at Millhill by (4) Cornelius Todd (son of the late minister at St. John's), who had licence, as an Independent, "to preach in or nigh the town of Leeds or elsewhere," six officers came into the meeting and the constable said the mayor charged them to desist that work in that place, but Mr. Todd boldly replied, "Are you not Christians? And surely you will not be worse to us than heathens were to Paul, who had liberty to preach in heathen Rome?" They took up their rebuke and departed. The regular minister at Millhill at this time was (5) Richard Stretton, who had been chaplain to Lord Fairfax, and who on his removal to London in 1677 was succeeded by Thomas Sharp, before mentioned, who remained till his death.

The Main-riding House and Millhill meeting-house were the two principal licensed centres of Nonconformity at Leeds; but several other licences were taken out, indicating the prevalence of Nonconformity in the town. James Sale had an additional licence for teaching in the house of James Moxon, Leeds, June 10; and (6) Joseph Dawson (ejected at Thornton chapelry, Bradford), had licence for a new brick house in Briggate, Leeds, Presbyterian, May 11. The house of Sybil Dawson, widow, was licensed for Congregational teaching, June 10; also the house of Joseph Jackson, Presbyterian, Dec. 9; and of Ralph Spencer, Presbyterian, Dec. 23. At Holbeck, (7) Robert Armitage had licence for a certain house called Lillbury House, May 2, and was indicted at York for a conventicle at his house, June 7, 1674; and (8) Timothy Roote, before mentioned, for the

house of Samuel Goodall, May 29, and for that of Samuel Ellison. Most of these meeting-places were of temporary duration, owing to the renewal of persecution. But the Declaration of Indulgence was of greater importance than is usually attributed to it, and has been said to be the true beginning of English Dissent. It gave an impulse to Nonconformity which could never be effectually checked. To use the language of a contemporary, who was bitterly opposed to it: "It was the most violent blow that had been given to the Church of England from the day of the Restoration. All sectaries now publicly repaired to their meetings and conventicles; nor could all the laws afterwards, and the most rigorous execution of them, ever suppress these Separatists or bring them to due conformity." (*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*).

BRYAN DALE, M.A.

[To be continued]

Nonconformity in Carnarvonshire in 1672

AFTER writing the article which appeared in the last issue of the *Transactions* I spent part of my holiday in south Carnarvonshire, and made researches on the spot, with the hope of clearing up the difficulties which beset the identification of "Ty'nycoed" and "Yin y crie." The outcome of my investigation has been entirely to revolutionize the conclusions at which I had previously arrived.

I personally visited all the parishes in south Carnarvon, inspected carefully all the earliest parish registers in Edern (or Edeyrn), Llanbedrog cum Llangian, Pwllheli (then Deinio), Llanarmon and Llangybi, as well as personally examined the celebrated gravestone to John Williams in Llangian churchyard, studied Myrddin Ffardd's *Gleanings from God's Acre*, had pertinent passages translated for me from *Hanes Annibyniaeth yn Sir Gaernarfon*, and also had an interesting interview with the author, Rev. H. Ivor Jones, himself.

When weighing the problem in my study in London, the only clue to the mystery—the pivot on which the whole turned—appeared to me to be the phrase "Bodwell House att Tuynycoied" in E(238). Accepting Beriah Evans's argument—"It is more natural to suppose that Ty'nycoed was one neighbourhood, with three licences to three houses in the neighbourhood, than that there were three houses in different neighbourhoods all bearing the same name 'Ty'nycoed'"—as the verdict of an expert, alike in the Welsh language and in the history of Welsh Nonconformity, and as it is perfectly clear that Bodwell House is in Llannor parish, I accepted also the general conclusion of Beriah Evans that "Ty'nycoed" district in Llannor parish was the great centre of Independency in Carnarvon, Pwllheli being its attendant satellite, and Presbyterian Llangybi a friendly ally. A very few local enquiries, however, sufficed to convince me that such a position as that taken by Beriah Evans is an absurdity. Indeed, the one problem in the whole case which to me remains insoluble is how an educated Welshman, presumably understanding his own language, could ever have espoused it. "Ty'nycoed" is a name with a perfectly simple meaning—a house by, or in, a wood—and is given to scores of farmhouses in the Principality which are situate in that most picturesque position. I myself saw five in my wanderings

over the district we are concerned with, and I was assured that there were not more than two or three parishes in the whole of Carnarvon in which there is not a "Ty'nycoed." It is true there is one in Llannor parish, not half a mile, too, from Bodwell House, just the other side the wood-crowned knoll called "Coed Bodwell," between the edge of the wood and the present rectory. But it would be about as fitting and sensible to speak of the Brighton Pavilion as at Sea View, Kemp Town, as to speak—as the Whitehall clerks have made E (238) to speak—of "Bodwell House att Tuynycoed."

To anyone, too, who has been to Llangian churchyard, and examined the tombstone there which bears John Williams's name, it is abundantly evident that Rev. Ivor Jones (who has an intimate knowledge of the whole district, and throughout a long residence at Portmadoc gave himself to a thorough study of the history of the south Carnarvonshire Independent churches), is right in identifying the Ty'nycoed in Llangian parish on an eminence near Castell March, halfway between Llanbedrog and Abersoch, as the home of John Williams the apostle of Nonconformity in that part of Wales.

John Williams had a University education at Jesus College, Oxford, and in Foster's *Al. Oxon.* he is thus referred to ;—

Williams, John, "serv." s. William Jones of Llangane, co. Carnarvon, pleb. Jesus COLL. : Matric. 7 July, 1647, aged 20.

Myrddin, in his *Gleanings*, gives his full pedigree, and says he was "a physician and a preacher;" and traces four generations of his descendants, and all this in illustration of the inscription on the tombstone, the restoration of which is due to the labours of Henry Hughes of Llangybi, Myrddin of Chwilog, and Ivor Jones, now of Chester.

It was preserved so well through its ill-treatment ; bigotry having removed it from its original site and turned it over in contumely with its face downwards. But the characteristic boldness and finish of the incised letters, as well as the beauty of the Latin inscription, bespeak it as an authentic "witness" of the 17th century :—
"Occubit hic Patriae Sanitas, Virtutis Alumnus, Llangani Phoenix et Pietatis Apex Johannes Williams de Tynycoed Minister Gratia Dei Qui obiit 28 die Martis Anno Domini 1673 aetatis suae 47."

John Williams's "Ty'nycoed," therefore, was as certainly in Llangian parish as Bodwell House was in Llannor parish, and it becomes perfectly patent that the Whitehall clerks have put together what the original memorandum kept apart, the home of the teacher, which was licensed as well as the teacher himself, *viz.*, Ty'nycoed (of Llangian), and the place which was licensed for him to preach in, *viz.*, the mansion house of Bodvel, which was between three or four miles N.E. of it in the parish of Llannor.

An entirely similar blunder in the case of the entry of the licence for William Rowland of Pwllheli misled me in exactly the same way.

His licence "to be a Ind^t Teacher att Penterik, Pwllheley in Carnarvonsh.," very naturally, I submit, led me to think that "Penterik" was the name of his house, the licence for which is entered on the line above it, and to conclude that it was a mansion house, like Bodwell House. But the most careful enquiry of the oldest officials and inhabitants in Pwllheli, as well as a scrutiny of the oldest parish records there, revealed no trace of a house with such a name within the limits of the town or its suburbs. But "Pentyrch" is a name which figures largely in the upper (northern) part of the parish of Llangybi, "Carn Pentyrch" being the name of a conical hill which is a sort of outpost of the "Yr Eifl" mass to the S.E. ; and there are two, if not three, farmhouses on the shoulders of the hill named after it, "Pentyrch-uchaf" (east of it), and "Pentyrch-isaf" (south-west of it).

"Capel Helig," too, which is south-west of the village of Llangybi, and was without a question the site of the first Congregational church in Carnarvonshire, is near enough to have been covered by the name "Pentyrch." We have here, then, a similar confusion to that we have just traced. The clerks have linked "Pwllheli," which was in the parish of Deiniol—the home of William Rowland—with "Pentyrch," which was the meeting-place at which he was licensed to preach, although it was four miles away, north-east, in the parish of Llangybi. "Penterik" is no more "att Pwllheley" than "Bodwell House" is "att Tu'nycoed."

There remains the singular form "Yin y Crie." That may be, as some of those thought whom I consulted on the spot, "Ynys y Creiau" which is in the same parish of Llangybi, about a mile to the north-east of Pentyrch-uchaf; or (as on the whole I am still inclined to think, with Beriah Evans) a blundering variant on "Ty'nycoed"; in which case it may be one of two farms of that name in the neighbourhood, one just within the adjoining parish of Carnguwch, west by south of Llangybi village, the other much nearer, in the parish of Llangybi (or Llanarmon).

It is certainly *not* the Ty'nycoed in Abererch parish, for from gravestones (the inscriptions preserved in Myrddin's *Gleanings*) I have traced its tenancy throughout the period with which we are dealing, and found it to have been in the hands of a family of Owens.

But it might be (as Mr. Henry Hughes, of Llangybi, thinks), "Ty'nycae" near Plas Du, west of Capel Helig in the parish of Llangybi.

All which makes it probable that we are to think of "Yin y crie" as a farm somewhere within easy range of both Pentyrch in Llangybi and Pwllheli in Deiniol.

We find, then, two centres to the Nonconformity of 1672: Ty'nycoed in *Llangybi*, its evangelistic centre because the home of John Williams the great evangelist of south Carnarvon; who

has quieted down to a sphere round Llangian of which Bodvel in Llannor was the north limit ; and "Pentyrch," or Ty'nycoed, and Ellis William's house (it may be Capel Helig) in *Llangybi*, as the organizing centre of a church which was destined to grow strong, and "remaineth" a stalwart witness to the Independent faith and practice "unto this day." And what clenches all this as a true understanding of the entries in E.B. 38A, as well as of the situation in 1672, is a paragraph dealing with Nonconformity in Carnarvon in a letter written only three years later than the Indulgence Act, viz., in 1675, by Mr. Henry Maurice to Mr. Edward Terril of Bristol [cited by Mr. Ivor Jones in his *History*.] "The first and only church in this county is the one that assembles in Llanarmon and Llangybi. It was called into existence by the ministry of Mr. John Williams, who lately died" (on March 28, 1673), "and formed the meeting here into a church. They were all Independents, except one who was a Baptist, whose name was Thomas Williams. At present they have no minister ; but one William Rowlands acts as an Independent Teacher, together with Thomas Williams. Others, too, used to preach among them." The parish records of Llangian and Llannor gave interesting information as to the Williams family and Bodvel House ; and those of Llangybi as to the Rowlands family. But I refrain.

G. LYON TURNER.

Amended List of Licences and Applications

(See p. 198.)

CARNARVON.

(2) Congregational.

1. *Llangybi*. [A.] *Pentyrch*. The place for which W. Rowland of Pwllheli is licensed "to be an Ind^t Teacher att Penterik" E (238) ; whether (1) Capel Helig, (2) John Rowland's house, Yin y Crie, or even (3) Ellis Williams's house at Lan Cybi E (248.)
[B.] "*Yin y Crie*." ? if Ynys y Creia, a farm-house north-east of Pentyrch-uchaf ; or Ty'n y cae near Plas Du.
John Rowland (t^r and m.pl.) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72.
2. *Pwllheli*. William Rowland (t^r) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72.
William Rowland's ho. (m.pl.) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72.
3. *Llannor*. "Bodwell House" (m.pl.) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72.
4. *Llangian, Ty'nycoed*. John Williams (t^r) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72.
John Williams's ho. (m.pl.) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72, and
5 (?) *Llanarmon*, if "*Yin y Crie*" is to be read as *Ty'n y coed* ; see 3 on p. 198.

A Letter of Henry Barrow's to Mr. Fisher

From the Fleet Prison, December, 1590

THE following letter was imperfectly summarised by Strype in his *Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift* (book iv., chap. xi., p. 416), and a translation of it, done into modern English, is given by Waddington in his *Life of John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr* (appendix K, pp. 248-252). The original, exactly as it came from the hand of the writer, is extant in one of the *Lansdowne MSS.* (vol. 65, art. 65) at the British Museum. It is written on a single sheet of paper, covering the whole of one side and part of the other. There are two endorsements: one, in Barrow's hand, which simply says "To Mr. Fisher"; the other, in the hand of Lord Burghley, which says "Barrow to Mr. Fishar, Decemb[er], 1590." From a sentence near the end—"having none but this poore simple creature to come neere us"—we may get a glimpse of the messenger to whom the letter was entrusted. We owe its preservation, however, to the fact that it was intercepted. Who Mr. Fisher was it seems impossible to determine. A John Fisher appears among the Separatist prisoners in this same year, 1590¹; and a Mr. Fisher accompanied Dr. Some, together with Mr. Justice Yonge and the warden, in a visit which was made to Barrow on 1 January, 1588/9, to examine him concerning his uncomplimentary "marginal notes" in a captured copy of Some's *Godly Treatise*.² We hear, too, of an

¹ In February he was "in the Counter, Wood St.": in March he is assigned to "Bridewell."—See "Lists of the Early Separatists," *Transactions*, No. 3, p. 149.

² *Harleian MS.* 6948, fol. 28a.

Edward Fisher at various dates³ between 1583 (Nov.), when he was a prisoner in the Fleet, and 1591 (Nov.) when he wrote to Lord Burghley⁴ complaining of bad treatment at the hands of Sergeant Pickering. Perhaps this was the man.

As to the letter itself, it bears plain signs of the haste and distress under which it was written. When he had leisure Barrow's formation of his letters was distinct, firm, and regular, sometimes even beautiful. But here they waver and run into each other, and often (as he says) become mere scribble, a fact which, added to their extreme smallness and the eccentric punctuation, makes them in some places difficult to decipher. And the explanation is obvious. It is not simply that he wrote in a bad light, or with a bad pen, or in fear of detection. It is that he was agitated by what seemed to him an imminent danger. True, the "supplication" lately drawn up in the prisoners' name, with a view to laying before the queen their hard case, had actually reached her and been "most graciously received." But Whitgift had got wind of it; was concocting "secret and subtle means" to defeat its purpose; was, in fact, so "enraged" that, unless "our Noble Hester" could be prevailed upon to intervene, he had resolved to signalise the fast approaching Christmas by bringing "his brother Greenwood" and himself "to the death," by sweeping into "close prison" all who were at large, and by confiscating their "few goods." Can Mr. Fisher help? Can he bring influence to bear at court? As the case stands he is their only human hope. They dare not solicit "the Noble man he knows of any further." Let him, then,

³ *S. P. Dom—Eliz*: Vols: 163, No. 45; 206, No. 88; 233, No. 29.

⁴ *Lans. MSS.* 68 and 75.

come to the rescue "with as much speed" as he can. Though the appeal missed its mark, yet the expected "day of Pur" did not take place. Either the writer's alarm was ill-grounded or something happened to check the archbishop. For the next year or two, indeed, the Separatists seem to have had, on the whole, a comparatively easy time.

But certain facts, casting light on their circumstances at the time of the letter, emerge clearly. These *e.g.* :—

- (1.) That Barrow possessed written evidence how Whitgift was tampering with the jailers so as to obtain from them "a favourable, if not a partial certificat" of the prisoners.
- (2.) That up to the end of the year 1590 the total number of persons committed to prison was "above 80."
- (3.) That "many" of these had denied their faith and been discharged, while some who had been granted bail—for a definite period—by the civil magistrate were still detained.
- (4.) That "sundry" had died in prison of famine, cold, pestilence, and harsh treatment.
- (5.) That, contrary to law, some of these, at least, had been hurried to burial without calling in the coroner, *i.e.* without inquest.
- (6.) That the rest (about 50) remained in a state of most extreme misery, want, and penury.
- (7.) That, so far as concerned the Separatists, the Clink and the Gatehouse were the least terrible, but that even "in the holes of those prisons" were persons who had been there "more than 3 years and 3 months" without trial or examination.
- (8.) That Aylmer, Bishop of London, and his chancellor, Dr. Stanhope, were active assistants in these enormities.
- (9.) That, however, to Barrow and his fellow-sufferers, the prime author and instigator was Whitgift himself.

And so believing, he might well (to quote the scandalised Strype), "amplify himself" "with passionate expressions" "against the good archbishop"!

A Letter of Henry Barrow's to Mr. Fisher 269

I have to thank Ernest G. Atkinson, Esq., of the Record Office, for very kindly collating my copy with the original, and ensuring its accuracy.

F. J. POWICKE.

(1) The petition to Burghley in the spring of 1590 must (I think) be meant. Lansdowne MS. 75, p. 42, and Strype, Annals, vol. 4.

SIR, I understand that the Prisoners lately exhibited a supplicⁿ to her Ma^{tie}; and how, through the great providence of God, it was delivered to her own hands and most graciously received of her; & indeed, escaped the hands of her M^r of requests for that time; whose custeme it is to suppress all such complaintes from her Highnes eyes. Yet, howsoever, it is come about, I certainly thincke, that either it or the report thereof is brought to the Arch B. who wanteth not his intelligencers in all places. He, belike being stonge in his guiltie conscience, and fearing his barbarous and lawles procedings should now be brought to light, seaketh, as you by this scedule here inclosed shall perceive, to suppress the same by all secret and subtile meanes: making & winning his Gaolers by extraordinary favour and intertein^t to give up a favorable, if not a partial, certificat of the prisoners living & dead. And so, peradventure, thincketh to disprove the suppl^t unto her Ma^{tie}; and, through his false informations & suggestions, according to his evil custeme & conscience, to abuse and incence her most excellent Ma^{tie}; and stir her up against us her harmles subjects. But that God who hath brought our cause before Her shall also bring forth our innocency as the none-light; and he that hath thus wonderfully begunne to discover their tyrannous practises, shall not cease to lay them open and make them odious to every eye and harte. God shall, & hath, given unto her Ma^{tie}s Royal harte wisdom to search out the truth of this matter. Only, the Lord vouchsafe we be not condemned unheard upon their accusations & informations. There was, we heare,² an article in their suppl. off above 60^s Soules emprisoned by the Bp^r. Here, peradventure, they will catch hold because there be not now—I suppose—50 in prison. But they have committed above 80. Whereof many, through their tyranny, have revoulted & denied their faith, and so were discharged. Sondry, through great sute, being sik to the

(2) If Barrow was ingenuous he did not—it seems—prepare the supplication.

(3) 50 names are attached to the supplication.

(4) i.e. for a limited period.
 (5) Altogether 10 had died.

(6) The prison connected with St. Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower.

(7) Alice Row and Margaret Maynard.

ere with unlawful usage made him away.

death or otherwise, obtained baile at the Civile Magistrate, until times prefixed,⁴ who yet are prisoners. And sondry have died⁵ in their prisons of famine, could, noysomnes of the place, beating in their prison, &c. The rest, as you may perceive, remaine in most extreame misery, want, and penury in all the prisons as the Gaolers can not deny. We here, also, the Arch B maketh inquiry at the Gatehouse, Clinck and Katherins⁶ how many of them have died, there being, I weane, a clause in the suppl. that the Coroner sate not upon such of us as died in prison. Which is very true. Myselfe being in Nugate, there was no jury or inquest suffred to sit upon that rare yong man Rych. Jacson who there died. I demanded the cause. As I thinck, M. Deux himselfe told me that the Bp. of London commanded the contrary. The like was of the two aged poore widowes⁷ that died there; as also upon ould Mr. Crane; there was no inquest called or soffred to sit & pass upon their bodies, though it were required. This there are many credible witnesses to verifie. The coroners boke, if it be searched, will make all plaine. Furder, they would not soffer the body of this antient grave Preacher & Father M. Cr. to be caried to burial into the city through Nugate, lest the people who knew his vertue and godlines should espie and abhor their cruelty. There likewise died in Bridwell a very godly person called Jhon Purdie committed by the Arch B. whom thei there put into their Litle Ease and beate wth a great codgel very extreemly, because he would not come to their chappel in their house, [**in margin*] The man was grave, sober, & very godly & honest, as is to be well testified of all that knew him. If law might be looked upon, these cases are foule. I omit to relate here how many D. Stanhope hath caste into yrons in Nuegate; and of the boy of 15 yeares ould he there kept in a dengeon in yrons a whole yeare for this cause, w^{ch} boy is yet there prisoner. But the Arch B. dealeth wisely and sendeth not to Bridwell, Nugate, and the two Counters, the White Lion, nor the Fleet. He mindeth to post all these things over to the Civile magistrates. Yet, even in the Clincke & the Gatehous, will, upon due examination, be found some poore men whom the B. of London hath held in the holes of those prisons now more than 3 whole yeares and 3 monethes wthout so much as sending for them forth to any triall or

A Letter of Henry Barrow's to Mr. Fisher 271

examination to any place all this while. The cause whie he committed them and sondry others—[some of whom died in the Counter Poultry; others there sickened to the death]—was for hearing a piece of the Nue Testament read & truly expounded in one of their houses upon a Lord's day. Well, notwithstanding all these injuries, you see the Arch B is intraged & hath set a day of Pur^s, if God by our Noble Hester prevent him not. He hath destinat my broth^r Gren^r & me to the death against his Holy Feaste. All the others, both at liberty & elcewhere, to close prison—their poore wives & children to be cast out of the city, their few goods to be confiscat. Is not this a Christian Bishop? Are these the vertues of him that taketh upon him the care and government of all the churches of the land thus to teare & devoure Christe's poore sheepe; to rend off the fleshe and breake their bones; & chop them in pieces as flesh to the chaldron? Will he thus instruct & convince the gainsayers? Suer he will persuade but few that feare God to his religion; by this dealing & evil, provideth he for his own credit or the honour of his Prince that maketh this tyrannous havock? Suer for our partes our lives are not deare unto us so we may finish up our testimony with joy. We are alwise ready, through God's grace, to be offred up upon that testimony of our faith w^{ch} we have made; and purpose to imbrace the chief pillers of their Church and cary them wth us to our grave^o if there be no remedy but thei will take this barbarous course w^{ch} shall but hasten their own judgm^{tes}. As the case standeth we see no remedie, being thus shut up, but to commit our cause & lives unto the Lord. Meanes to send to any we have not, having none but this poore simple creature to come neare us. We dare not sollicite the Noble man¹⁰ you know of any furder. Yet he knoweth our cause, godly purpose and innocency, no man better. The Lord incline his harte to pleade the cause of the children of destruction. Thus tediously I have scribed unto you our presente estate according as I heare; craving yo^r friendly counsel & advise what you thincke meete to be doone in these extremities: and that wth as much speed as you can. Committing you, as ourselves, to the Lord, in whom we salute you.

Yo^r poore frind whose scribling fiste you know & I dout shall hardly read.

H. BARROWE.

(8) Esther iii. 7.

(9) This sounds like a threat of assassination; but, of course, it is nothing of the kind. It is merely Barrow's hyperbolical way of saying that their violent death will involve the destruction of their enemies.

(10) Strype remarks: "Sir Francis Knolles, I suppose"; but more likely Lord Burgheley.

The Chapel in Ropemakers' Alley (Little Moorfields)

APPLYING the knowledge which we have regained as to the state of our country during the latter half of the seventeenth century, we are able to fill in some of the probable local colour which should adorn a bare sketch of historical facts.

Edward West, of the Northampton family, was born in 1634. He graduated M.A. from St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in 1657, and the next year—memorable as that in which Oliver P. was "crowned"—was appointed Presbyterian rector of Little Whittenham (Berks), presumably, as was then customary, "for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel." From 1653 to 1660 there was a State Church made up of mutually tolerating Independents, Baptists, and (chiefly) Presbyterians, the last of whom were but little removed from Barrowist Congregationalists. With the restoration of the monarchy commenced a series of Presbyterian parleyings upon matters of religion. Independents and Baptists were ignored, for they were in theory quite anti-Erastian, and they did not in fact number "many mighty" in their societies. The Corporation Act (1661), silencing Presbyterianism alike as a municipal and a national power, was followed by the Act of Uniformity (1662), which annulled the influence of Presbyterians in the so-called national Church; for all Christian ministers who refused to be re-ordained

(to wit, by a bishop), and also all who could not assent and consent to the whole contents of the Book of Common Prayer, were thereby regarded ecclesiastically "as if they were naturally dead." On St. Bartholomew's Day 2,000 pastoral voices were thus silenced; and among the ejected ministers was Edward West. The biography of this Nonconformist during the succeeding decade is unwritten; doubtless he "preached as the times would permit," perhaps he became a tutor to his friends' children, possibly he travelled among the friends of friends. At least he remained faithful, for in 1672 he was one of the earliest to apply for a licence* to preach publicly; probably he had previously led a private congregation under the patronage of one Edward Stanton. On March 15, 1672, Charles II. personally issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending "all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformist or recusant." Foreign complications necessitated peace at home, and the advice of Clifford the Romanist and Ashley the infidel was adopted.

How came Edward West to be settled in the metropolis in Cripplegate Without? One of the chief lungs for London's half-million citizens faced Ropemakers' Alley; here was a residential suburb for merchants, with mansions and gardens. The present Ropemaker Street near Moorgate Street station indicates the spot. The Great Plague (1665) was sorely felt in this region, and to their honour it may be repeated here that many nonconforming

* Entry of application:
"Mr Edw. West in his owne house. Ropemaker's Alley in Little Moorefields — Presbyterian" app

Entry of licence of:
1. West a Teacher Ropemaker's Alley, Lond. Pr
Licence to Edward West to be a Pr Teacher in his owne howse in Ropemakers Alley in Little Moorefields 2 Apr 1672 Desired by Dr Bulter & sent to him Apr 9
2. A Howse in Ropemakers' Alley London Pr
Licence allowed Mr Edward Wests howse in Ropemakers' Alley Moorefields to be a Place for Prech 2 Apr 1672 Desired by Dr Bulter & sent to him 4 Apr.

clergy stayed in London and voluntarily occupied the otherwise deserted pulpits, to the great comfort of the bereaved. Nor would such devotion pass unrewarded by human affection; such pastors in adversity would never need flocks in times of prosperity. In 1666 came that most timely disinfectant, the Great Fire. Cripplegate was but scorched; multitudes fled to and pitched their tents upon Moorfields. Here was another opportunity for a man of God to make friends with these homeless, panic stricken immigrants; doubtless for awhile the persecuting hand was palsied, for we read that many conventicles gathered. The respite was however of short duration, the conventicles were silenced in 1669; and on June 6 of that year there was found a "True Bill for not going to Church, Chapel, or any usual place of Common prayer, for an entire month ending on the said day, against Joseph Kiffen, late of St. Giles without Cripplegate, county Middlesex, gent, and also for going on the said day to an assembly or conventicle, held in a house commonly called 'the Meeting House' in the said parish"; again on July 24, 1670, Francis Rainsford writes to Sir Joseph Williamson at Whitehall, "I understand also there was a greate meeting in little Morreffields but dissipated by the Lieufguard & some ffoot." Edward West was ministering to a church in his own house in Little Moorfields when he applied for and obtained a licence in 1672; he continued until Jan. 13, 1676, when after preaching twice he died suddenly in the night: "He Died young, but Lived long." He was buried in Bunhill Fields. His published works are catalogued in the British Museum. Shortly after the second pastor, Walter Cross, M.A., was chosen the licences to preach were recalled by proclamation (1675); and again active Nonconformists fell on troublous

times. Mr. Cross was minister until 1701, retiring (1685) for awhile to Holland to save ejection and to prosecute his Hebrew studies, some of the results of which may be seen in the British Museum. The Protestant Revolution, with the consequent Toleration Act (1689), brought him back to his charge; and he and his friends set to work to renovate the wooden meeting-house, which must have been somewhat dilapidated from disuse. It was now "certified . . . for a Meeting Place for a congregation of Protestants dissenting from the Church of England." The unaudited balance sheet of this renovation is extant and is now published for the first time.

STANLEY B. ATKINSON.

[The Chapel in

(Letters in black type refer to notes on pp. 278-9).

from March 14th

Deb ^r	lb.	s.	d.	
The purchas of the Meeting house & all the Apurtenances thereunto beeloning: it being a Citty Lease one pound p. anum ground rent & the purchas mony come two	200	00	00	A
July 19 th 1694 beegain to pull down the meeting place in order to repaire Ended neare Michallmas following the Charg of the Matterialls & severall workmen as followeth				
	lb.	s.	d.	
Br Will Tompson for Timber	25	00	00	
Br Hollyoak for Carpinter's work	33	00	00	
Mr Alister plasterer	13	10	00	
Br Harris & Smith	09	00	00	
The plumer	05	17	00	
The painter	04	00	00	
Mr. Williams Bricklayer	06	12	00	
The glaiser	05	01	00	
pd the man for taring the out side Joyner for the Chains of the Tipe of the pulpit	00	08	06	B
Mr. Elis the Apolster for lining the pews	06	05	00	
Sis Wells for Iron worke	01	10	00	
Mr. Woodrig for broome	00	00	05½	
The dyall as cost	04	00	00	
	115	09	11½	
The Agreement by Br Cartright with Br Holyoak to buld the hous beeing 7 Square 40 feet at lb. 26 p square comes two as they cast it up	lb.	s.	d.	
	192	7	6X	
The inward worke over & above the Agreement as bill show: as winscoting painting plastering stone cutter bulding washouse pavour	079	12	4X	
So the wholl Charg: comes two	271	19	10X	
I have gott him to Abatte upon the wholl five pounds nineteen shill & tenn pence.				
So the Wholl Charge of the Bulding Comes two	lb.	s.	d.	
	266	00	00	

Ropemakers' Alley

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(Letters in black type refer to notes on pp. 278-9).

1693 to April 28 1696

£ contra

	lb.	s.	d.	
An account of the subscriptions & what was paid in & by whom for the payment of it : paid in to mee viz				
Br Will Tompson	20	00	00	C
Br Edw: Stanton	15	00	00	
Br Joseph Bowles	15	00	00	D
Br Tho: Crundell	15	00	00	
Br Moses Cook	10	00	00	
Br — Newman	10	00	00	
Br Tho Cartwright	10	00	00	M
Sis Mary Whightman	10	00	00	E
Br — pearson	10	00	00	
Br — ffrench	10	00	00	
Br Will Wells	10	00	00	
Br — Randall	05	00	00	
Br — Vigours	03	00	00	
Br — Gamball	05	00	00	
Br John Thompson	05	00	00	
Mr. Philip Whightman	05	10	00	E
Br ffrancis Jonson	03	00	00	
Mr — Hamliten	01	00	00	
Br — Lapworth	03	00	00	
Sis — fflower	02	00	00	F
Br Richard Nickson	05	00	00	
Br — Silsby	05	00	00	
Br John Duck	05	00	00	
Br Samuell Newton	02	00	00	G
Cosen John Stanton	05	00	00	H
Mr John Greene	01	00	00	J
Br John Harris	01	00	00	
Br Theophilus greene	01	00	00	
	192	10	00	

Monye rec: towards the Charge of Repaires & bulding the house & of whom ; that hath come to my hands since '93

	lb	s.	d.	
£ Cash of Br Newman Church Stock	45	19	9	
£ Cash of S ^{is} Whightman upon Bond	21	02	0	
£ Cash the Remaine of Coffin bond	14	16	0	
£ Cash of severall frinds	05	11	6	
£ Cash of Maudlin to pay 2 ^s £ week	10	00	00	
£ Cash of Sis Boyce to pay as she hath ocation	25	00	00	
£ Cash of Loveday for Rent Contery	15	15	00	K

Monyes in this time also disbursed upon
severall ocaions the particulars 18 . 05 . 10

[ON BACK OF FOLIO]

192 . 10 . 00

170 . 18 . 00

150 . 00 . 00

10

522 . 08 . 00

D^r lb 200 . 00 . 00

115 . 09 . 11½

266 . 00 . 00

18 . 05 . 00

599 . 14 . 11½

522 . 08 . 3

76 . 06 . 08½ Balance due to Mr. Stanton

NOTES.

A From the City Solicitor's office :

" the last Lease was dated 15 Feb 1742 & was granted to Thos Lawford for 21 ys from Xmas 1743 at £4 rent on payt of a Fine of £120. The property then consisted of a Warehouse & Garden besides the Meeting House . . . Previously the premises were comprised in a Lease to Jacob Wane & o^rs for 21 ys from Xmas 1722 . . . The entry in the Books for the year when this lease expired giving particulars of the prior lease is :

'Edward Stanton Assignee of John Chatfield Assignee of Herbert Pinchin Devisee of Walter Pinchin Assignee of Margaret Pinchin Widdow Relict of Phillip Pinchin for a Garden & little House thereupon erected to him demised for 61 years from Xmas 1661 at £1 per annum and since demised to Jacob Wane and others for 21 years at a fine of £170 and £4 per annum''

In 1731 the dimensions of the building were 15 squares, there were three galleries of four seats each.

B A tipe is a canopy over the pulpit.

C W^m Thompson of St. Mary Aldermanbury, a joiner, aged 24, married Anne Knight Nov. 15, 1682.

D " There was, in our company, among several others, an everlasting talker, who was at the same time a great reader, called Captain Bowles, whom I afterwards met in Lond. He was a leading member of the congregation that belonged to M^r Walter Cross and afterwards M^r William Nokes" Calamy, *Life*, p. 139 (1694).

☞ Cash of Br Bowles	01 . 00 . 00	
☞ Cash of Br Willcox	02 00 00	
☞ Cash of Br Saphire	02 00 00	
☞ Cash of Br french	02 00 00	
☞ Cash of Br Hollyoak	02 00 00	
☞ Cash of Br Gamball	00 10 00	
☞ Cash of Br Newman	01 00 00	
☞ Cash of Sis Brent	00 10 00	
☞ Cash of Sis Hammond	01 00 00	
☞ Cash of Br Nickson	01 05 00	
☞ Cash of Sis Willmott	00 10 00	
☞ Cash of Br Pearson	02 . 11 00	
☞ Cash for Rent Loveday Contery	15 . 14 . 00	K
☞ Cash of frind	00 . 04 00	
	<hr/>	
	170 . 18 03	
☞ Cash of S ^r Rob ^t Rich 10	10	L
☞ Cash rec off Mr Cross	150	
		s.
	Sis Wells	10

NOTES.

- E** Philip Wightman of St Giles Cripplegate, a loriner, aged 24, married M^{rs} Mary Duke of Sawbridgeworth aged about 18, with consent of her father alleged by W^m Wightman of Lond. Gent. at Sawbridgeworth. Feb 15. 168²/₃
- F** ? Deborah Fowler, late of Stepney
- G** Samuel Newton of St Giles in the Fields, aged 22, married M^{rs} Eliz Cartwright (25 y) at St Bartholomew the Great. April 30, 1683 (? He lived Crown Court, Gracechurch St.)
- H** ? the John Stanton who on Aug 6 1688 was excommunicated from White's Alley Baptist Church for non-attendance
- J** John Greene of St. Lawrence Old Jewry aged 27 married Eliz Tanner. May 9, 1691
- K** These items refer to an existing endowment "according to the true intent & meaning of the Toleration Act . . . for such purposes as the men members of the said congregation for the time being in church meeting duly assembled . . . the residue of a term of 1,000 years, granted by an Indenture dated 20th Oct 1651 subject & charged as therein mentioned" In 1717 M^{rs} Sarah Stanton was receiving an annuity of £4 from this estate.
- L** (?) The husband of Mary Rich 2nd daughter of Sir Charles Rich. He was a Lord of the Admiralty from 1691 until he died in 1699. His name was assumed upon marriage.
- M** Thomas Cartwright Sen^r, Citizen and Mason of London aged 85 years, buried in Bunhill Fields in June 1705.

SUMMARY OF SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

- 1702-1709 John Lewis, pastor (from Bethnal Green).
- 1709 Dec 25 Isaac Watts preached and received 5/-
- 1710 (?) William Nokes, pastor, he conformed 1712.
- 1713-1730 John Asty, pastor. A friend of the Fleetwoods, some of whom were in membership.
- 1724 101 members on church roll.
- 1730-1747 Peter Goodwin, pastor (from Great Yarmouth), church minutes continuous from this date.
- 1737 Barbara Comes Charity vests upon dissolution of Joseph Jacob's congregation.
- 1748-1806 Thomas Towle ("Tommy Dishclout") pastor
- 1762 John Dorset Charity vests. (*Annual Register*. March).
- 1765 Church meets at Aldermanbury Postern (May 12).
- 1766 "public singing as at D^r Conders."
- 1797-1810 Joseph Barber, co-pastor, bringing with him the church which seceded from Samuel Pike in 1760.
- 1810-1821 John Hawksley, pastor.
- 1822 Sunday school founded.
- 1825 James Dean, pastor.
- 1833 John Davies, pastor. Congregational Union joined.
- 1834 Latimer Chapel, Mile End, built for Richard Saunders, pastor for 53 years. "Purchase of the plot of ground in Bridge Street near the Canal, Mile End . . . for £150 and

£1 10s. for a crop of potatoes thereon."

- 1847-1850 Edwin Joseph Hareland, pastor.
1854-8 Church meets at Hampden chapel,
S. Hackney.
1855 Henry Hooper, pastor.
1858 United church meets at Latimer chapel.
1869 John William Atkinson, pastor. Salem
chapel members unite.

Conventicles in East Anglia, 1669

IN J. Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 1877, there is a presumably complete list of the ministers who were ejected from their churches in 1660 and 1662, and also of the meetings licensed under the Indulgence of 1672. But no account is given of the conventicles which were reported, in answer to the enquiries of Abp. Sheldon, in 1669; and which are recorded on pp. 226-236 of *Tenison MS. No. 639* in Lambeth Palace library. As a desirable supplement to Browne's work, the following list has been extracted from the MS. by Rev. Dr. Powicke, and is probably the best now attainable. There is reason to think, however, that the list is very incomplete; as not only does the arrangement pay little regard to the bounds of the four arch-deaconries, but from many rural deaneries no conventicles at all are reported; while a number of places are barely mentioned, no particulars being given.

Archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk

- ST. CLEMENT'S, in NORWICH—at the house of John Toft, grocer—every Sunday and once in the week: Sometimes the same persons meet at the house of Mrs. More, widdow, and John Davy, merchant, in St. Symon and St. Jude's parish.—Independents: 300, most women—Teachers: Mr. Thos. Allen,* Enoch Woodyard (? Woodward*), Martin Finch*.
- ST. GEORGE'S of TOMBLAND, in NORWICH—at the house of Goodwyn, a hosier—once a week—Independents—all women.
- ST. STEPHEN'S, in NORWICH—at the house of John Willson, chemist—once a week, if not twice—Baptists and Inde-



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
EAST ANGLIAN NONCONFORMITY
 IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
 Drawn for the Congregational Historical Society by
 T. G. Crippen, 1905.

Approximate Bounds of the Classical Presbyteries, 1645 (Suffolk only)
 Congregational Churches under the Commonwealth, which did not survive the Restoration
 Ministers Ejected in 1660 or 1662
 " " Subsequently Conformed
 Areas affected by the Five Mile Act, 1665
 Conventicles reported in 1669
 Meetings Licensed under the Indulgence, 1672
 Churches constituted before 1700: CONGREGATIONAL (some formerly Presb.)
 BAPTIST
 UNITARIAN, formerly Orthodox
 Churches now Extinct, THIS or THAT

Meetings Licensed under the Indulgence, 1672
 Churches constituted before 1700: CONGREGATIONAL (some formerly Presb.)
 BAPTIST
 UNITARIAN, formerly Orthodox
 Churches now Extinct, THIS or THAT

- pendents—about 200—most women—Teacher : one Mr. Lucas*, &c.
- ST. JOHN'S of MADDERMARKET, NORWICH—at the house of John Barnham, hosier—Presbyterians and Independents—about 300—Teachers : Dr. John Collins,* Benjamin Snowden,* formerly ministers in Norwich.
- ST. MARIE'S in NORWICH—at the house of John Morley, worsted weaver Teacher : Mr. Francis English,* a Nonconformist minister.
- YARMOUTH—at a house in the Wooke Row belonging to Mr. Burton—Independents : about 400—Teachers, Mr. Ed. Barker,* Wm. Sheldrake,* Lucas,* Pelto,† Wilborne.
- KING'S LYNN—at the house of Mr. John Horne, late Vicar of South Lynn—on Sundays and Wednesdays—Universalists ; 100—Teacher : the said Mr. Horne.*
- Another meeting in the house of Charles Phelps, a layman, said to be the same persons—Teacher : Mr. Phelps.
- Another at the house of Rich^d Waterson—about 40 inconsiderable persons—Teacher : said Waterson, layman.

Ingworth and Sparham Deanery

- BANDSWELL—at the house of John Porter, an excommunicated person—Independents—Teacher : Mr. Wm. Sheldrake.*
- FOXLEY—sometimes at the house of William Parles & sometimes at the house of William Waynsford—Independents—Teacher : Mr. John Lougher.*
- GUESTWICK—at the house of Mr. Hastings, an excommunicated person—Independents—Teacher : Mr. Sheldrake,* an excommunicated person.
- WOODNORTON—at the houses of John Hooker, Henry Brett, Rich^d Clements (an excommunicated person)—about 300—Teachers : Martin Finch*, Mr. Pert, Bidbanke,† John Hooker†—a layman.
- OULTON—at the house of W^m Ball & W^m Ball J^r—Teachers same as at Woodnorton.
- LAMMAS—at the house of Thomas Church J^r, worsted weaver, excommunicated person—Independents—Teachers : same as at Oulton.

Faversham Deanery

- CALTON [*probably COLTON*]^r—at the house of Nathaniel Michell—Presbyterians : 20 inconsiderable persons—Teacher : said Michell.*

Holt Deanery

EDGEFIELD—at the house of Edmund Denny, gentleman—of about 100 persons—sometimes at the house of William Woods, yeoman—Presbyterians: about 40—Teachers: Richard Mower, Yarnseller; Clement Jones Shoemaker.

HUNWORTH—at the house of Widow Rogers—Teacher, said Mower.

Walsingham Deanery

WELLS—at the houses of Henry Keynor & Thomas Springall, tradesmen—of an inferior condition—excommunicated persons—Independents and Anabaptists, about 10 inconsiderable persons, most [- mostly] women—Teachers: said Keynor and Springall.

GREAT SNORING—at the house of William Steele, tyler—about 30 or 40—most [- mostly] silly women—Teachers: Steele, John Baker,* Butcher, of Barnes, &c.—excommunicated persons.

Reppis (*i.e.* Repps) Deanery

TRUNCH—at the houses of Robert Wright and John Goyle—Independents and Presbyterians—about 40 or 50—Teachers: Thomas Worts*, one Lower of Alby, one Greene*, one Amyrault.*

SIDESTRAND—at the house of one Clarke, & sometimes at OVERSTRAND at the Hall Place belonging to Mrs. Reunes—Teacher: one Amyrault.*

NORTH WALSHAM—three conventicles: one Quaker, one Saturday Observers, one Independent.

NORTH REPPIS, BRADFIELD, LESSINGHAM, TUNSTEAD, WALCOTT, are named, but nothing more. EAST RUSTON is simply said to have near 100—evidently persons attending a conventicle.

Depwade Deanery

THURLTON—at the house of Robt. Kipping—Independents, 50;
FRITTON—at the house of Jeffery Dallison—60 or 100—
Teachers: Edw^d Peiner, Thos. Brighting, John Greene—
laymen.

Reddenhall Deanery

WINFARTHING—at the house of John Pory—Independents—40,
most women—Teacher: one Storks.

DENTON—at the house of one widdow Leman, once a witch—
Independents—40—Teacher : Mr. Pelto† of Aldburgh.

BESTHORPE—at the house of Thomas Osburne.

BRUNWELL—at the house of John Faulkes.

[These two places are bracketed as Independents, and are designated together thus :—] Sometimes 800, 600, 500 on Sundays ; and on weekdays 60—some gentlemen and some poor people—Teachers : John Money,* one Gedney,* John Gooch, Stephen Gooch.

Most of the following are in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury,
but others are far distant

DISS (?), REEDE, COWLING, NAYLAN(D), STOKES, HESSET, THURLOWE, BEXALL [? if error for BENHALL], BRADFIELD, GREAT HEPWORTH, WATTISFIELD, are merely mentioned ; HAVERHILL is said to have Quakers and Presbyterians.

RATTLEDEN—at the house of George Groome—100 Independents—Thos. Holborowe,* &c.

At the house of Joseph Adkin—Quakers.

Archdeaconry of Suffolk

ST. MARGARET'S in IPSWICH—at Major Moodie's house.

ST. NICHOLAS'S " " at W^m Greene's.

ST. HELEN'S " " at Dunon's house.

ST. LAWRENCE " " at W^m Wye's house.

300 or 400 mean persons, but some few of pretty good estates—
Teachers : Wm. Slayter, Owen Stockton*, Sam^l Packler.

EAST BERGHOLT and WOODBRIDGE are just mentioned.

Of the parishes named there is a slight uncertainty, owing to bad writing or spelling, about Benhall, Colton, and Diss ; and it is not quite certain which of several Stokes is intended. Of the "teachers" at least 21—indicated by *—are ejected ministers, all but one having been beneficed in either Norfolk or Suffolk. About those marked † there is some doubt ; but the mere fact that a person is described as "a layman" does not settle the question, as many of the ejected pastors had not received episcopal ordination.

The "Church of the Pilgrim Fathers"

THE views of Mr. Cleal in *Transactions*, vol. ii., pt. 3, p. 201, on the relation of the present "Pilgrim Fathers' Church" to the ancient fellowship gathered by Roger Rippon and Henry Jacob, are strongly corroborated by the *Gould MS.* at Regent's Park Baptist College. This valuable codex, written about 1860, under the direction of the late Rev. George Gould of Norwich, consists of transcripts from ancient records, most of which were used by Thomas Crosby in preparing his *Baptist History*, 1738-40. Several of these originals have since been lost sight of; but the copying of those which are available for comparison is so laboriously accurate that we may safely accept the codex as a faithful representation of those which are missing.

Of the documents reproduced in the *Gould MS.* the following are of importance to the present inquiry:—No. 1, an account written by Henry Jessey, of the church of which Jacob, Lathrop, and himself were successively pastors; ending with the removal of Lathrop to New England; No. 2, a short continuation of the former, coming down to 1640; No. 4, a report of certain conferences, which issued in Jessey and most of his congregation becoming Baptists, supposed to have been written by Jessey himself; No. 23, an account, written by a member (one Webb), of the church of which Hubbard, Canne, How, and More were successively pastors. It is highly desirable that these documents should be published, as they bear evident signs of originality and fairness.

From these we gather that when Jacob's church (of which ten members' names are given) was constituted in 1616, "they within a few days gave notice to the brethren here of the Ancient Church." Evidently there were still in London members of the "Ancient Church," the bulk of which was in exile; and Jacob's fellowship was regarded as a distinct church. (Evidence to this effect is also furnished by John Robinson.)

On 29th April, 1632, Jacob's church was meeting in the house of one Bornet in Blackfriars, when 42 members were arrested by the bishop's pursuivants; 18 members were absent, or managed to escape. At least 18 of those arrested were imprisoned, some in the Clink and some in the Gatehouse, amongst them being Lathrop,

Barbone, H. Doe (who died in prison), and two women. About a month later "was y^e Ancient Church so seized upon, and two of them comitted to be fellow Prisoners with these." Evidently as late as May, 1632, the church of Jacob and Lathrop was distinct from the "Ancient Church." This is the last mention we have found of the latter; it is likely enough that the remnant *may* have coalesced with the society to which their fellow-prisoners belonged, but there is *no evidence*.

According to document No. 2 the chief question that led to the separation in 1632 was not about baptism, but certain members desired a friendly dismissal, "being dissatisfied with the Churches owning of English Parishes to be true Churches." With them joined Mr. W. Kiffin. It is quite likely that these were Baptists, and that they joined the fellowship presided over by Spilsbury; this MS. however does not say so. But in 1638 six members desired dismissal on the ground that they disapproved of infant baptism, and they joined with Spilsbury.

There is no indication in the MS. that the division in "third month 1640" had to do with the baptismal controversy; it seems more likely to have been a case of swarming off. There is no evidence that Barbone, who now became pastor of the new society, was a Baptist, and his name is not attached to the *Confession of Seven Baptist Churches*, in 1644. It is, however, I believe, a fact—though not stated in the document now before us—that in 1654 about 22 members of Barbone's church signed a Baptist manifesto.

From document No. 4 we learn that the adoption by Jessey and others of Baptist opinions led to contention, and one party thought of the other as a fitting object of discipline. But better counsels prevailed. On 27th May, 1644, an advisory council was held in the house of a Mr. Shambrooke, at which were present Thos. Goodwin, Philip Nye, Burrows (presumably Jeremiah Burroughs), C. Sympton, Barbone, Ebury, Rozer, Cooke, Staismore, and a Dr. Parker. After discussion it was resolved that the differences called only for mutual forbearance. Jessey was baptised by Hanserd Knollys, and there was some dispersal of members, followed by re-union; but the record gives an impression that the church became for the most part Baptist.

From this point we have little or no information about Jessey's church for above 25 years. The MS. does not help us. Jessey died in prison in 1663; and it was not till 1672 that Forty, who had just been released from Exeter gaol, was called to the pastorate of a section of the church which now advocated close communion. Three years later he went to Abingdon, and they joined with Kiffin. Of the open communion and Paedobaptist remnant we know nothing. They *may* have united with Mr. Wadsworth's people, but proof is lacking.

Document 23 states that the church which had been successively presided over by Hubbard, Canne, How, and More was "suppressed" at the Restoration, and More was imprisoned at the White Lyon, Southwark. In spite of "suppression," some of the members continued to meet in secret; and More, on his release, ministered to them as opportunity permitted. Meanwhile, two countrymen, Webb and Herbert, having vainly sought a nonconforming church in Southwark with which they might unite, commenced a meeting which in time numbered thirty men. More, according to the MS., met with these shortly after his release, and joined them with the scattered remnant of his church. He was afterwards again imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he died in 1684.

As Wadsworth had died in 1676, it is evident that if he succeeded More it must have been as pastor of another *fragment* of the Hubbard-Canne-How society. There is no reason why this may not have been so, and the succession may have run on through Lambert, Owen, Killinghall, Marryatt, etc., but, as Mr. Cleal points out, the evidence is inconclusive.

The *Gould MS.*, however, (No. 23) represents More's church as being destitute of a pastor from his death until 1697, when Daniel Parker, "a member of long standing," was chosen. Could he be possibly the "Dr. Parker" who took part in the council 53 years before? He was evidently an aged man, and soon disappears from the record. In a short time a Baptist church at White Street, Southwark, split on the question of close communion, and the liberal section, with Robins, the pastor, joined with Parker. Robins was a popular preacher, with Antinomian leanings. Dissatisfaction arose, Robins accepted an invitation to a church in Whitechapel, and about 40 members went with him. In about 1699 or 1700 the remnant chose Valentine Lindsey as pastor, but they steadily dwindled, and the society was disbanded in 1705.

The supposed filiation of the existing church from that of 1592 is thus seen to involve *four assumptions*, none of which is at all unlikely, but for none of which does there seem to be anything worthy of the name of proof. It must be assumed first that, after May, 1632, the remnant of the "Ancient Church" coalesced with that over which Lathrop presided; second that, after the death of Jessey, his church, or part of it, came under the pastorate of Wadsworth at some date between 1663 and 1676; third that, during the same period, that is more than eight years before the death of More, part of his scattered church also came under the pastorate of Wadsworth; and fourth that, on the death of Killinghall, his people united with those who came from Zoar Street with Dr. Maryatt. It is no doubt true that Jacob's church, which furnished passengers to the "Mayflower," has a far better right to the title, "Pilgrim Fathers' Church" than the "Ancient Church" of

Greenwood and Penry. But unless *three* of the above four assumptions can be justified, the true modern representative of that fellowship is not the church in Old Kent Road, but the Baptist church in Stoke Newington, which formerly met in Devonshire Square.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Daniel Higgs, M.A., of Swansea

A WHILE back my friend, Mr. C. H. Glascodine, ex-president of the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea—by marriage connected with the Higgs family—unearthed Daniel's will at Worcester. He wrote it, neatly and briefly, with his own hand, and executed it at Swansea on the 3rd May, 1690, in the presence of Ezra Griffith and Robt. Whittyear, jr. Be it remembered that Robt. Whittyear, senr., was minister of the Swansea congregation after Robert Denbury, Higgs' immediate successor, who went into Devonshire, and whose coming caused some commotion amongst the United Brethren of the City and County of Exeter and County of Devon. See *Minute Book, 1721-1728*, recovered a few years back and placed by finder in Dr. Williams's library with its fellows. Be it further remembered that, in 1726, William Gillespie's certificate of ministerial fitness, when applying to same assembly for ordination, came from the "Rev. Robert Whithare of Swancey and the Rev. Mr. Thos. Perrot of Caermarthen."

Higgs' "will is that son John shall have and possess all my study of books." He appoints John as executor, leaving him "house and lands at Chadwick, bought from brother Roger." Chadwick is in Worcestershire, parish of Hartlebury, and was Daniel's birthplace. He likewise names four daughters, viz., Anne Raban, Elizabeth Waters, Mary Withers, and Susan Higgs. There is no reference to his wife, who may be the woman

referred to in the register of All Saints' church, Evesham :—

“ 1706-7, March, Mrs. Higgs buried.”

Daniel died in 1691, and his will was proved the same year. His designation, “ parish of Bromsgrove,” gives us possibly the location of the home to which he removed from Swansea, a little before his death (*cf. Antiquarian Notes*, vol. iii., 1903, pp. 23-24.)

GEORGE EYRE EVANS.

Four Causes of Separation

By Henry Barrowe

[An unpublished treatise from the Wiggenton MS. in the Congregational Library See Trans. II, p. 149. Mr. Burrage is of opinion that it was occasioned by a letter which he believes to have been written to Barrowe by Robert Browne about the end of 1586 or beginning of 1587. T.G.C.]

FLOWER principall and waighty causes whie every on that knoweth god & acknowledgeth the lord Jesus, or seekethe salvation in him, ought spedelye without any delay to forsack those disorderd and ungodlye & unholye sinagogs, & the false teachers of these tymes as they generallye stand in England.

- 1 The fals maner of worshiping the true god. Esa. 66, 17 :
Deu. 17, 1.
- 2 The pfane and ungodlie people receved into & retayned in the bozom and bodie of ther churches. Esa. 65, 11, 12.
- 3 The false and antichristian ministrie imposed upone ther churches. Num. 16, 21, 35.
- 4 The false and antichristian govñment wherwith ther churches ar ruled.

The haynouse & fearfull enormities that insue of these ar Infinit & cannot be sufyciently expresed ether by word or writing : but sumarylye, you shall find herbye christ Jesus denied in all his ofices, & so consequently not to be com in the flesh. You shall find herby the last will and testament of our savior christ abrogat, his pretious bodie and blood torne & troden under feette of dogges and swine, christ Jesus throwne out of his howse & antichrist his enimie exalted above god & raygning in the temple of god as god.

The pfisie of christ is denied when anything is aded to or taken from his written word, or wher christ's voyce (*sic*) onlye is not hard & obeyed in the church. These to be don wth them, The apocriphae ; worship mad of the invention of man, even that man of sinne, eronious, imposed & thrust upon ther churches : The burdenns & Idolatrus inventions with the endles heap of thr traditions, approveth : & for mor pticular profs of these things lett that Idolatrus boock of the bishops comonly called the boock of comon prayer be scanned by the word of god.

the presthood of christ is defiled, yea denied when any unlawfull worship is offered to christ, or in his name. this to be don with them the pmisses prove.

The kingdom of christ is denied wher his lawes and ordernances ar reiected & not obeyed, or anie other thurste upon the church &c. this to be with [*them*] is mor than manifest by ther straung offices, officers, & laws, even the statuts of omry never red of never [?] hard of in the scriptures.

The testament of christ is abrogate wher any thing is aded to it or taken frō it; o^r wher it is neckleckted to be pformed, yea reiected as with them. These the pmisses prove & our dayly complaynts & sufferings manifest.

The body and bloud of christ Jesus is most haynously torne & troden under fott by dogges & swyne wher the hollye things of god as the sacraments &c ar geven to the aparrant wicked and ungodlye. thes the second principall cause by dayly experience manifesteth.

Christ is thrown out of his house and antychrist exalted & rainethe by his officers and lawes. this the pmisses and p^{re}sent estate declareth.

neyther cann all the ptensed titelis and decevable gloses the false pfitts use any longer cover o^r hied these mischefes; for the god that condemneth them is a myghtye god, who discov^eth them & consumeth them with the breath of his mouth.

To the first principall cause They comonlye aleadg that this ther worship is not altogether false, but much of it good and godlye: and they ether use not the book at all o^r but the least pt of it, &c. ffirst I wold know of them whether the worship of god maie be in part true & in part false: Then, whether any devise of man or angell may be thrust into the worship of god or imposed upon the church of god the church of god. [*sic*]

now to ther using or not using the boock we all know and theie cannot denie, howsoever they may desembell, y^a this Idoll is sett upe, & they and all ther peopell stand under it: yea, that no man can by or sell without this mark of the beast, without bowing to this Idoll in ther markes [? market]; so that ther quiet standing under it, ther peac purchased by using part of it, ther Joining hands with them that use it and stand under it and Justyfy it as brethren; yea, ther Joyning with them in the sacraments & reseveing the sacraments at ther hands, even at the hands of the moste dombe Idoll & unworthie prests, do manifest what conscience and affection they cary. Further, the evene Joyneng of ther sermons to these abhominations, ether Justifieng or tolerating them, showeth bothe what & how they preach. can lyght and darknes be issued togeth^r: can straw remaine in the flaming fyer unconsumed: suer, thoughe this could be, yeat can the word of god never Justifie Idolatry, nor dagon stand up befor the ark of god. and even that

best pt of it they use is but dagon's stump devoted (? *l-d*), but a pece of swynes flesh, an abhominable sacrificy unto the lord, and so far ar they from withdrawing anie on sowle all this whill with all ther preaching from it, that they becom the most bitter psecutors of such as with draw them selves & keep them selves puer and undefyled from this false worship.

To the second principall cause they have litell to aleg Save that it is lawfull to preache the word to all. and for all to hear : from whenc it flowethe not that it is lawfull to receve all into the bozom and bodie of the church, to delyver the most holly & pretious things of god to all, evene the sacraments. & who is not baptised in England? who is not of ther churche? for this ther generall baptisinge of all I never as yeat cold hear on reason pveed ; but it is as easie to coine som as for the rest. for the other sacrament they alleage the power of suspension alowed them by the bps book, and how that therby they keep the unworthy from the sup &c. first I find that an instrument of that folyshe and Idoll sheperd, unknowen to our savior christ and his apostels, never used by them. Then I find it of no vawew, for nothing is done bie it ; and suerlye yf ther righte eie wer not uttly darkned it cowlde not be but they must neds pseve how that ther weapone wantethe bothe edg and poynt : for what is don by it? Can they or ther pishe proseed to excommunication otherwise then by the antychristian courts, w^{ch} lye as open for the pty suspended to be asoyled as punished by bribing M^r Comissary &c. nether can they kepe back the p^{tie} suspended from the ioyning wth them in ther prayers or fr. being receved into anie other peshe.

To the 3 prinsipall cause they aunswear by rayling & blaspheming & psecuting, because it touchethe them nearlye, even to the quick. and uncovereth the fothould of all ther tythes, wages, and living. and som reasons they aleg to prove ther ministrie lawfull. first, for their calling they aleg a fine distinction of matter and maner. They have a right calling in matter ; that is, they have inward graces. as knowledg, learning and so forthe, how so ever they have it not in a right maner, that is after that outward ordeynance of the calling and entrance that christ hath prescribed. first therfor it wold be known of them whether this maner they speak of may be severed from the matter. then whether he may be esteemed and held as a lawfull minister in the church of god that hathe not a lawfull and trew calling in the church of god, and that standeth by and justifieth his unlawfull and ungodlye callinge? Then it wold be knowen whether ther be any other treue entrance into the shepfold then by our savior christ's outward ordinances sett down in his last will and testament? Then [if] he that entreth in another way be not a these, a hirlyng and a murtherer? Then whether all the treu shep of god owght not to fle from such a wolf & hirlyng &c.

Lett them therfor which wilbe hard and held as treue ministers of christ approve them selves such derectly & playnlye by the lawes and ordinaunces of our savior christ in that behalf provided, or else we by the same lawes will not dowbt to denounce and pnownce them theves, robbers, hirlings, murtherers, wolves, &c, and shunne them our selves, and warne as many as love the lord Jesus & hould ther own salvation dear to fle from them according to o^r saviors comandement. But because it apeareth to all men that they have not his lawfull and true entrās into the shepfould, but ar clymed up another way, they mask and disguise & seek to cover ther ravin & intrusion with sheps clothing, & to mak men beleve that they abownd with Inward graces lerning & gittes, and that these may suffice to mak them lawfull ministers though they be not chosen and apoynted to the ministrie by God whoe is the gever of all the gittes they have. and best knoweth bothe the measuer the use & the end of them. They wold howld it an inderect awnser to an inditmente of wrong or thefte to aleg that they ar wise or riche &c. Suerlye nether cane this ther plea of Inward graces Justifye ther open breach of gods comandements : and evell dothe it bewray any Inward grace of the spirit of god when they plead for and justifye by ther utmost indevours open & haynous transgressions. we ar taught by our savior christ to Judge the tree bye the fruts, & ether to mak the tre good and the frut good or else to mak the tree bad and the frut evell. the graces they best of indeed ar inward indeed yf they be anye, for they evell apea^r as yeat ether in love to god, to his truthe, or to his servants. but we will not seace to besече the lord for them to bring forthe his own gifts to the service of his own glorye and the use of his church, that thancks may be geven to his holly name for them by manye. but they ar so far from this as yeat that they mak the word of god a clock [*sic*] unto ther sinnes. they say they preach the word of god trulye & senserlye, and therfor theye that leve them forsack The ordinarye meanes that god hathe leffte to the begettyng and preserving of faythe ; yea, they forsake even the word of life, & therfor they must nedcs be invaded with daunger and damnable erores &c, & such lyke popishe thunder-bowls wherby they afray the simple from hardines so much as to dare to call ther ministrie into question or to examine it by the word of god, much les to Judg it by gods word. in few words therfor to discover the falshod and wickednes of this reason we shall fynd this ther preching as false and as corrupt as ther calling and entraunce, and to be as far from y^t ordeynary blesed meanes lefte by the lord to his church as they ar from the ordeynary true entraunce. and Downtles even from this false calling & entraunc of thers may a reason be framed they ar not trulye & rightly sent ; therfor they can not trulye & rightlye preach. ther sending is aparaut to be of men and not of god. they ar knowen whose servants they ar bothe by ther lyvery and band and obedience.

ther comission is lymited unto them, & written and sealed. and mark ther doctrine well : I warrant you they transgrese not ther comission ; for behould how they kepe them within ther band, & how they dawbe and undershore (?) that antichristyan wall of ther masters the bps and stand under it. for wth us they gather not, nay, they opose them selves agaynst us, wrasting and constrayning the word of god agaynst us withe open violence to the scriptures and Iniurye to us, slaundering us in the pulpitte against ther own knowledge & conscience with sudry erores devised falsly of ther own brayn ; & thus destayne they the mouth of god, which they in that place wold seme to posses, with lies. & all to save ther own scines wholl & purchas peac with the bps by proclaiming open ware with us, or rather with god whose we ar and whose cause we defend against them and the bps. ffurther, herby they lyckwise may purchase credit withe the peopell, who ever by the lords wonderfull working have bym [*sic*] inclined to the most forward prechers & such as speak the truthe most bowldlye ; escaping herby ther m's Jealous eies, & that this may be wrought thus, now and then cast out some darke Delphicke words againste ther m's regiment, and seme to bewayll the lamentabell estat of the church &c. ; yeat shall it be so warylie as nether the peopell shall draw them therby into practic To cast of this antychristyan youk of the bps, nor ther lords have evident ocasion of wrath, howsoever the lord by his most wyse justice hath kinled an envious hatred betwixt these lords & the courtiers [?]. further observe this docktrine they preach, and you shall fynd it not onlie half & unpfecte truths, doubtfull & ambiguus trutthes lamley and unfaythfulye utterd ; but you shall find this gossell they prech no gossell of lybertie & power, but a gossell framed to the pollysies of the times, & wrested to uphould & serve this haynous Idolatrie they use and stand under, & this antichristian gov^{ment} of the bps & ther oficers. & this I say not that the gossell of christ Jesus cane this [*sic*] be preched or transfigured in it self, for no thing is mor free mor pfecte or mor powerfull to consume this chafe and stuble wher it is trulye received, even in the mowthes of the most simple ; but this I say to lett you see the haynous Dealying of the tolarating prechers, even those yt ar best esteemed, and yo^r own fearfull estate that ar misled by them. they as you see betray not onlye themselves and you but even christ Jesus hime self & his gossell into the hands of antichrist. for see howe these deceivers ioyn the word of god and Idollatrye together, the gossell of christ and bondage, christ and antichrist to gether in on temple. See what kynd of gossell & what kind of christ they geve yow : a christ without power to governe & kep his owne, a gossell without lybertie ; or else whie ar you thus Intangled wth begerlye rudyments &c ; whie ar you thus in subjection to the traditions of men ? thus mak they your christ an Idoll & you Idolaters. be therfor no longer deceived ; christ putethe not up these Iniuryes ; his father hathe delyv^{ed} into

his hands all power in heaven & earth, and he will shortly show himself with his myghtye angels in flaming fier, rendering vengeance unto them that know not god, which ar disobedient to his gospell : alsuche shalbe punished withe ever lasting pdetion frō the p'sence of the lorde and from the glory of his power. then shall none of those pretended titles of graces, word of god, gospell, christ Jesus, faith, comfort, &c. serve them; for he whos eies ar a flam of fier can not be deceved; no secrett is hidden from his bright eies. Though they beylde as babbell & digg as low as hell & c, he seeith ther hipocrisie & will disclose it, & will judg them by ther fruts, even the bitter & accursed fruts of ther disobedience. this word of god, gospell, & christ, which they use as a

where shall we
fynd such a iudgmt
so pemptorylye
uttered by any of
god children.
(In another hand)

snar & a fayer stall to draw gaynes & Ignorant sowles unto them & therby to justify ther wickednes, shall judg and condemn them amongst the devells wth all ther knowledg & inward graces &c. neyther can this fayth wrought by ther ministrie, wherby they subtillie draw the wholl multytud of ther hearers upon us; as who shold saye ye muste ether condemne all these & every on of them to be wthout faithe or Justifye our ministry by the effectts. alas we Judg not; we with Jeryney wishe even so be it: but ther is ou that Judgeth them, even that christ they boste of Judgeth them, & his word Judgeth them allredye. ther is no true faythe but that which is builte upon the word & bringethe forthe fruts accordinglye. Allas, the word condemneth them, ther fruts condemen them, yea them selves, when the boock of ther consciens shalbe opened by the lyght of gods word unto them, shall condemne themselves. The multytud of gods enimies shalbe as one mane; he that spared not y^e angells, he that spared not the owld world, he that spared not his own people, cannot spar them.

Another false proffie they have Depending upon the former of the effectes; & this is the comfōrt reseved by ther p^rching. and herin lyck Jamnes and Jambres they apishlie imytate paull, approving themselves to the consciences of ther auditory because they have beaten down sinne by the power of the word in them, and againe have healed the wounded conscience withe the cofōrtable pmises of The gospell. it hath befor bin shewed how haynously & wilfulye they transgrese againste the first table, & obstinatly remaine in those transgressions evene against the moste highe & his anoynted son christ Jesus; So y^e nowe they cannot geve the frut of ther bodye for the sine of there sowill. ther is no keping the second table without the first; he that breakethe one comādemāt breaketh all; he that breaketh the least comādement and teacheth men so shalbe called the least in the kingdom of heaven.

But to com to ther own effectts, as the beating down of sinn &c. Do not the heathen so wthout the lawe. Do not the papists herin exceed them? This doen [?] westminster hall, the assises generall in every shier, yea every court barone in every letell town

aproveth: being compared in these our happie dayes to the times of gross popy Dothe not sin abound, yea, ovflow? how is it then beatten down? nay, mark your mynisters well, you shall find that as they joine and frame the word of god to these haynose transgryonts against the first table, as idolatrye &c, So ioyne they ther own bodies & becom mynisters to secuer worldlyngs, ppane, glutons, covetus, athists, proud, vaine, & carnall epicuers & hipocrits so that these men be rich or have posabilltye & will to plesur them, feast them and contenance them and com

Charitie would have named the offenders rather then thus to condemne all.
(In another hand)

to ther sermons. these they uphowld by thus many yeares in ther sinnes, Sothing, flattering, and Justifieng them, terming them christians, yea, the pillers of the church. we must bear with them, yf these men showld tack offence at the gospell the peopell wold soner [?] forsack it. and so the gospell should be contemted [?] & such lyck stuff. yea, doubtles these p'chers ar very petifull surganes, that mak so foule wounds, & so uncurable. they of ther tender harts may not endur to rannsack to deepe, lest they put ther patients to too gret grefe for ther sinnes. It is easier to mak a wound then to cuer it; Therfor they will not search them to the bottom, but bynd them up quickly with the promyses of the gospell, & power in the oyll of grace. O folysh pittye. nay, o cruell

o what profe is there of these slanders.
(In another hand)

mersye. Destroye they not herby all ther patients? What wound yf it be not searched, or ulcer yf it be not launced, & have apte & convenient medycines applyed, can be cured, will they power the sweett oyll upon dead fleshe, or into stinking & corrupt wounds? will they laie strong [?] comfortative emplaysters to owld rotten festered soores? so shall they lose bothe ther oyll & ther labor. is this the gospell to whom the gospell belongeth? is this 'reppent & amend your lyves for the kingdom of god is at hand &c'? is it not rather that impoysoned playster of peac wher ther is no peac? Can they geve the promises of the gospell to these Ignorant ppane wicked & open idolaters? can they geve christ or the benefits of his deathe & resurrection, as libertye, power, salvation to a peopell that remayn & will not com out from under the yock of antichrist? is not this to bless gods enemies, to Justifie the wicked, yea, to curse gods saynts & to condemne the iust? these ar the comforts they geve you; This is the peace, so many spirituall whordoms and wichcraftes remaining in so great number. ther can be no comforte but such as is grounded on the pmyses of god; the pmyses of god belongethe not to all unbelieving disobedient & obstinat people; but the foundation of god remayneth suer, and hath this seall, The lord knoweth who ar his, & lett every on that caleth on the name of the lord depart from Iniquitey. This comfort then geven by these ministers & taken by this people, is not wthowt blasphemye in the one and psuntion in the other; and gods fearfull vengeance upon bothe the one & the other. what pmyse of blessing have they

from god so long as they remayn in this open wickednes, Idolatrie, disorder and rebellyon? but rather a fearfull looking for of Judgment. Surlie yf they tack comfort to desobey god, god will tack comfort to destroy them. And suerlye I cane but wonder and trembell at the Judgment of god upon them, to see them geven over so generaly to so strong delusions & to so great blyndnes as not having [?] among them any on trew signe of gods presence, Any on true phit, nor any on that can tell how long these ministers shall last. Yeat they comfort them selves in thes calamities, pmising them selves peace with good, yea great happines, not psevig that they ar wretched & miserabell & poore & blynd and naked. the lord therfo of his gret mercie draw out such as be his from among them, and anynt ther eies wth eiesalve that they may see & fle from this mor then egypticall darknes & babilonishe bondage into that most joyūs light & libertie of the servants of god. the lord grant them dezerning spirits to know the true worship of god from false & the true ministers of god from false; that they may save them from the wicked generation & find comfort withe the lord in his day of refreshing.

To the fourthe principall cause they aleg many slyght & lame excuses, as that the fault is not in them but in the civill maiestrat y^t these disorders & bondages remaine; yf it wer in them it should not; they wish for reformation & sighe for it daylie, yea, they pray with tears both publycklye & privatlye for it, and as far as it lyethe in them they seek it by all meanes: they sue to the plyments for it; & seing it cannot be obtayned, they pswad all men to have patienc untill it may please god to torne the princes harte, and in the mean tyme to rest contented with this measur of gods truthe & fredom they have; ther can be no church withowt some blemishes and defects in this world; suche wer the church of Corinthe, galatia; Thanked be god we have greter measur of gods grases then any nation in the world; & such lyck fleshly unfaythfull reasons therby to blear mens eies and hyd ther infidellytye, yea ther treason to christ him self, to our prince, and the wholl land. but what is this chaff to the wheat when it cometh to the fane [?] of the gossell? they have but conseed chaf and brought forthe stubell. ffirst, wher find they that ether our savior christ or his Apostells sued to plyments or princes for the planting or practising of the gossell; & whetlier the word it self yf it be faythfullie taught be not of power both to tack princes in the nett and to bind them in chaynes and feters. Then yf princes resist or necklect, wher they fynd that the faithfull ought to rest in ther defawlts and disorders untyll god change the princes hart?

Then, wher they find that our lord Jesus ever sent owt any without geving them power; or whether the true mynisters & people of god may be without this power of christ to reforme them selves, & to put in practyce christs comandements according to the measur of faythe and grace the lord hath geven them. Then

whether he can be a true mynister that wantethe this power, or neckleckteth it. Then, whether on man can serve to masters at once, or whether he shall not be Judged his servant to whom he yieldeth obedience. Then, whether he be a faythfull servant that not only faythfulye yeldethe obediance & subiection to his m^r enemie, but unfaythfullye [word omitted] the most p^rtious things of christ, yea, christ himself into the hands of antychrist? furder, it wold be known of them whether the church of christ can be without the govⁿment & officers that he hath asigned in his last will and testament unto it.

Then, whether his govⁿment be not a thing of nesesytye to the church?

Then, whether his govⁿment be not a pt of christs testament?

Then, whether it be a principall part of christs kyngdome, & whether christ can be a kyng and not governe by his own lawes & offycers?

Then, whether the church of christ can be govⁿed by antychrist &c?

Then, whether our christian lyberties and the holye order of christs govⁿmente be not a thing to be stood for unto the deathe by every servant of christ Jesus?

To these poynts of doctrine yf they assent not it is because ther is no lyght in them: yf they assent, ther remaineth no mor to do but that they repent & amend w^howt any furder aliegation or delaye, for certaynlye ther is no subtilt distinction or slye evasion will stand before our god whose lawes these ar. Inward intents will not excuse owtward, yea obstinat transgressions: the king of kings will not com in subiection to any king; he yealdeth not his septer to another, nor his sheep to a strainger.

But as they have dealt with christ Jesus ther lord, so they have— & wth no better fayth—delt wth ther prince and ther contry, as shall brefflye apeare. Call we not hime by good right a traytor y^t willingly and wittinglye suffer ther [*sic*] king & sufferayn to fall into undowted destructiion both of bodye and sowle and geveth hime no warning, no exortation to avoyd, but most wickedlye pampeth him up in his sinne, by yealding obedienc unto his ungodlye hestes? lyckwise can any nation or citey tack him for a faythfull wachman who, being plased in the wach tower not only not discovereth enemie by geving warning, but yealdeth unto hime, conspiracythe with hime, openethe hime the gattes, yea, betrayeth into his hands not only the cittie but all the people?

This, and much mor then can be uttered, to be don by theyr wachmen is mor then maniffest to all suche as eyther slep not to depe in the dreggs of ther securitye, or wilfully shut not ther eies or not belceev ther own eies in those lamentabell desolations: neyther can those fyg leaves of blemishes & coruptions by the exampell of the churches at Corrynthe & galatiea cuer or cover these wounds.

we may tak a better example from those churches of ther repentance, of ther sorow, of ther amendement ; nor yeat have they escaped gods Judgments by blessinge them selves & the people in ther sinne [?]. god is a righteous god, & ane holye god, & a Jelous god ; he cannot justifie sinne, nor blesse them remaining in this maner in ther sinne &c. Alas, what a wofull estate stand they in that ar wretched [*sic*] & miserabell & poor & blynd & naked, & yeat thinck them selves riche and Incresed wth goods, and to have need of nothing. what then is to be Done in these confused tymes, save that they buye gold of him that walketh between the seven golden candell stickes, Gould tried bye the fier that they may be riche, & whit rayment y^t they may be clothed, & that ther filthie nakedness Do not apear, & that they anoynt ther eies wth eie saulv that they may see and fle from these unholye assemblyes, this false and unholye worschip, this false and unholye ministrye, this false and unholye peopell, this false and unholye government, lest they be ptakers of ther sinnes and so of ther plages.

NOTES AND QUERIES

We have received several additions to, and corrections of, the "Bibliography of Congregational History" published last May. We shall heartily welcome further communications of the same kind, which will hereafter be utilized in a supplementary list.

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We give a cordial welcome to the *History of the Congregational Churches in the Berks, South Oxon and South Bucks Association*, lately compiled by Rev. W. H. Summers, of Hungerford. The book is an excellent specimen of the way in which a local history should be written. After an introductory historical sketch of Nonconformity in the district the author narrates the origin and early proceedings of the Association, and then deals with the several churches, telling the story of each from its origin to the present time. In an appendix he treats of Presbyterian and Congregational churches and conventicles now extinct; and adds a copious index of ministers from 1662 to 1905, including all of whom anything is known beyond the bare names.

Only two things might, in our opinion, have been improved: smoother paper, and the inclusion of the remainder of the Bucks and Oxfordshire churches. But as these constitute another Association, it is to be hoped that their story will be as well told, either by the same pen or by another.

*

As intimated elsewhere, Mr. Champlin Burrage has had the good fortune to disinter another important autograph of Robert Browne. Indeed, there are two MS., both entirely in the handwriting of the venerable pioneer; one being the original of one of his published works, and the other a letter or treatise hitherto entirely unknown. Mr. Burrage believes it to have been written late in 1587 or early in 1588, apparently in reply to the censures of some ultra-Separatists, who deemed it sinful to hear the Gospel from conforming ministers. The paper was certainly written after Browne's partial submission; but, so far as we were privileged to read it, there is nothing inconsistent with the principles laid down in the *Treatise of Reformation*, and it has much in common with Robinson's well-known posthumous tract. It is of considerable bulk, much longer than the *New Years Gift*. It is to be hoped that Mr. Burrage may meet with sufficient encouragement to warrant him in publishing this very unexpected discovery.

Can any reader indicate the community to which the following quotation refers?

"By the highway called Horseydowne, part of a waste belonging to the Monastery of Bermondsey dissolved, she recollects that certain people called Brownists, denied Christian burial, were interred there." [*Exchequer Depositions*, 3 and 4 James II.]

S.B.A.

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Valuable service might be rendered to our Society by any members who could send copies of *old Church Covenants*, especially such as are dated earlier than 1760; also *old* reports of County Associations; likewise *old* reports of Congregational colleges; and *any* documents, reports, or extracts relating to extinct Congregational academies, particularly those at Gosport, Newport Pagnell, Wymondham, and Cotton End.

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Will our members kindly endeavour, by any personal or social influence they may possess, to *increase our numerical strength*? There is much valuable material awaiting publication, or deserving reproduction, which it is quite impossible for us to undertake with our present resources.

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