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## Editorial

The Annual Meeting of our Society will be held on Wednesday, 12th May, at 4 p.m., in Room 28, Memorial Hall. A good attendance of members is hoped for.

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It is well known that our late esteemed friend the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., devoted many years to the collection of material for a history of Yorkshire Nonconformity; especially of the Congregational churches. This material is in the hands of his literary executors, who hope to make the most important parts of it accessible to the public. As a first instalment, they are about to publish, during the present year, a volume to be entitled *Yorkshire Puritan and Early Nonconformity, illustrated by the lives of the Ejected Ministers, 1660 and 1662*. It will include notices of all the Puritan ministers ejected in Yorkshire, and of those ejected elsewhere who were either born in Yorkshire or who subsequently ministered within the county. It is expected to make an octavo volume of something over two hundred pages, and will be published at 3/6 net. Should this find acceptance with the public, it is hoped that it may be followed by a volume on the Yorkshire Congregational academies and colleges.

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The Secretary will be grateful to any member of the Society who will assist him by transcribing or making extracts from pamphlets and MSS. in the British Museum and Williams's Library.

## The Eschatology of Praise-God Barbone

EVERY schoolboy is familiar with the name of Praise-God Barbone; or at least with the Cavalier travesty of it which furnished a nickname for the "Little Parliament" of 1653. The unfortunate appellative has served for a laughing stock to seven generations of scoffers; and has been seriously taken as a sample of canting names supposed to have been common among the Puritans, but which were in fact no more so in the time of the Commonwealth than absurd and fantastic names are to-day.

The ancestry and birthplace of Barbone are unknown; but the name and family doubtless came at first from Barbon, a small village in Westmoreland, three miles from Kirkby Lonsdale. He was born about the year 1596, and admitted a freeman of the Skinners' (or Leathersellers') Company on 20th January, 1623. On 6th July, 1630, he is mentioned as warden of yeomanry. In 1632—probably earlier—he was a member of the Separatist church under the pastorate of John Lothrop; and on 29th April of that year he, together with Lothrop and many of their fellow-worshippers, was arrested and committed to prison. He was admitted a liveryman on 13th October, 1634. In 1635 his daughter, Sarah, died, and was buried at Wandsworth. In 1640 the church, being now too numerous to meet safely in one place, divided; and Barbone was chosen pastor of one section, which thenceforth met in his house, the sign of the Lock and Key in Fleet Street, between St Dunstan's church and the corner of Fetter Lane.

By 1641 his name had become familiar as that of an unauthorized preacher; and on Sunday, 19th December in that year, his house was beset by a mob while he was preaching. The riot was so serious that the constables interfered, and many persons were taken into custody. Amongst them were Mr. Barbone and another preacher named Green; but as no charge was brought against them it would seem that the object was merely to protect them from the mob. Two scurrilous pamphlets are extant relating to this occurrence: *The Discovery of a Swarm of Separatists, or a Leatherseller's Sermon*, and *New Preachers, New* —; the latter ascribed to John Taylor, "The Water Poet." As far back as 1633 there had been debates in the Separatist church as to whether the parochial assemblies were justly entitled to be accounted churches; and some who took the negative side seceded and joined the Strict Baptist church of which John Spilsbury was pastor. Barbone was one of the more liberal majority; and as he certainly was not then a Baptist (whatever his views may have been later) he has been accredited with the authorship of a tract published in 1642, of which the following is the full title: *A Discourse tending To Prove The Baptisme In, or Under The Defection of Antichrist to be the Ordinance of Jesus Christ. As also that the Baptisme of Infants or Children is warrantable, and agreeable to the Word of God. Where the perpetuity of the estate of Christ's Church in the world and the everlastingnesse of the Covenant of Almighty God to Abraham are set forth on manie Grounds, and sundry other particular things are controverted and discussed. By P.B. Jer. 6 c. 16 v., Acts 5 c. 38 v., 2 Thes. 2 c. 15 v. [cited in full]. London, 1642."*

A copy of this rare tract is in the Angus Library, at Regent's Park Baptist College; and the probable identification of the author is endorsed by Mr. Ch.

Burrage, who is a capable critic of early Nonconformist literature.

Barbone was chosen third warden of the Skinners' Company on 16th June, 1648, and was a member of the Common Council in 1649. He was evidently a man of substance, for on 25th July, 1649, he was one of four sureties in £500 each for the newly appointed master of the mint. He signs himself "Prayse Barbon,"—which some have reported on that account as his full and correct name. One of his co-signatories was Sir Fulke Greville. In 1651 he was on the committee for the city; and in 1653 was summoned to the legislative assembly known as "the Little Parliament." The writ of summons is still preserved in the Public Record Office; and therein the name stands in the vulgarized form "Praise-God Barebones." Spelling in those days, especially of proper names, was erratic; but the writ is decisive evidence that the second syllable of the name is authentic. Barbone was an active, though not obtrusive, member of this Parliament; he was teller in several divisions, and sat on three committees—those on tithes, petitions, and the proposed codifying of law. There are indications that he was more of a republican than a Cromwellian. After the dissolution of the "Little Parliament" he seems to have withdrawn from public affairs until after the death of Cromwell. By this time he had probably become a Baptist, though this is disputed; at any rate twenty-two members of "the church that walks with Mr. Barebone" signed the Baptist declaration of 1654.

He re-entered politics in 1659, when he was appointed Comptroller of Sequestrations. He actively promoted, and personally presented, the city petition in favour of "the Good Old Cause," for which he received the thanks of the House, and provoked the violent displeasure of Monk, who

was already plotting the Restoration. The royalists nicknamed him "Good Old Cause"; and his portrait was published in a tract entitled *The Good Old Cause Drawn to the Life*. He acted as intermediary in conveying to the printers Marchmont Needham's pamphlet *News from Brussels* (10th March, 1659/60), a warning against the recall of Charles Stuart. But it was too late; Monk was in power, and on 30th March Barbone was summoned before the Council of State, and only dismissed on signing an engagement "not to act in opposition to the present power, or in disturbance thereof."

Barbone continued a vestryman of St. Dunstan's parish till after the Restoration. On 21st February, 1661, his windows were broken by a mob. On 26th November, 1661, he was sent to the Tower with James Harrington and Major Wildman, and remained there till 27th July, 1662. Being then dangerously ill, he was released on bail, on the petition of his wife. While he was still in prison, at the opening of Parliament in January, 1662, Clarendon charged him, as well as Wildman, Major Harris, and Alderman Ireton, with "traitorous designs against the government"; but no proof of the charge was ever offered.

His home was now in Crane Court; but his house was destroyed in the Great Fire. In 1676 he was living in Shoe Lane, paying £25 a year rent. He died there on 5th January, 1680, at the age of 84, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

His son, Nicholas Barbon, M.D., was a well known projector of street improvements, and one of the original founders of the Phoenix Fire Insurance Company. He was at one time M.P. for Bramber.

Praise-God Barbone is not generally known as an author. But two or three years ago the Congregational Library acquired an extremely rare volume of viii + 120 pp. 4to, entitled *Good Things*

to *Come*, printed in London, 1675, and having on the title page (also on a second title page) the author's initials, P.G.B. A former owner had interpreted these initials "Praise-God Barbone"; whether on any authority or only by a happy guess we are unable to say. But a careful perusal of the work convinces us that there is nothing in it inconsistent with the ascription, and no known writer bearing the same initials to whom it can be so reasonably assigned.

### GOOD THINGS TO COME

OR

A Setting forth some of the *Great Things* that will Contemporize and take place, when our Lord Christ shall come again, mentioned in the holy Scriptures.

- I. As the resurrection and raising of the dead to live again: with the order of it.
- II. The reign of our Lord Christ here on earth, and for how long; namely, till he hath subjected all his enemies, and put them under his feet.
- III. The resigning and delivering up the Kingdom by the Lord Christ unto the father, of whom he received it.
- IV. Of God the Father, then becoming all, in all, in Dominion, power, and rule, the great Omega.
- V. Of the kingdom of the father, Succeeding that surrender and giving up by the Lord Christ, and something the holy Scriptures intimate concerning the same, withundry other things treated of by way of essay from I Cor. 15.

#### *The Second Part.*

Containing the proposing of that great Mystery shewed by holy Paul, I Cor. 15.53. That the Saints then alive shall not die but be changed, with something concerning the Restoration and world to come, and New Earth, which at the coming again of our Lord, will take place.

By P. G. B.

1 Cor. 2.9. *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entred into the heart of || man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.*

John 16.22. *But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoyce, and your joy no || man taketh from you.*

1 Theff 5.21 *Prove all things: hold fast that which is good.*

LONDON

Printed, in the Year, 1675

In an address of seven pages "to the reader" our author anticipates a mingled reception for his book. "Some, it may be, will dislike it as fabulous; some will decry it as holding forth something erroneous; some, that these things are not so necessary for these times"; but others, he hopes, will find benefit in the sober consideration of an unfamiliar topic. He proceeds to review "some general notions and common sayings" among godly people, which hinder the advance of true knowledge. The millennial tenet, say some, is not orthodox; on which he shrewdly remarks: "the fallacie of being orthodox, is but an airy notion: a name only: the religious tenets, and practices settled by power, in any nation or country are orthodox there, where they are so settled; and all other dissonant tenets to the establishment are counted heterodox, though they be never so right tenets." Thus the Papist calls the Protestant heterodox, and *vice versa*.

Of prepossessions which hinder the acceptance of his views he enumerates a popular conception of "the world to come" as heaven; "as if nothing was to be here below, after the end of this world, but heaven and being in heaven. Nay, in common speaking some tell of going to heaven before this world have an end." This he calls "putting spiritual meanings on plain prophecies, prophesying thereby themselves, instead of believing and receiving the sayings of the prophets."

Another hindrance of knowledge, he thinks, is "a narrow notion, received and held forth upon little ground but tradition, namely, that the Lord Christ will come at the day of judgement, to judge the quick and the dead, according to that short summary in the Creed."

Some again "say it is a controversie, and they do not care to meddle with controversies." What



then? At our Lord's first coming it was a controversy whether he were Christ or a deceiver; and John sent to Him to have the question settled. "Indeed, so great a thing, and of so high concernment, as the coming of the Saviour, veiled, and so much opposed, should make men to search, and seek into it the more, lest haply they should be found at a loss when He comes."

He concludes with a reference to the fact that Christ chose for His apostles, and the witnesses of His resurrection, not the learned, but persons of low rank. "And it is likely, as it hath been so, it will be found still; not but that sometimes God anoints persons of higher rank, and maketh known his mind to them, and makes use of them; but it seemeth not to be his ordinary method."

We proceed to give a summary, as brief as possible, of the general contents of the book; with a few characteristic extracts:

*Chapter 1.* "Of the Resurrection in General." It is argued from 1 Cor. 15. 22 that for mankind resurrection must be as universal as death.

*Chapter 2.* "Containing something concerning the order of rising again, and the Lord Christ, the first of that order." He argues from several scriptures that "those that are Christ's" will arise at His premillennial coming; but that subsequently, *near* if not *at* the close of His millennial reign, the wicked will rise to condemnation.

*Chapter 3.* "Containing sundry things of the reign of our Lord Christ: of his putting down all his enemies; and how long his reign will be." It is maintained that Christ, as "a mighty King and Monarch," will reign on earth; will "put down all rule and authority not derived from Him, all that make opposition, that will not subject themselves; the rulers of the unsaved nations; they will then, by our Lord Christ, be utterly dispossessed of their power and put down." "And his kingdom and reign shall be outward and visible on earth, as his humiliation was." This is something quite distinct from what is promised in 110 Psalm 4, which relates to something already accomplished, virtually, if not actually. But "there will be enemies in the time of Christ our Lord his reign on earth, which he must subdue and put down." And the millennial



*The Portraiture of M<sup>r</sup>  
Praise God Barebone*

FROM A PRINT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; ABOUT 1666-70

reign will last until this end is attained, and the last enemy, Death, is destroyed.

*Chapter 4.* "Containing something of the beginning, and end, of Christ our Lord his kingdom; and of such things as will be at the beginning and end of the same." At the beginning of the millennial age, though not of necessity all at once, these things are to be looked for: <sup>1</sup> A glorious appearance of Christ attended by all the holy angels; <sup>2</sup> The judgement of the nations, *i.e.*, of those then living, as described in Matt. 25 c.; <sup>3</sup> The resurrection and glorification of the Saints; <sup>4</sup> The coming down from heaven of the New Jerusalem; <sup>5</sup> The binding of Satan for a thousand years. This "thousand years" is taken literally. At its close Satan is to be loosed "for a little season," who will then stir up "the unsaved of the nations" to war against the saints. But they will be destroyed by fire from heaven. Then will follow the resurrection of the wicked; in their judgement, as well as that of the fallen angels, the glorified saints will be assessors; they, together with death and hell, will be "cast into the lake of fire called the second death."

"All enemies will then be totally subdued and destroyed." This phrase *seems* as if our author hoped rather for the total extinction of the wicked than their eternal punishment. As to the intermediate portion of the thousand years, it is to be a time of perfect felicity, little, if at all, interrupted by the final revolt; after which "the saints shall then receive and enjoy higher and greater glory, and shall go to be with Christ for ever in the kingdom of the Father."

*Chapter 5.* "Of the great wisdom and understanding of the Apostle Paul, and his high knowledge in the heavenly mysteries, and the many revelations he had."

*Chapter 6.* "Of the Lord Christ delivering up his kingdom to his father; and of God the Father becoming all, in all: where will be a more glorious state."

*Chapter 7.* "Of a higher degree of glory in the kingdom of the father; and higher attainments for the Saints, then." "The wisdom of God the Father did foresee and order a gradual way of proceed, from glory to glory, from a lesser to a greater, and the greatest and highest of all last. . . . That so the saints might with more facility take on the glory of the kingdom of the Father, having been a long time before in the kingdom of the Son."

*Chapter 8.* "Of the mystery of God, and the father, and of Christ: so, in like manner, the kingdom of God, the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of the Father."

Our author discriminates between "the kingdom of God," "the kingdom of Christ," and "the kingdom of the Father." The first he represents as from the beginning, and existing to-day; the

second is Millennial ; the third Post-Millennial. "The sinners will be consumed out of the earth in the time of the kingdom of Christ, in the new earth, and before his kingdom be ended. But when the kingdom of the father takes place, and God the father be all, in all, then the wicked will be no more." The Christology of this chapter is less clear than might be wished ; we would not venture to charge the writer with Arianism, but his language sometimes suggests it.

*Chapter 9.* "Something held forth concerning a mixed or interwoven way of speaking in the holy scriptures, where the kingdom of God, and of the Lord Christ, are spoken of." In this chapter an Arian tendency is, we think, still more apparent.

This concludes the first part of the treatise. The second part has a new title page, as follows :

### A MYSTERY

- I. Shewed by Holy *Paul*, that the Saints alive at the coming of the Lord Christ shall not then die but be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye.
- II. Something treated of concerning that change ; wherein it will consist, and the Standard or Measure of it.
- III. That many of the great Prophecies in the Holy Scriptures, do eye that Time, and those Changed People and state, for their Great Fulfilling.
- IV. Something held forth concerning the Restoration of all things, and the world to come, that shall take place when our Lord Christ shall come again.
- V. Of the Great Happiness of that day, and the Flourishing Estate the Righteous shall then Enjoy ; Proposed to consideration ; With sundry other things occasionally Discussed.

By P. G. B.

Joh. 11. 26. *And whosoever liveth and believeth in me [to wit in Christ at his coming] shall never die ; believest thou this ?*

Psa. 31. 19. *O how great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which thou hast prepared for them that trust in thee, before the sons of men !*

Joh. 20. 29. *Blessed are they that have not seen me, yet have believed.*

Printed in the Year, 1675

A one-page note "to the reader" protests against the allegorizing of Scripture, which the writer conceives should be taken literally. From the

penultimate sentence it would seem that he intended to leave the book for posthumous publication, being about eighty years old, but the date shews that he changed his purpose. "It is likely it may be better resented and understood hereafter; and therefore I shall leave it to the giver of light and understanding, to give forth as he shall please. The day hasteneth; the time it draweth nigh; he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. In the mean time, the just shall live by faith. Farewell."

The second part is headed *The Mystery of Not Dying, but being Changed whilest alive, Discussed.* 1 Cor. 15.5.

*Chapter 1.* "Something offered in a brief and general way touching the resurrection of the dead, from that in 1 Cor. 15. from the 34. to the end of vers. 50 In order to the better taking knowledge of some other matter."

The exposition is on familiar lines; and, like most expositors, our author fails to make clear what he understands by "a spiritual body." Two of his sayings deserve quotation. On v. 49 he says: "*we shall*; not that we do bear it (the image of the heavenly) now: for our present state is a state of regeneration; but our future condition will be a state of glorification:" going on to quote Col. 3:4. Again: "Man clothed with mortality and corrupt flesh and blood, cannot come there . . . . but must be first sown in weakness before they come to be raised in glory; or else changed in a moment . . . . flesh and blood cannot attain to that happy estate: though they should cry, Lord, Lord, open to us, it would be in vain."

*Chapter 2.* "Containing a brief proposal of sundry things to consideration; touching the mystery of the living, then, not dying but being changed in a moment, at the coming of the Lord Jesus." Little more than a verbose paraphrase on verse 51, emphasized from 1 Thes. 4 c. 15 fig. verses. To this Isaiah 25 c. 8 v., 40 c. 41 v., are referred. "So mounting up, like the Eagles with wings, these waiters on the Lord Christ shall be so renewed then, as to do as it is there said: this prophesy seemeth to relate to that very time, and to have its fulfilling then."

*Chapter 3.* "Containing the proposal of some things by way of essay, from vers. 53 and 54, concerning the Apostle's further marking out the matter wherein this mystery consists; with the manner of the effecting of it."

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For the matter, "It is . . . being freed or rid of corruption, defilements, and all pollution; and . . . being put into a state of perfect rectitude and uprightness; and this beyond the highest degree of mortification that is to be attained unto here . . . An estate beyond the highest attainer of sanctification that the happy estate of regeneration is attended withal in the polluted world." And to this is added physical immortality: "This dying body which is dying daily as we are carrying it about with us, shall then be put into a state and condition of immortality, so as not to die at all, but to live for ever." As to the manner, our author does for once concede a figurative sense to the scripture he applies. "It is held forth in a way of putting off and putting on; a borrowed way of speaking." The condition then, he says, "will not be righteousness imputed as now; but righteousness in us, perfect righteousness in our own persons; we shall be like the Lord Christ." It is to the age thus initiated that Isaiah 52 c. 1 fig., 60 c. 1 fig. are referred: "though it may, in a great measure, have its fulfilling before, and more especially when the Jews are returned to their own land and converted; yet no time so likely to have its full fulfilling, as then, when the Lord Christ shall come again."

*Chapter 4.* Containing something further, in a general way proposed, concerning the mystery of not all dying, but being changed in a moment [etc.]"

He collates Acts 3 c. 20-21 vs. with Rom. 8 c. 22-3 vs. "This groaning, and desire after restoration . . . seemeth to imply a former happy estate . . . which they would be at and enjoy again: . . . so shall they, according to their expectations, be restored to their former estate, with some additions of blessedness." He seems to anticipate this also for the inferior creatures, but is not quite clear. But "The unjust, and wicked sinners, they shall not share at all in the glory and blessedness of that happy day; for as they shall not rise then, . . . so such of them as are then living shall not be changed, but shall be left in their old clothing of corruption and mortality."

*Chapter 5.* "Containing something proposed to consideration touching the World to Come; as being much the same with the New Heaven and the New Earth spoken of in the holy scriptures: and that it will Contemporize in time with that and other great things that will take place at the Coming of our Lord Christ."

Stress is laid on the idea that "The world to come" is not heaven, or in heaven, but is the renovated earth; else its inhabitants would not be men and women, but "angels or little deities." The world to come will be ruled, not by the angels, but by the saints, to whom Christ "will delegate power as He pleases, to one to be ruler over five cities, and to another to be ruler over ten cities." Then "the righteous will have the good things, the blessedness

and the felicity ; and the wicked will have then in the world to come the evil things"—with a reference to Luke 16 c. 19 fig. vs. "The world to come . . . will be new peopled with the raised and changed saints ; wherein Israel . . . will have the preeminence, being God's nation ; and the Gentile saved nations shall walk in their light."

*Chapter 6.* " . . . Touching the difference, and distinctions, that will be between the raised saints and the changed, though in many things the same ; . . . and that the resurrection and this changing are not the same, but two different things."

The chief difference is thus explained : "The raised will not be the same they were in body when they died . . . God giveth to every seed his own body, though not the same as sown . . . . but the living then at Christ's coming . . . will have the same bodies without dying." "It is very probable . . . the raised will be as the angels of God, as our Lord saith, Matt. 22 c. 30 v. ; but the changed like to Adam and Eve will be as the sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty." He seems to hint that "neither marry nor are given in marriage" *may* possibly apply only to the dead that are raised, and not to the changed who did not die !

*Chapter 7.* " . . . That the righteous living and remaining at the coming of the Lord Christ, changed in a moment—in special, the Israelites, the seed of Abraham—will be the inhabitants of the new earth and habitable world to come [etc.]" On this principle our author is able to insist on a literal fulfilment of many predictions relating to the restoration of Israel.

*Chapter 8.* "Containing a further proposal of some Prophecies . . . not yet fulfilled in the utmost extent, eyeing that happy day of the Coming of our Lord Christ ; likely then to be fulfilled and made good to the utmost [etc.]"

This is a further application and elaboration of the same principle, with some tautology.

*Chapter 9.* " . . . Touching sundry high predictions, promises, and sayings of our Lord Christ, the holy Apostles, and other penmen of the New Testament [etc.]"

This chapter consists, for the most part, of florid rhetoric. A few passages are worth quoting : "Of near affinity with redemption is Salvation, or being Saved . . . The beginning of it, and first-fruits, here, is regeneration, in this world : and the full harvest and perfection in the world to come . . . Salvation, begun by the spirit of regeneration ; it hath for the earnest of the whole the Holy Spirit, and it hath sure promises, all yea and Amen in Christ." "Life everlasting appertains unto, and shall be enjoyed by, the whole person, the body more especially ; into which the spirit or angelical part was breathed by Almighty God when He first made man.

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This is vulgarly called the soul, haply not very properly; it is a received principle that dies not nor is capable of it, but returns to God who gave it." "The wicked, as they have such angelical spirits in their day here, so they in their day hereafter will have a kind of immortality and eternity in the world to come. The holy scriptures imply the eternal life of the wicked . . . they must live again, and that in woe and torment for ever." [This is not quite consistent with Part I, ch. 4.]

*Chapter 10.* ". . . The great restoration of all things spoken of by the prophets; and the happy change that shall then attend man, and the earth, and the creatures therein: when Jesus Christ shall be sent the second time, and the world to come take place [etc.]"

Our author here ventures to suggest more distinctly than in ch. 6 that in the new earth there may be propagation—of the changed, though not of the raised—and "they shall dwell in it, and their children, and their children's children, for ever." Thus there may be "the sucking child" and "the weaned child," so as to fulfil in the most literal sense the prediction of Isaiah 11 c. Then there is to be "a wonderful change in the creature, and their hurtfulness, and devouring nature, will be taken away by the restoration, and they made harmless as at their first making." There are to be no thorns or thistles or noisome plants; no barren soil; no toil or labour, pain or sickness. Israel is to dwell in his own land, which "is like to fare well, and be the chief, the centre of that happy change and restoration of the earth, and making of it new." The seed of Shem and of Japhet are to enjoy the good of the land: "but for Canaan, and Ham his father, that servant of servants under the curse of Noah, there seemeth to be no mention of any grace or favour for him, or for his lands, or dwellings, at that happy day."

*Chapter 11.* ". . . Of a blessed and flourishing condition, and great prosperity, peace, and the enjoyment of great blessings the righteous shall then enjoy . . . and the freedom from all want, woe, and misery then."

This is for the most part a development of the ideas in the preceding chapter. The writer again protests against allegorizing or spiritualizing promises of earthly good, which he insists are to be literally accomplished in the New Earth. At the same time he recognises the fact that he "cannot, without the attracting censure, and suffering loss, and being cried out on as being erroneous at the least, propose these things to consideration: the spirits of some are so keen, and their thoughts so high set the other way, that they will cry *carnal, carnal*, at the least, if not far worse. However, I shall bear it and go on." Carnality cannot be justly charged on him, however crude his literalism; for he constantly



emphasizes the spotless holiness, and the realized presence of God, which are to characterize the state of the blessed.

*Chapter 12.* “. . . . Concerning dominion and power, sovereignty and rule, which the changed people, the Israelites especially, are likely to have at the restoration in the world to come. . . . With some eminent scriptures ascertaining the sureness of the making all good so foretold and declared.”

Unfallen man was ordained to rule over all creatures : but when sin entered, then came enmity and rebellion—not only of the creatures against man, but between man and man. Dominion was promised—granted for a little—to the house of David, “haply it must be a type of some greater thing to come hereafter. . . . The time is not yet come for the seed of the woman, but it hasteth ; our Lord Christ will take to himself his great power and reign, but he will save.” Meanwhile “Dives will have the day, and the woman’s seed under the hatches, as was Lazarus then.” Our author does not commit himself to the doctrine of the “fifth monarchy,” which he thinks doubtful. Our Lord has said that His kingdom is not of this world, neither, as I apprehend, is, or to be, in this world save in a spiritual consideration, as the gospel and gospel dispensations, and the fruits of the spirit.” The fifth monarchy of Daniel will only be when our Lord shall come in His glory. He will then be the greatest monarch that ever was on earth, exercising universal dominion, with the saints as His viceroys. So they “will be made unto God kings and priests, and shall reign on the earth”—the new earth, not the present world.

A postscript of about 7 pages ends the work. Our author urges the certainty of all as yet unfulfilled predictions and promises, from such Scriptures as “It is impossible for God to lie,” and “Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.” He proceeds to argue from the exact and literal fulfilment of numerous pre-intimations of our Lord’s coming in the past, and of circumstances and incidents of His earthly life and death, that an equally exact and literal fulfilment must be expected of all outstanding predictions whatsoever. He evidently holds by the most rigid conception of verbal inspiration, and seems fully assured that every syllable of canonical scripture is “the very pure word of God,” His general outlook is opti-

mistic, and he concludes with the prayer "O come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

There is not in the whole treatise any trace of Calvinistic predestination; nor any indication of the author's views on baptism or Church orders. While as to politics, his tone is that of one who has witnessed the failure of a noble effort to "build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land;" and is content to wait patiently till he that sitteth on the throne shall say: "Behold, I make all things new."

## Congregationalism in Northumberland and Durham

### II

(Continued from p. 23).

IN 1672 political necessity and the passion for kingly prerogative led Charles the Second to issue the historic Declaration of Indulgence. A list of the preaching licences under the declaration for Northumberland and Durham was, twenty-one years ago, extracted for Mr. Maberly Phillips, F.S.A., and appeared in the appendix to his paper on *The Meeting-house at Horsley-upon-Tyne*. More recently Prof. G. Lyon Turner has incurred the labour of transcribing the whole of the documents preserved among the State Papers at the Record Office relating to the licences issued under the Declaration; and his list for Northumberland and Durham has been adopted for the purposes of the present paper, with acknowledgement of the very helpful information and correction which Mr. Turner has freely given. [See "Appendix C," p. 90.]

In view of the ignorance of northern topography shewn by the clerks at Whitehall, we have corrected some of their quite excusable inaccuracies. North Shields, *not being in the county of Durham*, we have assigned to its true position in Northumberland. And we have solved the problem of Stockton-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, by transforming the suggested Tees-side town into the village of Stocksfield-upon-Tyne, about thirteen miles west of Newcastle. There is a mingling of the mythical and historical in the case of Joseph Gill, "a general Congregational teacher" to whom a preaching licence was granted on 25th July for "Stockton-upon-Tyne."

There is no trace of him in the annals of Stockton-on-Tees, where the notable John Rogers preached under a licence. There are no tokens of his location at Stocksfield-upon-Tyne. But he must have lived near to Newcastle, for in 1693 Dr. Gilpin invited Thomas Thompson, of the meeting-house at Stockton, to assist him at the ordination of Jonathan Harle, and he explained that "Mr. Gill and I have given him the question *de gratiae irresistibilitate*, which he managed exceedingly well. . ." Joseph Gill was also a beneficiary of £1 1s. 0d. under the will of Thomas Sanderson of Hedley Hope, county Durham, and one of the executors of the will of Richard Righ, merchant, of Newcastle. Moreover, Samuel Gill, at one time sheriff of Newcastle, and a leading Presbyterian, appointed as his executor "Henry Gill, son of my brother-in-law Joseph Gill of Hexham." Finally, the registry of Hexham recorded the death of "Mr. Joseph Gill, Preacher at ye meeting house on 25th July, 1708." The county history of Northumberland described him as minister of the Presbyterian church at Hexham. The Presbyterians, however, know nothing of Joseph Gill, and we think we should defer granting him dismissal from the communion of seventeenth century Congregationalism until we have definitely assured ourselves that he developed, or lapsed, into Presbyterianism in his old age.

It is worthy of remark that one of the licences under the Indulgence is in the possession of Saint James's Congregational church, Newcastle. It was granted to George Bendall, for preaching in a room or rooms of his house. There are suggestions of insurgency about the personality of George Bendall. His name, as George Beadnal, appeared in a list of the mayor and corporation, who, in 1648, addressed a letter and a petition to Parliament, demanding

justice on the king. In 1664, a George Beednal of Newcastle was mentioned with George Lilburne and others as concerned in the "Muggleswick Plot," afterwards found to be a kind of military "mare's nest." In 1665, the vicar of Newcastle discussed with him the error of his ways, and informed him that he had a decree from the archdeacon to absolve him upon a juratory caution. To this George Beadnall replied that a juratory caution was all that could be required upon a writ *excommunicat. capienda*; and the vicar plaintively wrote to the archdeacon: "thus doth he shift off the business from time to time, to gain time; and from person to person, thinking, as I conceive, to slip away from them all." In the last instance, we recognise the name of "George Bednall" among the notabilities who gathered to hear Dr. Gilpin preach at the White Friars on a Sunday morning of July 1669.

With regard to some of the other licences granted, we may notice a few interesting circumstances. Applications were made for public buildings as preaching places. The Moot hall, Castle Garth, the Magdalene chapel at the end of the Tyne bridge, and the chapel in the Trinity House, all in Newcastle, were applied for on behalf of Richard Gilpin, John Pringle, and William Durant, respectively. The schoolhouse and tollbooth at Berwick were desired for Luke Ogle and Nicholas Wressell. The tollbooth of Alnwick was sought for Robert Blunt, and the tollbooth of Morpeth for John Thompson. The last named, gifted with Northumbrian persistency, or furnished with means out of his wife's fortune, followed his written application with a journey to London, and applied in person for the licence. He was conspicuously successful, since he was one of the few to whom the use of a public building was granted. The licence granted to

William Veitch of Fallowlees was given to him under the name of William Johnson alias Veitch. This covenanter had been in the habit of changing his name as he altered his place of abode to elude the pursuit of his persecutors. The licence granted to "William Middleton's house" brings to notice the fact that the Sir William Middleton, Baronet, of that day gave refuge often to his fellow religionists who fled to his house from Newcastle, in the evil days of Charles the Second.

It may excite surprise that no licences were granted to, or even applied for by, the Baptists. This may be accounted for by the unprosperous circumstances of their cause during the years that elapsed after the incident of "the false Jew," and the general suspicion under which anything of Anabaptist significance was regarded. It was this state of mind among the public authorities that magnified the blundering testimony of one man into a Muggleswick plot to "break down organs, burn prayer books, and seize magazines of arms in Durham." So late as the year 1676 the condition of the Baptists of Hexham was reflected in a letter of dismissal addressed to the church of Newcastle. The superscription read "to the church of Christ, walking in the order of the Gospel at Newcastle, the poor, late degenerate, and now, through grace, revived plant, in and about Hexham, send greeting."

The withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence and of the licences did not seriously curtail the liberty of Nonconformists in the north. John Cosin, bishop of Durham, died in 1671, and left no successor with his inclination, and aptitude, to direct the purblind zeal of persecuting ecclesiasticism. There still remained the infamous statutes of the second Charles; under them, intolerant

cliques, or local authorities, could harass Nonconformists. In 1681, at the general quarter sessions held in Morpeth on 11th January, "one Mr. Johnston alias Veach (was) presented for preaching att Millbourne Grange in ye parish of Ponte Island (Ponteland)." In 1684 the execrable Judge Jeffries held his court in Newcastle, and inflicted the injustice of sending some young men to jail, with words of contumely, and without legal sentence, for having banded themselves together into a society for religious improvement. In this year also Robert Leaver was apprehended at his inn at Gateshead, for being the preacher at a conventicle at Milbourne Grange. It was he who preached to the young men above mentioned, with such privacy that "he knew not where he was to preach until one came to conduct him to the place, which was continually altered." For two years after the Indulgence Robert Leaver and Thomas Wilson preached constantly, by turn, at the house of the latter which was not far from Lamesly, where he had been ejected. In the same year two widows in Newcastle named Ann Jefferson and Barbara Cay lent their malt lofts as places for religious worship. It is probable that these were situated respectively in Silver Street and the Postern; and that the St. James's Congregational church, and the Beech Grove Congregational church, have some connection with them, although their records go no further back than 1744 in one case, and 1765 (or -9) in the other. It is also not improbable that it was on the stairhead at the door of the upper room in Silver Street that Thomas Story the Quaker stood and heard "a famous presbyterian" (most likely Dr. Gilpin) preach.

In 1681 William Durant died, and was buried in his own grounds. His tombstone was, in the next

century, discovered by the owner of the place, and he presented it to the Unitarian church. It was built into the wall of their new building in New Bridge Street which was opened in 1854. For nearly twenty years after being silenced by the bishop William Durant had preached in his own house, and the house of George Bendall. During fifteen years he and Dr. Gilpin had been leaders of separate congregations. For some time there was a tradition that Durant was the first minister of the Close Gate meeting-house. As if to confirm this tradition there was, according to one of the late Mr. James Clepham's note books: "a copy of Manuscript Record hanging in the vestry of the new chapel in Hanover Square from and before April 1838," in which William Durant was mentioned first in the list of ministers, Dr. Gilpin being indicated as his successor. This must have arisen from a misunderstanding of the relations between the two men. Undoubtedly Durant had a congregation in Newcastle many years before Gilpin came to the town; and it is the fact that after Durant's death his followers, who were Independents, united in communion with the Close Gate worshippers, who were Presbyterians. But the late Mr. James Clepham and Mr. Richard Welford, M.A., the historians of Nonconformity in Newcastle, have unhesitatingly placed Dr. Gilpin as the first minister of Close Gate meeting-house.

In the procedure of the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists at this period there was little, if anything, to distinguish the one from the other. As an example, the Congregational church at Cockermouth, Cumberland, on 25th November, 1694, sent a letter "to a church at Newcastle which Brother Gilpin is pastor of." They desired the transfer of Mr. Partis then residing in, or near, Cockermouth. On 30th December the letter of the



church at Newcastle was read at Cockermouth church dismissing Mr. Partis to them. In the same letter Mr. Ralph Ogle's desire to be transferred to Newcastle was expressed; and he was accordingly "dismissed to the church at Newcastle in which Dr. Gilpin is [was] pastor." It was probably this circumstance which was the foundation of the following doubtful statement, which the writer of this paper noted among some MSS. of the late Mr. Joshua Wilson. "Dr. Gilpin, it appears, from entries in the Cockermouth church book, was pastor of a Congregational church at Newcastle." This is not the occasion for enlarging upon the history of the Close Gate church. We need only add that among Dr. Gilpin's associates and successors were William Pell, Timothy Manlove, Thomas Bradbury, and Benjamin Bennet. Since 1755 the church has been known as a body of Unitarians which has included many men distinguished in connection with the intellectual, literary, and philanthropic interests of Newcastle.

The last years of Charles the Second were full of plots and rumours of plots. When, in 1685, he passed away, and James the Second succeeded to the throne, the people of England exchanged a persecuting trifler for an oppressing pedant. During the three years in which James experimented upon the endurance of his subjects with obsolete claims of sovereignty, the growing strength of Nonconformity was evident. The Revolution finally swept away the pretensions of the Stuarts, and confirmed to the people their dearly bought civil and religious liberty. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave the charter under which the right to dissent from the State Church was exercised with increasing prevalence, until the spirit of liberty had secured the predominancy in the affairs of the nation.

In the north of England Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, had a religious commonality under the name of Protestant Dissenters for a great part of the eighteenth century. Chapels were erected, and the interests of their denominations were looked after. This went on not without an apparent dominance of the Presbyterians, which deceived the superficial outsider. Thus it was that the term Presbyterian was often applied to whatever appeared separable from the Established Church. This tendency was noticed in Mackenzie's *History of Newcastle*. "The appellation of Presbyterian in England," it stated, "is frequently given to a large and respectable denomination of Dissenters whose church government is strictly Independent.....This body of English Dissenters had several meeting houses in Newcastle and neighbourhood, to one of which Dr. Harle was minister." In further illustration of this difficulty of religious nomenclature, the learned editor of the *Memoir of Ambrose Barnes* said: "I find almost insuperable difficulty in determining the relative positions of the Presbyterians and the Independents in Newcastle and the north of England generally." At the close of the eighteenth century there were six Congregational churches in the two counties. These were at Newcastle, Hexham, Horsley, Alnwick, Durham, and Sunderland.

In order to give some impression of the religious developments of the eighteenth century we may recall some circumstances and incidents which marked the local history of that period.

In 1709 Dr. Calamy passed through the district on the way to Edinburgh. He stayed one night with Dr. Bennet at Newcastle, with whom he journeyed next morning to Berwick, and on the way had conversation with Dr. Harle and John Horsley, the ministers of these two places.

In 1715 there were, according to Bogue and Bennet, twenty-seven Dissenting congregations in Northumberland, and nine in Durham.

In 1727 De Foe was a visitor on Tyneside. He made a note of the five or six parish churches of Newcastle, and meeting-houses—of which he was told there were five or six (including the Quakers) some of which were “thronged with multitudes of people.”

In the previous century Ralph Wickliffe, the sorely troubled cultivator of land, and preacher, at Whalton had noted “the itching humour in some old professors” among the Northumbrians; who would run past the conventicle of their tried minister “if a raw Scotsman should come and say he was a minister.” A similar exposure of Northumbrians to the raids of the itinerant Scot was enlarged upon in a letter of William Wood, Presbyterian minister, written from Darlington 31st January, 1736-7. He distinguished the English from the Scottish Presbyterian; the former building on the large foundation of the New Testament; the latter being chiefly concerned to have an ultimately safe return across the border to the national kirk.

It was in 1739 that John Wesley first preached in Newcastle. His preaching tours in Northumberland and Durham interest us not only on account of the grasp with which Methodism has held the populous centres of the north, but also because we know that Wesley was almost persuaded to be an Independent from his reading (on a journey to Bristol) Lord King's *Enquiry into the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church*.

In 1790 the Protestant dissenting congregation of Stockton sent James Crowe as a deputy to a meeting of the dissenting congregations of North-

Northumberland and Durham held at Newcastle on 24th February of that year. The object of the meeting was to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

In 1792 one person was baptized at the Baptist church, Hamsterley, and was added to Mr. Jones' church (Independent), Durham. In the next year, in May, Mr. Jones, Independent of Durham, took part in the Baptist Association meetings held at Newcastle. The following year the Independent church at Durham collected the sum of five pounds for the Baptist church in Newcastle, to assist them in the building of their new meeting-house.

In 1798 Thomas Binney was born in Pandon Bank, Newcastle. When a young man he was one of a company of young men (including the Rev. Richard Fletcher of Melbourne) who met together for prayer and study of the Scriptures.

At Hamsterley, during this year, the Northern Evangelical Society was formed to unite Independent and Baptist ministers of the four northern counties; and to establish an itinerary to spread the Gospel in the immediate neighbourhood and the more benighted spots of the counties.

The nineteenth century was remarkable in many respects, and notably, in connection with our subject, for the development of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in separate communions, for furthering the ends suited to the genius of them. The religious enterprise and effort of the Congregationalists have been conspicuous in Northumberland and Durham during the last hundred years. In the large industrial centres, and in the country districts, churches have been formed, and various institutions have grown up to supplement their activity. Much has been done by the leading churches of the two counties in the building up of the denominational interest.

But the part played by the Durham and Northumberland Association demands due recognition. The association was formed at a meeting held in Durham in 1822. Largely as a result of the operations of the association, assisted by special efforts, such as the visit of the late Samuel Morley in 1863, the last century was marked by much church building and extension work.

In the large industrial centres of Newcastle, Sunderland, Gateshead, the Hartlepoons, Jarrow, Tyne Dock, South Shields, Stockton, Blyth, Howdon, Bishop Auckland, Wallsend, Shildon and Felling; in the historic haunts of Alnwick, Barnard Castle, Hexham, Morpeth, Rothbury, and Durham; in the staid business places of Darlington, Chester-le-Street, Tynemouth, and North Shields; in the ambitious seaside resort of Whitley; and the villages of Amble, Staindrop, Gainford, Cockfield, Evenwood, Haydon Bridge, Horsley, East Boldon, Ryton, and Winlaton, the old causes have been maintained and new ones established.

The normal consciousness of Congregationalism in the north has been that of a not too robust denomination elbowed by bustling Methodists on the one side, and innumerable Presbyterians on the other. But there are signs of change, evidences of movement; and great possibilities lie in the near future. If only the leaders on the Tyne and Wear have the prescient eye, and a comprehensive spirit, Congregationalism may yet be successfully commended to the people of the two counties as a free, flexible, and highly adaptable method of promoting the Kingdom of God.

GEO. WM. BOAG.

## Appendix C.

Licences granted under the Indulgence, 1672.

NORTHUMBERLAND.					
Alwick	...	Robert Blunt	...	His House	...
Belsay (called Peisham)	...	Luke Ogle	...	House of (Sir) William Middleton	...
Berwick	...	Gilbert Rule	...	General	...
"	...	Nicholas Wressell	...	"	...
"	...	William Johnson	...	House of Henry Shell	...
Bolan (called Bolerne)	...	or Veach)	...	His House	...
"	...	William Johnson	...	House of Luke Ogle	...
Fallowlees	...	Patrick Bromfield	...	House of John Duffenby	...
Harehope (otherwise Harthope and Harrop)	...	John Thompson	...	His House	...
Morpeth	...	William Durant	...	Room in the Tolbooth	...
Newcastle	...	Richard Gilpin	...	General	...
"	...	Henry Lever	...	"	...
"	...	John Pringell	...	"	...
"	...	...	...	House of Benjamin Eliasson	...
"	...	...	...	House of Anthony Feathames	...
"	...	...	...	House of George Bendall	...
"	...	...	...	House of Richard Galpine (or Gilpin)	...
North Shields	...	John Lomax (or Lummock)	...	Room in the House of Isabella Green	...
Ovingham	...	Thomas Trusham (also called Trewren)	...	His House	...
Ponteland (called Pon Island)	...	Joseph Gill	...	House of John Ogle, Kirkley	...
Stockton? (called Stockton-on-Tyne)	...	John Owen	...	General	...
Tynemouth	...	...	...	House of George Capel	...
Wolsington	...	...	...	His House	...

Congregational.

Presbyterian.

Presbyterian.

Presbyterian.

Presbyterian.

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Presbyterian.

The following were refused :—

Alnwick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Berwick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newcastle	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The Tolbooth  
 The School-house  
 The Tolbooth  
 Room in Trinity House  
 The Moot Hall, Castle Garth  
 The Chapel, Bridge-End

These were applied for, but not issued :—

Berwick	...	Samuel Coles	...	Ruth Shell's Malt-house	...	Presbyterian.
"	...	...	...	Edward Salkeld's Malt-house	...	...
"	...	...	...	...	...	...

DURHAM.

Bishop's Auckland	...	Robert Pleasaunce	...	His House	...	Presbyterian.
Brancepeth	...	Robert Lever	...	His House	...	Presbyterian.
Darlington	...	John Rogers	...	House of Robert Nicholson	...	Presbyterian.
"	...	...	...	House of John Middleton	...	?
Durham	...	Thomas Dixon	...	His House	...	Presbyterian.
"	...	William Pell	...	His House and General	...	Presbyterian.
Lamesley (called Lamp-sley)	...	Thomas Wilson	...	His House	...	Presbyterian.
Stanhope in Weardale (called Standup of Wardell)	...	...	...	House of John Hornsbie	...	Presbyterian.
Stockton (? see Stocksfield in Northumberland)	...	...	...	House of Cuthbert Peart	...	Congregational.
Sunderland	...	Ralph Wickcliffe*	...	House of William Warham	...	...
West Pans, near South Shields	...	...	...	Room in the House of Cuthbert Cotes-worth	...	Congregational.

\*R. Wickcliffe is described as Presbyterian; but his licence is "to be an Ind. teacher in our Bishopr. of Durham."

## Bury Street Chapel

**T**HE Rev. Thos. Beck, having resigned a pastorate at Gravesend, accepted the charge of Bury Street congregation on 26th March, 1789. No regular church book had been kept for some years.

In a register of baptisms, now in the custody of the Registrar General at Somerset House (London 55), are the following memoranda in the handwriting of the Rev. Thos. Beck.

I. "At the time of my accepting the charge of the Church of Bury Street it consisted but of two men members, who were Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., of Hatcham House, Surrey, and Mr. Peter Biggs, then of Pudding Lane, London; who were both chosen deacons, and have continued so ever since. The women members were at that time the following six persons, namely, Elizabeth Hardcastle, *died Dec<sup>r</sup> 16 1812 aged 81 years*; Esther Mayne; Hannah Mayne, *since dead*; Hannah Biggs, *s.d*; Elizabeth Whitron, *s.d*; Mary George, *s.d*. Since which have been added [names follow of four men and ten women]... the above continue with us to this day. Oct. 1, 1795."

The italicised words are a later addition. Then follows, also in Mr. Beck's hand but evidently later, a list of twenty-four men and thirty-one women "admitted since," making altogether a total of seventy-seven; of whom thirty-five are noted as dead and fifteen removed, leaving a net membership of twenty-seven.

II. "Mr. Stevenson borrowed money of Mr. Rut and made him a trustee of the endowments; and Mr. Rut made his son another, though they were not subscribers; and ever since they have the possession of it.

"Bury Street meeting was sold away from us at Michaelmas 1818. [See the other side leaf opposite for information]. It had been purchased by Mr. Stevenson eleven years back for



800£, (I have been told along with the houses belonging to the estate). After thus bought, about or wholly 500£ of the endowment in trust for the use of the ministers and congregation was sold out of the funds and expended upon the place in repairs. Mr. Stevenson was one of the trustees for the endowment. We were not permitted to repay Mr. Stevenson the 800£ which he had given for it, and thus retain the place for the congregation, but Mr. Stevenson sold it to Mr. Heap for 1000 guineas. 500£ therefore of the endowment became private property; and Mr. Heap on gaining the key, given to him by Mr. Stevenson, we were locked out of the place, after having been prevented from seeking another place by the assurance that we should still supply it in the morning. Mr. Heap refused to pay the rent for the afternoon, but reserved for himself the rent of the cellar."

III. "Information of what occurred after we were locked out of our place of worship.

"I went to Mr. Fletcher's Chapel. Our congregation was dispersed. Mr. Vincent had now the management. We sought for a place—we kept a few together by meeting in private houses—at length Mr. Cook in Houndsditch offered us a small place fitted up for religious use. We hired it at ten pounds a year. It served for 40 or 50 people; but it had a great inconvenience, no one could enter it but by ringing a bell. We had one to open the door, but many passed by without noting [*sic*] it. We used it until Mr. Cook left, when a Jew took it, and we were obliged to quit. But several now worship at our chapel at Midway Place, Lower Road, Deptford, Kent.

"When the lease was out Bury Street was advertised for sale, but the Congregation were forbidden to buy with our own money without the endowment. But Mr. Stevenson the son (his father was dead) bought it with the two houses behind for 800£, and then had it at the expense of reducing the endowment from paying a yearly interest of 72£ 10s to 52£ and the subscriptions of the congregation. After.....years Mr. Stevenson sold the Meeting (*i.e.* the freehold) for one thousand pounds to Mr. Heap, who would not pay till the key was given to him. On the Sunday next we found the door locked; we must own Mr. Heap our landlord, must pay him rent, and he will keep the cellar which lets for 10£ a year. He let the Meeting to a person named Smith, telling him Your place is endowed. This Smith came to me to pay him, and called Heap by a name, however just, I shall not mention; only, said he, Write the case, I will publish it.

"I am frequently asked What [h]as become of the endowment. When we were shut out and a few met in the small place at Houndsditch, our aged and wealthy members were all

dead, and others retired out of town, and the remainder of the endowment reduced from 72£10 to 52£. It is with great reluctance I am constrained to say, Mr. Stevenson—not the father but the son—borrowed money of Mr. Rutt, and for his security without the consent of any he made Mr. Rutt a trustee, who then was not a subscriber; and Mr. Rutt has now got his son also with him a trustee.

“I am now within three months 89 years of age. October 20th, 1840.”

The paragraph in III beginning “When the lease was out” is evidently explanatory of, and to be in connection with, II. There is a little obscurity about details, but the main features of the narrative are perfectly clear.

The register from which these memoranda are taken contains about twenty entries of baptisms by Mr. Beck at Midway Chapel, Deptford, dated between 9th July, 1819, and 23rd December, 1832. In most of these he signs as “Minister of Bury Street Congregation, London”; but in two dated 1823 and one dated 1824 he signs as “of Bury Street Meeting removed Congregation.” It is evident that in the opinion of Mr. Beck the remnant of the Bury Street church was united with the Midway congregation *without losing its historical continuity*, and that he held that opinion to the end. It seems evident, therefore, that the present day representative of the ancient church of Caryl, Owen, and Watts is to be found (not in the church which temporarily occupied Bury Street meeting-house in 1820-22, and is now located in Pownall Road, Dalston, but) in Midway Place congregation, now worshipping in Maynard’s Road, Rotherhithe.

## The Penruddock Papers

IN the report of our meeting at Liverpool last October it was stated that the Rev. J. H. Colligan exhibited certain documents which seemed to be of importance, but that the lateness of the hour made it impossible to give them due examination.

The documents exhibited were a selection from about one hundred and sixty, ranging in date from 1620 to 1717, which are preserved in "The Penruddock Kist." This kist, with its contents, is in the possession of the township of Hutton Soil, Cumberland; and is kept in the house of Mr. William Kitchin, Town Head, Penruddock, where it is believed to have been since about the year 1720.

The documents fall into two groups. The first, numbering about ninety, relate to a contest of ninety-two years' duration between the tenants of Hutton John and the Huddlestone family, lords of the manor, relating to the tenure of copyhold lands. The second group, upwards of seventy in number, relate to a dispute with the rector of Greystoke about tithes. Of these Mr. Colligan kindly permits us to give the following brief account, from a paper which he communicated to the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society in April, 1908, and which appears in full in Vol. IX of that Society's *Transactions*.

The dispute "was raised about 1672, largely upon the action of John Noble, a yeoman of Penruddock....It was carried on in the name of Thomas Parsons, the farmer of the tithe, *versus* John Noble; but it was really a contest between the rector of Greystoke and an important section of his parishioners. They did not refuse to pay the tithes, as the Quakers were at that time doing throughout Cumberland and Westmoreland, but they rebelled against an unjust measure. It appears that from time immemorial the tithe had been sixteen gallons to the bushel measure; and that the Penrith measure, which was their standard, was similar to the Winchester measure. The vessel which was used for gathering the rector's corn had gradually been growing in girth, especially since the Restoration and the Act of Uniformity, both of which events have a strong bearing on the case, as the complainants were Presbyterians.<sup>1</sup> The measure eventually reached twenty-two gallons, and

<sup>1</sup>The names published in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. vi. p. 35, suggest that the Quakers united with the Presbyterians in this tithe case. *Vide* also Mr. Colligan's notes on Greystoke Parish in the *Friends' Journal*, vol. vi. pt. 2.

the parishioners took the case to law. After trials at Carlisle, Lancaster, and Appleby (at the assizes of three different counties), the parishioners received a verdict in their favour in 1674. In 1685 the larger number of these complainants were excommunicated by the rector; and after meeting in secret until the Act of Toleration in 1689 they built a meeting-house, part of which remains in the present place of worship at Penruddock."

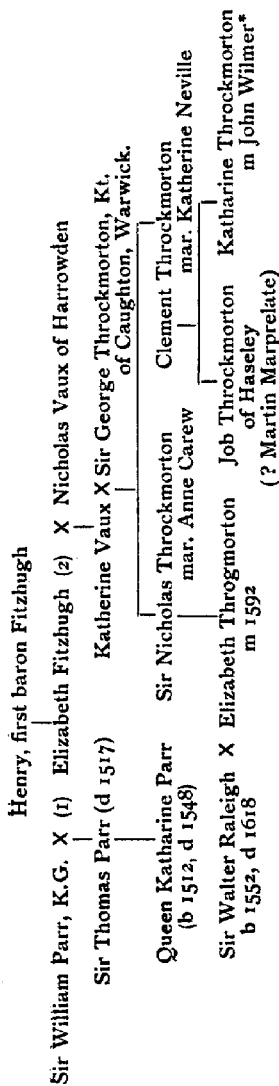
It would seem that the rector who sought to perpetuate the shameless extortion thus put an end to was not Mr. William Morland, sequestrated in 1650, to make way for whose return Dr. Richard Gilpin was ousted at the Restoration; but a Dr. Smallwood, who succeeded him after an interval of several years.

### Some Puritan Genealogies

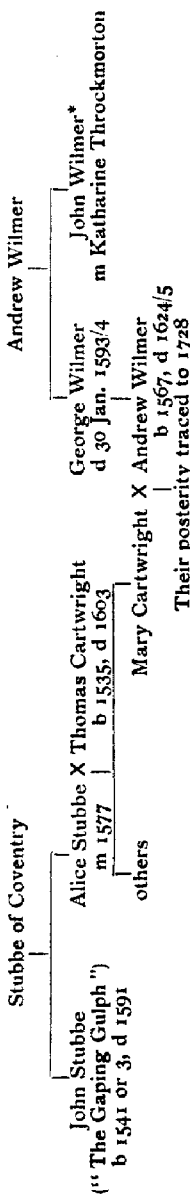
**M**R. Pierce, in his valuable introduction to the Marprelate Tracts, has hinted a probability that family connections availed somewhat to shield Job Throckmorton from the severities which were meted out to his colleagues in the production of those celebrated satires. Mr. Jos. Josh. Green, of Tunbridge Wells, who is keenly interested in historical and genealogical research, has compiled an elaborate chart of his own ancestry and family alliances, through fourteen generations, to the year 1435—a chart which is interesting for the many names it includes of persons who were conspicuous in the long struggle for religious freedom. From this chart we present two excerpts, which exhibit the relation of Throckmorton, Cartwright, and Stubbe with "certain people of importance" in their day. By the courtesy of Mr. Green we are enabled to add a facsimile of Throckmorton's signature.

The Throckmorton arms are :—Gules, a chevron argent charged with six bars gemelles sable: crest, a hawk rising, proper, jessed and belled or.

(I)



(II)



\* John Wilmer was the *third* husband of Katharine Throckmorton, and she was his second wife. Mr. Green is descended in the ninth generation from his brother Andrew.

## Puritan Prayers in Time of Persecution

OF Puritan preaching the characteristics are well known ; we have examples that fill hundreds of volumes. But of Puritan prayers there are but few authentic specimens accessible. Special interest therefore attaches to a MS. volume (formerly in the library of the Religious Tract Society, and now in the Congregational Library), entitled *Several Excellent passages in prayer of Mr. Nicholas Lockyer's, in publick, both Before and After Sermons. Gathered and collected in this Book, by him that heard them, and took them from his mouth.*

Nicholas Lockyer, M.A., born at Glastonbury in 1611, succeeded Francis Rous as provost of Eton College in 1658. At the time of the Restoration he was also rector of St. Bennett's Sheerhog, and lecturer at St. Pancras, Soper Lane ; from both which positions he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. In 1669 he was reported as preaching at a conventicle in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, but was not licensed under the Indulgence in 1672. Later he chiefly resided at Woodford, Essex, where he preached as he had opportunity, and died there in 1685. There is a long account of him in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* ; and many additional particulars in T. David's notes to his *Annals of Nonconformity in Essex*.

The volume from which the following extracts are taken consists of 246 octavo pages ; and the "passages" which it contains are mostly dated between January, 1671-2 and 13th November, 1678. Some are short ; others—especially those uttered

on fast days—run to a great length, and are a blending of prayer with meditation. Many portions have a certain quaint beauty; and if others are not free from extravagance, that in the days of the scare got up by Titus Oates may easily be pardoned.

It is not very clear *where* these prayers were offered. Lockyer does not seem to have been pastor of any city church after his ejection, yet they were evidently spoken within the city. The notes of requests for prayer make it practically certain that they were presented in a regular congregation, and not in occasional or casual meetings; and although there are in the MS. passages which imply risks or dangers in meeting, the dates prove that meetings were held with some approach to regularity. The prayers reported, or from which extracts are given, are 113 in number; 6 are undated, the rest were spoken on 83 Sundays, ranging over a period of five years and ten months.

We are not worthy, O Lord, to bear Thy Cross, Much more unworthy to wear Thy crown. In Thy little family, Lord, Thou didst spy one in twelve that was stark naught; And in a company where there is twelve, and twelve, and twelve, it is twelve to one but we are not so good as we should [be]; only that God will be as rich in Mercy as prodigals are in prodigality. Heaven is a very pleasant place; the world is a hospital of souls and bodies, fit for nothing but an Infinite Physician; the Lord hasten us to that place where there are none of these ills and complaints, nor no sin that causes it. (2 Jan'y 1671-2).

This mighty God hath his left foot upon the sea, and his right foot upon the land; and saith, Persecuting times shall be no more. We leave the cause of thy churches over the water with Thee. Follow thy intercession [*sic*] for the fulfilling of all thy threats to thine enemies, and for the fulfilling of all thy promises to thy dear and precious people. His wrath waxes hot, and our hearts are cold. Lord, pity us! Lord, when shall we be awakened and humbled, high and low? Lord, Hasten it. (1673).

There is but a step between the wrath of a Holy God and an unhol'y nation at this day: it is a day of great rebuke, Lord;

every reed we lean upon runs into our hand. (5 Nov. 1673, *after sudden prorogation of Parliament*.)

Make a New Covenant with this New Upstart City; otherwise 'twill look as black and ugly as ever it did. Thou wilt be merciful to whom Thou wilt be Merciful, and England shall live. Though the abominations thereof be great, England shall live. Never day like that, when the Lord hearkened to the voice of a man; the sun stood still in Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon! Let England live that the land may be clean, and the frogs blown with an east wind into the sea, that they may never get up again. Lord, hear the voice of a man! The living shall praise Thee; we must be twice alive to be better! (7 Jany. 1673/4. *Probable allusion in "the frogs" to French influence at Court*).

Take pleasure in this assembly. Let the beauty of Christ be upon this assembly, the presence of Christ, as the witness of it in all our hearts: Satan falling like lightning, the elect of God awakened, the called of God strengthened. Stir the waters for the Lord's sake; that Thy people may know, and have it under Thy hand, that it is not in vain to wait upon Thee. Let no iniquity of hearers or speakers come into Thy tabernacle. (10 June 1674).

Though we be black as the Ethiopian, Yet behold us in Christ our Saviour. Purge us from the guilt and power of sin, we are weary of our lives because of both these. We pray Thee, by virtue of Christ's death, be the death of all that crawls and sprawls within us. (17 June 1674).

We pray Thee, order matters so abroad, that the sword may be pointed at the heart's blood of Antichrist, that thirsts after the life of Thy church. (15 July 1674. *Allusion to the war between France and Holland*).

For our understandings, Lord, that were little lower than the angels, the word of the Lord is as a sealed book. The works of the Lord are understood by them that have pleasure in them, but we have no pleasure in them. . . . For our wills, they are perverse; every little wind will blow them this way and t'other; we have no heart to that which is good. Christ is said to be the Beautifullest of ten thousand; He is of no beauty to us: the things of the world are beautiful and desirable. Our conversation, and all our other acts of the body from head to foot are answerable to such a corrupt soul; we have done like the snail, left our defilement behind us. . . . O Lord, what a woeful course have we brought ourselves to, since Thou didst burn us down to the ground! What new provocation have we multiplied from one end of the city to another, and turned to all manner of spiritual wantonness, and corporal also! Our magistrates and governors—what drunkenness, what swearing,



what whoring, what abominations are to be found open, in the sight of the sun! It cannot be hid, what murders are pardoned! Murders! All manner of abominations! . . . . But where is there any reproof; either from the hand of man or hand of God? Judgments are forgotten as soon as over! The spirit of contrition and repentance . . . pour the like spirit upon our families, that there may be a great mourning . . . pour the like spirit upon the city and upon the nation, upon high and low; that spirit that was on Hannah, she prayed, and wept sore. Now, Lord, let the king do so; the Council do so—they are a simple people; the parliaments do so, and all the nation, and put on that garment as the Ninevites. . . . . O Lord, that a spirit of contrition may be given clean through the nation! . . . . . One thing, Lord, we ask of Thee, that the Gospel may not utterly begone from us, for the Lord Jesus' sake. Do not for the public contempt [give] private contempt, nor for the parliamentary contempt counsel-contempt. For the Lord's sake do not swear that Thy Gospel shall remove from us . . . . Let our posterity be tried, to see what they will do. . . . For ourselves one thing we ask; that the Lord would preserve us in fidelity to the last breath we draw in this world. Like David, the more men press against us, the more we may value every title of Thy Law and so hold it. (24 Feb. 1674/5; *a Fast Day*).

Give us ability, like Simeon, to take Christ in both our arms. How many ministers have we sinned to death? Righteous men, righteous ministers taken away; and who lays it to heart. The Lord knows how we are treated, and the Good Lord think of things! (24 July 1675).

O Blessed and Glorious God, we have known the days when the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and the violent took it by force: And oh the pressing, the pressing that was after the things of heaven! Now we are oppressed with them; there's no plague among us but good men, and good ways, and good things; that's the only ruin that we now complain of! We are a people fit for all reproaches and contempts of this day. Just and righteous art Thou, O Lord, that hath brought us into the bosom of such a generation of men. We know not what to say more; we are come with halters about our necks, and we cannot do less; and the Lord hath much ado to forbear executing of us. . . . . Pour out Thy spirit in these last days. . . . enable them to pray, enable them to prophesy, to stem a violent tide of wickedness. We are all asleep wofully, and London asleep; Good Lord, awaken some of us, that it may be an alarm to the rest. . . . Be mighty to help us at this time, for the work lies wholly upon Thee. . . . Self-do, and self-have; Do all Thyself, and Thou shalt have all. (25 Aug. 1675).

Know the conditions of these nations. Take care of Thy

hidden remnant ; overrule the sinful counsels of men, and work all things for the best. Let it be given to us not only to believe, but to suffer if He shall call. Remember the cause of thy people in Germany—in lower Germany, in upper Germany ; in France, in Poland, in Sweden, in Denmark ; in all the posts [*sic*] where the sword goes, up to the very gates of Turkey. The good Lord have a care of Thy hidden ones ; set a mark upon them, spare them ; but order the sword, and guide it to the breast of the very worst and [most] implacable enemies. (August or September 1675).

Do Thou, O Christ, at length take the sword into thine own hands, and cut off every idol, and accursed thing, and advance thine own sceptre from sea to sea. Hasten the destruction of the Church of Rome, high and low ; let there be neither son nor nephew, nor remnant, nor any coal to keep them warm. Lord, we speak Thine own words, Thou hast said it of Babylon, that she sha'n't have a coal to keep her warm. Now, blessed Lord, write that word, in blood if need be, all the world over. (8 Sept. 1675 : *when great fears prevailed owing to the well known adherence to the Romish church of James, Duke of York*).

O Lord, we pray thee, as we live in evil times...let this be our recompense ; that the worse every age is, the better our hearts may be ; the more mortified, the more heavenly, the more useful to salt people and season them...The Lord better and bless our families, and better and bless this city and nation wherein we dwell. Nothing will stop and stay in our families ; our discipline is ruined and gone, our servants will stare in our very faces and do what they will. Miserable wretches that we are, and that sin works more miserably (?) every day. Do something in our families, in our lives ; something in the nation, for thine own Glory's sake. (17 Sept. 1675).

Lord, be merciful to the nation ; a languishing nation ! and no eye pities us ! Raise up Saviours upon Mount Zion. Wash us not in our own blood, but in the blood of Thy dear Son. (15 Dec. 1675).

Hast Thou not predestinated us to be conformable to Him, and hast said we shall grow up unto Him a perfect man ? And why, Lord, are we so lean, and so ill favoured always ? We think we have been in Christ many years ; but when we consider what dwarfs we are, then we are stun'd. Surely, surely That Root will give sap abundant ; and then, why are we such starvelings ? We pray Thee, Lord, look into this matter. And if there be any obstructions between the Head and the members, between the Spirit of Christ and our spirits, (as Lord, there will be obstructions many, grieving the Holy Spirit as every day we do,) let those obstructions be forgiven and healed. (16 Feby. 1675/6).

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Let the Beauty of Christ shine upon all of us, that we may be beautiful in Him. Let the Witness-bearing of the Holy Ghost be the broad seal upon it, that it may be known to all that we are the epistle of God. (9 April 1676).

O that there were a preacher that would awaken London! Plague, fire, or anything that would do it, ordinary preaching, and ordinary prophesying. Extraordinary preaching is laid aside. For the Lord's sake, say, once, It is enough. Spare the houses, persons, estates of London; set it home that Thou art angry with them, and fire their hearts. Alas! it is an easy thing to fire their houses; to fire, and plunder, and tear these things: but the Lord fire their hearts! (3 May 1676).

The good Lord be with us; prepare us for trials: we have no staff in our hands but Thyself. Parents fail, children fail, princes, parliaments, everything... The Good Lord pity us so much the more. If God fail us, then we are broken quite. One thing we have desired of God; that we may dwell in the bosom of God, in this world, and that to come. (11 October 1676).

Lord, remember these poor wretches that have begged our prayers. Some are going into t'other world. But which is that other world they are going to? whether that world above, or that world below. Why, Lord, preach matters right, and set them right for t'other world above. The Lord prepare us for our change. We have many sharp sermons; scarce a year, scarce half a year, but we have sharp sermons. Lord, clear up conversion, clear up matters well. For such as are in great dangers, that are likely to be broke everlastingly...who shall set them up again? The Lord carry the case; take the matters betimes; rouse them well for the Lord's sake. The whole nation is in a consumption; all of us, good and bad, stark naught: have mercy, Lord, upon all of us, and heal our diseases. (18 Oct. 1676).

Remember the poor nations abroad, and God forgive us that we do so forget them...And how the Lord is preaching there! We can almost hear the cannons roaring! The good Lord think upon them; sanctify the seas of blood that have been shed in a little time. Awaken the Protestant world: dead, cold Protestant religion, awaken that. And for the matter of the Popish party, the good Lord deal like himself, according to his mighty works...and according to the oath He hath sworn against Babylon. (18 Oct. 1676).

Those that have begged our prayers, remember them every one. Remember that minister, for the Lord's sake, that bears Thy hand; and don't strike off our chariot wheels: we drive heavily enough already, the Lord knows. Thy blows are quick; we have no heart, this very day, to lye anything close.

The Good Lord spare the man, and lengthen his days ; do not cut him off in the midst of his days ; pardon his sin ; let the Holy Ghost come upon him. Let there come up two ministers, three ministers, in the room of one. The Lord prepare every one of us for our turns ; we cannot stay long. Lord, we have been long from home, a long while : it is because we do not do our work. The Lord help us to do our work, that his blessing may be upon us to eternity. (7 Feby. 1676/7).

We pray Thee, bless us in our present work ; let it be to our advantage. We pray Thee, stir the waters ; we have losses enough other ways, if we should have losses from heaven we should break, every man on's, and break everlastingly. (6 June 1678).

We do not know how many enemies our table is spread among ; and yet, that the mighty Lord should spread our table in the midst of such craft and envy ! O our soul, come thou not into their secrets ! We know not who will be the next that will be snapt, as to liberty. We have deadly dead hearts, that if it does not come upon our own persons we think it is not in the land. Plead, and erect a High Court in heaven, and all for the sake of a little remnant. Lord, make them ten times more, and ten times better ; 'twould anger the world fearfully if they were ten times better and ten times more ! Remember them that are in authority ; convince them of their sin, and wicked example to the nation. Save Thy poor people in France, in Germany, Sweden, Holland, Poland ; Thou hast a people everywhere, and even among the very Turks. (10 July 1678).

Blessed be Thy name, the Lord is a wall of fire round about us, and the glory in the midst of us, and in an evil day. Why we might not, some of us, be butchered in going out of doors here and there, is of the Lord ; and teach us [?] value of our mercies in the preservation of our blood as we are going home. We pray thee, O Lord, still appear ; let there be no more permission of such pernicious things, if it may seem good in Thy sight. Thou art pleased to let this be a mighty sermon to this deadly secure city...a deadly secure nation. Therefore hast Thou made a sermon of blood, to a man of worth among us ! that such an implacable generation, an unthankful generation, that had such mercies more than many, that they may have such [word missing] as may become the mighty God, and vindicate his name, and vindicate the nation from the guilt of blood. (23 Octr. 1678, *after the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey*).

The last piece in the book is a rhapsody of mingled prayer and meditation, delivered on a day of public humiliation during the Titus Oates *furore*.

It occupies twenty three pages of MS., from which a few extracts may be cited.

Blessed Lord, we have had our lot with the day wherein we should have lived our calling, our state to the height. When men have broke Thy law with a high hand, it had been our duty to lift up the Gospel, as Abraham among the Canaanites, Noah in t'other world, Lot in Sodom; to have feared God above many, to have been a pattern to our generation, a living sermon in all our states. God Almighty knows that we have underlived the Gospel, and underlived all our helps and mercies, and give as bad examples as others give us; and instead of justifying Wisdom, condemn it. We have had our seasons when the wheel was over the wicked; we might have done what the word of the Lord required for His name, in our hearts, in our generations. What could God have done more than he did for our fathers, for some of us, to encourage us for all upright zeal, that we might be fit to live till Christ come? Thou knowest, Lord, how we used that day.....In the very fruition of our opportunity we sought ourselves; going on, we did not see our folly, but waxed worse and worse, to the great dishonour of the Lord, the dishonour of the Gospel, the grief of all Protestants throughout the Christian world. Our wound, Lord, is from ourselves, and therefore 'tis a thousand wounds, and it will be a thousand wonders if it be not mortal.....We have been rooting up one another; Protestant, protestant; carrying the name, and yet against such as have endeavoured to carry the zeal of that state. They carry the name, and under that patrimony [*sic*], formality, superstition, next door to idolatry; aye, and even idolators themselves wink at it, that they poor people have borne their witness faithfully, in person, miserably used, even to death. And this under the great escapes that God did for us, against the Spaniard, that came with his instruments of cruelty.....Alas, Lord, what a poor testimony have we borne. We have been ready to go together by the ears when the enemy is ready to cut our throats. When we should have endeavoured to exceed one another in godliness, and nourished one another, we have even weakened the ground on which we should fight. Therefore have we been hewn in pieces, hack'd at our own meetings, barbarously dealt with, by one and t'other that would seem to be opposite against Rome, and yet justify their stuff by undermining the holy Word of the Lord.....For Thy blood's sake, O Saviour, stop and stay, and give us not into the hands of bloody men. Find out that generation, as Thou hast begun to do. Search out the hidden things of Esau, though they lie in the mountains, in the rocks and wildernesses and desolate places, in all the dark corners of

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this nation.....The Gospel, O that it might enter into the hearts of Authority what a dangerous thing it is to suppress Light. We pray thee, Holy and Blessed Lord, put it into the hearts of them that are in authority ; it is part of their duty. Thou hast wonderfully preserved him that is the Chief Magistrate, wonderfully preserved his nobles about him, wonderfully preserved the chief magistrate of this city, where the butt of their malice has been, where their design has been to murder and to burn. What manner of zeal ought there to be in all these chief magistrates against that bloody implacable enemy ! Yet this is of God, to kindle a fire from heaven in their hearts, such as was in the heart of Elijah.....We pray Thee for our poor bleeding brethren : have mercy on them, put an end to their miseries, ruined in all they have, crowding together, and the enemy crowding in among them and eating them alive. ...O, could we hear the outcries that are abroad, it would have something 'bated our pride and our luxury. Take off the yoke ; break all the yokes of tyranny, popery, slavery ; let the Gospel take place. And, Thou that hast many crowns upon Thy head, and thy garments dipt in blood, we pray Thee, appear as the Great General and King of kings. Down with the Pope, for the Lord Jesus' sake !..... (13 Novr. 1678).

## The Congregational Church at Axminster

IN our last issue a print appeared of the ancient meeting-house at Axminster, erected in 1698 and demolished in 1875. By an absurd blunder it was stated that its later history might be found in Densham and Ogle's *History of Congregationalism in Dorset*; the fact being that Axminster is in Devon, and therefore outside the purview of that excellent history.

We are now enabled to present a view of Weycroft manor house; in the older portion of which it is believed that the Congregational church usually assembled for above twenty years before the old meeting-house was built, except when driven by persecution to woods and other retired places.

The manor house is about a mile and a quarter from Axminster, on a spur of high ground some sixty feet above the river. It is said to occupy the site of an old Roman fort which commanded the Fosse Way. The estate was purchased in 1385 by Sir Thomas Brooke of Holditch, and the mansion was erected soon after 1400. According to Pulman's *Book of the Axe*, the chief authority for local archaeology: "Attached to it was an oratory or chapel, for which a licence was granted to Thomas Brook, Esq., and Joan his wife on 29th November, 1417. Traces of the chapel and of the spacious hall still exist. The Brookes became Lords Cobham, and removing to Kent, let down their establishment at Weycroft (1460), and the mansion became ruinous. On the attainder of Henry Lord Cobham in 1603 [for his part in the mysterious 'Main' and 'Bye' conspiracies] it was forfeited to the crown, and the following year the king bestowed it on the Earl of Devon. In 1611 it was sold to Sir Thomas Bennett, Sheriff of London, whose son dismembered the manor, and sold the estate piecemeal."

Probably the owner or tenant in 1672 was a sympathizer with the Separatist church, whose meeting-place in the wood was not far distant. However, it is pretty clear that about that time "the old seat of the Brookes at Weycroft, or rather what remains of it, was rented by the congregation." The portion used as a meeting-place was probably the hall or large room that still remains; most probably the oratory, as only a fragment of that exists, though of course it *may* have been intact in 1672.

The Congregational church originated in 1660, when the Rev.

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Bartholomew Ashwood, vicar of the parish, formed a number of sympathetic souls into a congregational fellowship which continues to this day. The early history of that fellowship, to the time when the meeting-house was built, has been printed from the original *Book of Remembrance* in the *Axminster Ecclesiastica*, begun 1687, and needs not to be repeated here. It may suffice to say that during several years of persecution the little church met at uncertain hours, by day or night; generally in a wood (probably that behind the mansion, which extended nearly to Hawkchurch), sometimes "in desert spots and obscure houses"; until in 1672 Mr. Ashwood was licensed under the Indulgence for a house at "Wyke-croft." Mr. Ashwood died somewhat suddenly on 27th October, 1678, at Chard, where several of the members resided. He was succeeded by the Rev. Stephen Towgood, son of the ejected vicar of Semley, and uncle of the famous controversialist Michael Towgood of Crediton.

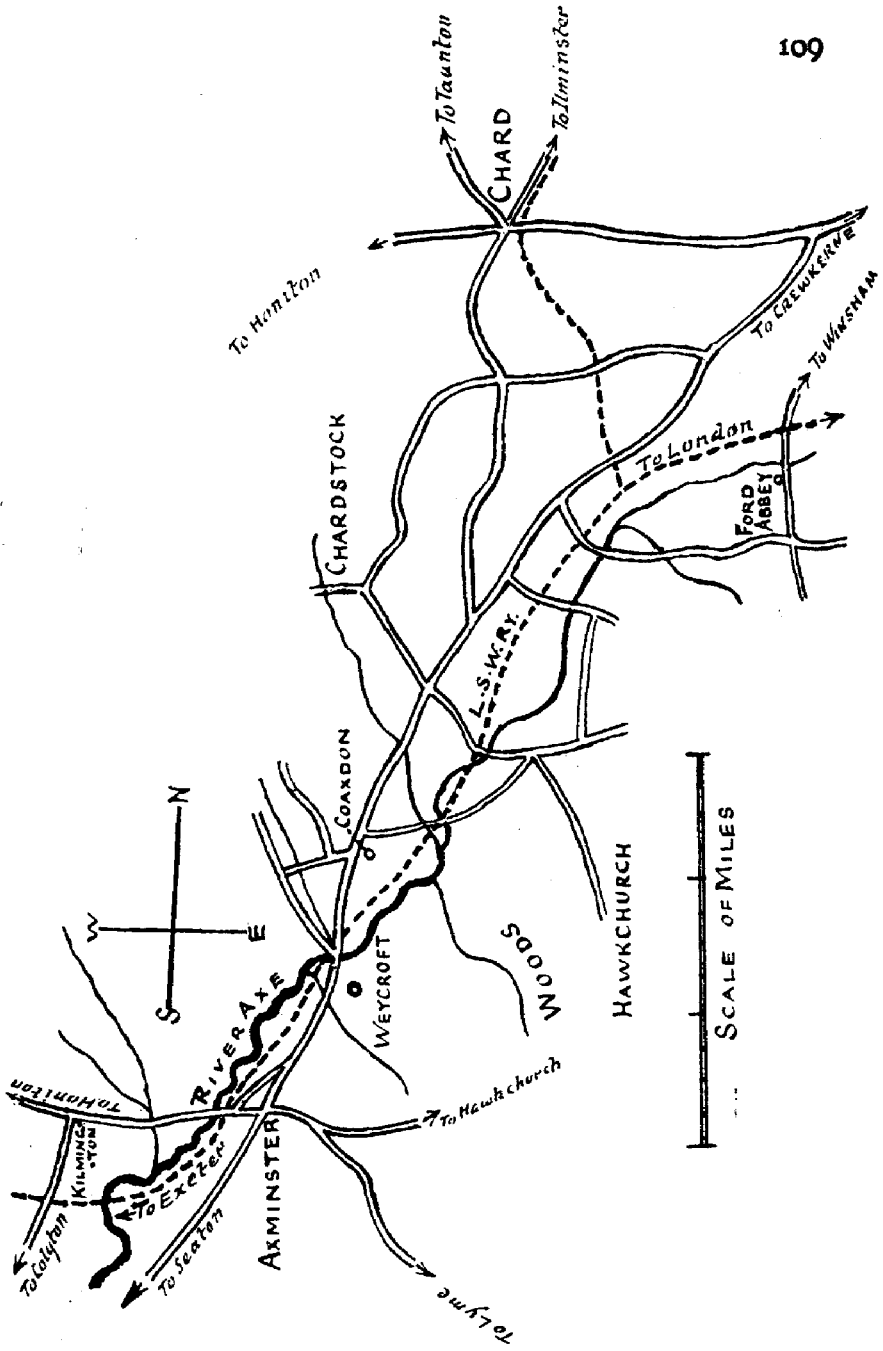
On the renewed outbreak of persecution in 1681 it was found necessary to leave "Wyke-croft," and the church did not return thither till the end of October, 1686. Meanwhile they met in various inconspicuous places, once for three months together in a cave; but throughout the persecution their meetings were never intermitted, except for two very short periods, though every other dissenting community for miles round was broken up. When the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in 1685, Mr. Towgood and at least six members of the church marched with his little army. Two of these were killed in battle; another, being shipped to Barbados as a slave, was afterwards released, but lost his life by shipwreck while on his way home; another—John Ashwood, son of the former minister—was sentenced to death, but his life was purchased, and he was afterwards minister at Peckham, Surrey.

The *Ecclesiastica* contains the names and residences of fifty-eight men and ninety-four women who were members of the church before its sub-division. They were spread over a wide extent of country:—

Axminster town and neighbourhood	...	42
Other parts of Devon	...	31
Lyme Regis and neighbourhood	...	15
Other parts of Dorset	...	17
Chard, Winsham, and neighbourhood	...	35
Remoter places	... ..	12

In reading the *Ecclesiastica* we are struck by the oft repeated allusions to the security in which the church met in times of persecution. That security, and their ability to obtain so convenient a meeting place as Weycroft manor, seems to need some explanation. This may perhaps be found among the following facts:





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1. The rector of Axminster, the Rev. Joseph Crabb, was largely in sympathy with the Nonconformists. 2. At Ford Abbey, only a few miles distant, lived Prideaux, formerly attorney-general under Cromwell, and one of Jeffrey's victims; he, as is well known, was a great friend to ejected ministers. 3. One of the church members was William Bennett, Esq., of Gabriels (the only "Esquire" on the roll); he may very probably have been related to Bennett of London, who owned the manor house, and about the time of the Ejectment broke up the estate. 4. Richard Cogan an Independent, though not a church member, lived at Coaxdon, just across the river. His wife was the lady under whose capacious skirts Charles II is said to have hid from her husband in that very house; (see Wilson's *Life of Defoe*). Coaxdon and Weycroft are both on high ground; while the wood behind the latter is full of combs and other suitable hiding-places. Cogan could easily signal across the valley when dangerous persons were seen coming from Chard, their usual direction; the worshippers had then only to slip out into the wood, make for any rendezvous, and continue their service. This they evidently did more than once.

The ancient manor house is at present occupied as a farmhouse. The hall, built about 1410, is now divided into upper and lower storeys; the upper is a large store room or loft, in which farm implements, etc., are kept; the lower is subdivided into kitchen, cellar, and passages. The end wall,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, has an old fireplace; which, with its original fleur-de-lys ornament, remains in a fairly good state of preservation. The residential portion is much more recent. The trees (in the print) overhang a steep circuitous track down to the river.

The ecclesiastical history of "Wyke-croft" ends with the building of the meeting-house in 1698. About the same time another meeting-house was built at Chard, and the church was divided.

Mr. Towgood died in 1722. The succeeding ministers in the old meeting-house were

The Rev. J. Stuckey to 1737.

The Rev. J. Wheeler to 1770.

The Rev. F. G. Stevens to 1785.

The Rev. Jas. Small to 1834.

Among the most noteworthy members of the church in the eighteenth century was Mr. Thomas Whitty, a clothier in the town, who first manufactured the celebrated Axminster carpets. According to a memorandum written by him in his old age, the idea arose from the examination of a Turkey carpet in London. Having some knowledge of weaving, he considered how the fabric might be closely imitated; and on 25th April, 1755, says he, "being one



Weycroft Manor House -  
Axminster.

fair day while our weavers were at holiday, I made in one of my looms a small piece of carpeting resembling as near as I could the Turkey carpets. The specimen was pronounced by the London friends equal to the original. After many difficulties and much praying, the first carpet made in Axminster was commenced on midsummer day 1755; taking my children, with their Aunt Betty Harvey to overlook and assist them, for my first workers."

These carpets were made by hand, and the completion of a large one was an event counted worthy of a festive celebration. On one occasion a thanksgiving service was held in the meeting-house for the successful completion of a large carpet for the Sultan of Turkey, which cost more than £1,000. It took between twenty and thirty men to carry the carpet from the factory to the chapel. The factory was discontinued in 1835, the looms being removed to Wilton.

Mr. Thomas Whitty, junior, son of the founder of the carpet industry, was a trustee of the meeting-house; and the family were liberal contributors towards the building of the new chapel which was erected on an adjacent site in 1828.

The Western Academy, on the death of Mr. Reader of Taunton, in 1794, was removed from that town to Axminster, and placed under the care of the Rev. Jas. Small. This arrangement continued till 1829, when the institution was removed to Exeter. Altogether fifty-four students received their ministerial training, wholly or in part, from Mr. Small. The most distinguished of these were John B. Innes of Camberwell and Norwich, Richard Knill of St. Petersburg, Wotton-under-Edge and Chester; T. C. Hine of Ilminster, Plymouth, and Sydenham; and Philip Kent, long one of the secretaries of the British & Foreign Bible Society. The house occupied by the academy still exists as a private residence.

Mr. Small died in 1834. The subsequent ministers have been:—

G. Hunter, left 1840.

A. Jupp, left 1846.

R. Penman, from Chester-le-Street, 1846; retired 1850.

Jas. Reed, Western College, 1851; removed to Atherston, 1854.

J. Bishop, 1856; died 1862.

S. le Blond, from Alresford, 1862; retired 1867.

W. Corken, from Bermondsey, 1868; remained only a short time.

W. Lance, from Bacup, 1870; removed to Paignton, 1874.

E. H. Perkins, from Charmouth, (formerly at Milborne Port), 1874; retired 1885; died at Trowbridge last autumn.

During Mr. Perkin's ministry in 1875, the old-meeting-house of 1698 was demolished, and the present school buildings were erected on the site.

J. Perkins, Western College, 1886; resigned 1891.

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- J. C. Angell, from Newport, Salop, 1892 ; removed to Bexley, 1897.  
Herbert C. Watts, from Bicester, 1898, removed to South Brent, 1902.  
F. B. Wyatt, from Okehampton (formerly at Taunton), 1903 ; the present minister, to whom we are indebted for most of the foregoing particulars.

### The Rev. T. Gasquoine's "John Penry"

A volume of great and varied interest is that issued by the Rev. Thos. Gasquoine entitled *John Penry and other Heroes of the Faithful and Suffering Church*. It contains seven chapters on topics as widely differing as "The Farewell Sermons of the Ejected Ministers" and "Puritans at Play." But the longest and most valuable is a carefully elaborated study of the life of John Penry, in which many facts are adduced which were unknown to Waddington. We cordially recommend the book.

## The Episcopal Returns of 1665-6

IN the October number of our *Transactions* the meagreness of these Returns was deplored, seeing how much information is contained in those which have been preserved—both of interest in itself, and of critical value as enabling us to confirm, supplement or correct the account given by Calamy of the ejected ministers whose whereabouts they report.

We will now briefly review them, to bring out these points.

The bishops whose Returns are preserved are the following:—

(1) *Gilbert Ironside* of Bristol; whose information touching the county of Dorset seems to have been gathered with care, though his personal knowledge of the Nonconformists resident within his own Cathedral city seems to have been restricted to the names. They are contained on pp. 315-317.

(2) *Seth Ward* of Exeter, whose returns touching the whole of his diocese of Exeter are a model of precision and fulness. They cover the whole of the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and are presented in two forms, one being a concise summary of the details given in the other. The summary occupies pp. 305-308; and the fuller Return pp. 396-413b.

(3) *William Lucy* of St. David's is also given in a twofold form. The fuller one (covering pp. 336b and 337) is phrased with great legal precision; the summary (giving the names only) is contained on p. 308.

The whole of the 1665 Returns, therefore, as far as they concern Nonconformists, cover little over thirty pages of vol. 639; and refer only to the extreme south-west of England and the southern half of Wales. A careful study of them, however, reveals a large amount of interesting information.

(1) To begin with they shew that about one third of the ejected ministers remained in the parishes where they had exercised their ministry; while two thirds were obliged to leave their parishes and friends for places in which they were personally strangers. The exact number of those who so remained was thirty; three of those were still in the city of Bristol, three in the county of Dorset, twenty-one in Devon (five of whom belonged to the city of Exeter, and two to the little town of Dartmouth), and three in the county of Cornwall.

The particulars are as follows:—

1. In Dorset. George Hammond, ejected from Holy Trinity, remained in Dorchester; Mr. Forward at Melbury Bubb (or Bubborne); and John Hodder at Hawkchurch.

2. In Bristol. Thomas Ewens, who had a "gathered Church" in Broadmead; Matthew Hazard, ejected from Ratcliffe; and John Paule, from St. Paul's.

3. In Devon. Richard Farrant remained in Musbury; Bartholomew Ashwood in Axminster; Francis Sourton at Honiton; Richard Saunders at Loxbeare; James Haddridge at Halberton; and Thomas Polwheile at Tiverton.

Five, too, remained in the city of Exeter; Thomas Ford, ejected from the Cathedral; John Bartlet from St. Mary's in Moor; Mark Down from St. Petrock's; Robert Atkins from St. John's; and John Tickel, who had no appointment.

John Nosworthy also remained at Manaton (his first cure); Francis Whiddon at Totness; James Burdwood and John Flavel at Dartmouth; W. Bailey at Stoke Fleming; Anthony Down at Northam; William Bartlet at Bideford; John Howe (of *The Living Temple* fame) at Great Torrington; Thomas Finney at Exbourne; and Daniel Morton at Ashbury.

4. In Cornwall. John Oliver remained in Lanceston; John Hickes in Saltash; and John Tutchin at Fowey.

Besides all these staunch "Noncons." in England, there were four ejected ministers who still lived in their own neighbourhoods in Wales; but all four because, through recantation of their Nonconformity, they were immune from persecution. These were: Thomas Evans in Llanbister, County Radnor; Rice Powell in Llanpedr (Lampeter), County Cardigan; Adam Hawkins in St. Ismael's, Pembrokeshire; and John Griffith, in Oxwich, Gower, County Glamorgan.

(2) Further: the fugitives, whom persecution drove from their flocks and their friends, are shewn by these Returns to have settled in Dorset generally in groups of villages within touch of each other; and in Devon and Cornwall in little colonies in the same town.

I. In *Dorset*, we may distinguish two groups; though in the first they are so scattered as to form rather a district.

1. It consists of the six who were nearest to Dorchester, viz: William Ben, from Dorchester, living at Maiden Newton; Mr. Swessel (probably Mr. Swaffield from Odstoke, Wilts) at Frome Van Church; George Thorne from Radipole, and his assistant and friend, Joshua Churchill from Fordington, at Compton Valence; and Christopher Lawrence, from Winterbourne Carne, at Frampton; who thus linked up with John Forward who still lived in his old cure at Melbury Bubb.

2. The second was sprinkled along the high land between the valleys of the Stour and Puddle; Mr. Timothy Sacheverell, from Tarrant Hinton, at Winterbourne Zelston; Thomas More from Hamoom, at Milton Abbas (*alias* Abbot Milton); Mr. Hallet from Shaftsbury ("Shaston" or "Shafton") at Helton (*alias* Hilton); Philip Lamb, from Bere Regis (and Winterbourne Kingston) at Alton Pancras; and Thomas Rowe from Litchet Maltravers at Hampreston (Hampleston).

In the city of *Bristol* there were four fugitives whose homes are known: Richard Blinman from Chepstow; William Voyle from Hereford Cathedral; Robert Taylor, probably from Silleck and Caple in Herefordshire; and William Crompton (if he be the Bishop's "Mr. Croughton") from Collumpton in Devon; also four other Nonconformists whom Calamy does not help us to identify; Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Jennett, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Griffith.

II. In *Devon*, colonies of the ejected were to be found in:—

1. *Thorncombe* in its easternmost corner where were these four: John Hodder from Hawkchurch, Dorset, just across the border; Mr. Branker from Sturminster Newton; and Mr. Trottle, from Spetisbury, both in the same county; and John Wakeley, from Lawrence Lydiard (or Lydiat), Somerset.

2. *Ottery St. Mary*. Here were other four: Robert Collins from Tallaton; Mr. Mawditt from Exeter; Mr. Ambrose



Clare from Poltimore; and Mr. Groves from Pinho—all in Devon County.

3. At *Tolness*, two fugitives, Mr. Bickley from Denbury (halfway to Newton Abbott) and George Mortimer from Haberton, sought the congenial society of Francis Whiddon, who still remained among his people.

4. In *Dartmouth*, John Kempster from Brixham had come in to strengthen and be strengthened by James Burdwood and John Flavell.

5. At *Plymouth*, Samuel Austin from Menheniot (Minkinneth) in Cornwall, had found refuge with George Hughes, the able ex-rector of the parish church and Henry Martyn his distinguished assistant—while Nicholas Sherwill, a native of the city, prevented by the Act of Uniformity from entering the ministry, formed a fourth in this Nonconformist colony.

6. At *Exeter*, besides the seven who had been ejected from livings in the city there were eight exiles: five from other parishes in Devon; two from Somerset; and one from Cornwall. From Devon, were John Jordan from Stoke-Canon near the city; Thomas Trescot from Shodbrook (north of Exeter); Robert Carel (or "Caryl") from Uploman; Robert Snow from Morchard Bishop; and John Hill from Newton Ferrers.

The two from Somerset were Joseph Hallet from Chesleborough; and Alexander Robinson from Porlock; and the single exile from Cornwall was Samuel Tapper from St. Merran's.

7. Then in the western central portion of the county two exiles: Thomas Maynard from North Tawton, and Thomas Bridgeman from Inwardleigh had come to live near Thomas Finney—still at Exborne, and Daniel Moreton at Ashbury ("Asberry"), the former at Sampford Courtenay and the latter at Jacobstow.

III. *Cornwall* was distinguished by one remarkable colony of Nonconformists in the town of Saltash, on its south-east border.

John Hikes, the ejected minister, was its magnetic centre; and round him were gathered William Tombs from St. Stephen's (close to Launceston); Robert Wyne, from North Tamerton in Devon; John Lydstone from St. Mellion's; Thomas Travers from St. Columb Major; and Nicholas Tyack (or Teage) ejected whence we know not, who afterwards fell away and "conformed."

(3) But, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting things in these Returns is the remarkable

testimony they furnish to the general accuracy and completeness of Calamy's lists.

In *Dorset*, of the seventeen mentioned in Gilbert Ironside's Return; fourteen are given by Calamy as ejected from the places which the bishop names; though in two cases the place-names differ.

In *Bristol*, of the eleven he reports as residing in the city, seven are mentioned by Calamy; but as the bishop only gives their names, Calamy's statements as to the place of their ejection are neither confirmed or contradicted.

In *Devon*, the bishop of Exeter (Seth Ward) reports sixty-four ejected ministers; sixty-three are mentioned by Calamy, and sixty-two of these as ejected from the places named in the bishop's return. In only one case is the place of ejection different.

In *Cornwall*, the same bishop reports twenty, and of these only one is not mentioned by Calamy—all the other nineteen being referred to by him exactly as reported by the bishop.

In *Wales*, the bishop of St. Davids (William Lucy) reports twelve; of whom six only are given by Calamy, and one of the six as ejected from a different place from that reported by the bishop.

Of the one hundred and fifteen ejected ministers, therefore, named in these returns, ninety-four or ninety-five are mentioned by Calamy; and in ninety of these cases the place of ejection is the same according to both authorities; a remarkable proof of Calamy's accuracy and reliability. But more than that—in the four instances in which the names of the places differ, careful examination shews the statements to be mutually supplementary, and not contradictory.

In each case, the unfortunate minister concerned is found to have been ejected from two places in succession: from one at the Restoration (in 1660)—either to give way for the former clergyman whom he had been "intruded" by Oliver or by the Parliament to replace, or because his appointment was not allowed to be legitimate; and from the other, "for conscience' sake" in 1662. Two of these belong to Dorset, one to Devon, and one to Glamorgan.

1. In *Dorset*, *George Thorne* is mentioned by Calamy (II. 161) as ejected from Weymouth in 1660, as an "intruder"; but a refuge being found for him in the neighbouring village of *Radipole*, he is reported by the bishop as ejected thence in 1662.

Driven from England for a time, as Calamy reports, on his return he evidently came to live in retirement at Compton Valence (a few miles N.N.W. of Dorchester), as Gilbert Ironside reports him as residing there in 1665.

The case of *John White* is similar ; Calamy (II.145) reports him as ejected from Pimpern in 1660, and the bishop as "late curate at Beer Regis." But Calamy distinctly states that on his ejection from Pimpern he "assisted Mr. Lamb at Beer Regis" ; so that his assistantship is reckoned by the bishop as a curacy, from which he reports him as ejected, but as retiring to Helt (or Holt) Chapel to be near his friend and principal (Mr. Lamb), who after ejection was living at Hampreston.

2. In *Devon*, the one instance is that of John Nosworthy. But here Calamy adheres to his general rule of mentioning him in connection with the place whence he was ejected in 1662, viz : *Ipplepen* ; whereas Bishop Ward describes him as formerly of *Manaton*, the place to which he had been translated from Seaton in 1659, but from which he was ejected in 1660 as an "intruder." The curious thing is, that Ipplepen was not the second, but the *third* place from which he was ejected in succession. For on leaving Manaton in 1660, he was settled in North Bovey for a few months, but had to leave again in 1661 for Ipplepen. On his ejection from Ipplepen Calamy tells us he retired to Manaton, his birthplace as well as his cure for a year, 1659-1660 ; where Seth Ward reports him to be still living in 1665. Even here was to be no rest for the sole of his feet for (Calamy adds) the Oxford Act drove him thence to Ashburton.

3. In *Glamorgan*, it is Daniel Higgs, of the peninsula of Gower—who is concerned. Here again, as in the first two cases, Calamy departs from his rule, noticing him under the name of the place whence he was *first* ejected, viz : *Rhosilly*.

That was, however, not in 1660, but in 1661. He was then appointed, without objection, to Port Eynon (upon the coast between Rhosilly and Oxwich), whence he was ejected in 1662, retiring for a time to his native country in Worcestershire. In these facts, both the bishop (William Lucy) and Calamy are at one, for (1) the bishop says distinctly that he was "ejected out of the rectory of *Portynon*," and Calamy says he was "cast out of another living called PORTYNON" ; (Palmer has relegated the statement to a footnote under the impression that there was no such place, failing to identify "Portynon" with Port Eynon) : and (2), the bishop says he was in 1665 "removed out of his diocese," which was true, as we know from the testimony of Calamy, that he had fled from persecution to his native place.

Thus it appears that as to ninety-four out of the one hundred and fifteen ejected ministers reported in the *Episcopal Returns*, their names and places of ejection are consistent with the statements of Calamy.

It is true that in all the counties here referred to Calamy's

list is much longer than that contained in the bishop's Returns.

In Dorset, it exceeds them by 47 (64 as compared with 17).			
In Bristol city	"	" 6 ( 9	" " 3).
In Devon	"	" 83 (146	" " 63).
In Cornwall	"	" 28 ( 48	" " 20).

Shewing a total excess of one hundred and sixty-four, (two hundred and sixty-seven as compared with one hundred and three) ; while in Wales it is forty-three (fifty-five as compared with twelve). This is not surprising, however, when we bear in mind the strong temptation there was to the parsons of individual parishes, and the bishops of the several dioceses, to minimise the number of Nonconformists in order to "make a fair show" of their efficiency. A signal proof of this is given by George Griffith, Bishop of St. Asaph's, who had the hardihood to report of the "Nonconformists and ejected ministers" : "none such in this diocese" ; when we know that four were ejected in Flint (though one afterwards conformed), six were ejected in Denbigh, one in Merioneth, and nine at least in that part of Salop which was in his diocese ; twenty at least in all. Tho' of five of these he would have to report, like William Lucy of St. David's, that they had "left his diocese" ; three of them (Richard Taylor E. from Holt, Andrew Parson E. from Wem, and Charles Humphreys E. from Cleobury) having gone to London, Richard Steel (E. from Hanmer) on the point of going there, and Dr. Samuel Hildersham (E. from West Felton) who had retired to Birmingham.

(4) Then there is another set of facts revealed by these Returns—which makes our confidence the greater that Calamy has not exaggerated the number of his confessors. We may be quite sure the bishops would not report as ejected Nonconformists any who did not suffer for their Nonconformity, yet these Returns give us thirteen names which are not mentioned by Calamy, so that by that number at least Calamy has underestimated (and not exaggerated) the number of those ejected in the southern half of Wales and the south western part of England. (At first I had added five others to the list, as none of them was to be found in the index. On closer scrutiny of the

text, however, I found all five mentioned in his appended lists of those who afterwards conformed.)

They are as follows :—

1. In the county of Dorset : (1) Mr. Trottle, ejected from Spetisbury ; and (2) Mr. Branker, ejected from Sturminster Newton.

(From the State papers, I have also found a third—not mentioned by Calamy, viz : Joseph Crabbe, ejected in 1661 from Netherbury.)

2. In the county of Devon : (3) Mr. Stokes, living at Comb Martin in 1665-6, only of him there is the doubt expressed by Seth Ward whether he were ever in orders, and had a living at all.

3. In the county of Brecon : (4) John Dennis, ejected from the vicarage of Hay ; (5) Thomas Edwards, ejected from the rectory of Llandefaillog ; (6) Mr. Littlejohn, ejected from the collegiate church of Brecon (the prebend of "Llandugroie") ; and (7) Thomas Vaughan, M.A., ejected from Llansaintffraed.

4. In the county of Pembroke : (8) Thomas Freeman, ejected from two or more benefices in the county, which are not named in the Return.

Besides these :

5. In the city of Bristol, the bishop reports as "Nonconformist ministers" these four as resident there in 1665 : (9) Mr. Hibbert ; (10) Mr. Jennet ; (11) Mr. Brock ; and (12) Mr. Griffith.

6. In the county of Dorset, too, we have a Mr. Swessell, as living at Frome Van church, but as having come into Dorset from the diocese of Sarum. If the name were given correctly, as "Swessel" is a name unknown to Calamy, it would make a thirteenth addition to Calamy's list. But I cannot resist the conjecture that it is a clerical error for "Swaffield" ; and Calamy mentions a "Mr. John Swaffield" as ejected from Odstoke in Wilts (III. 368-369), who after his ejection removed with his family to Sarum, and in 1665 was forced from them by the Oxford Act into "an obscure village in Dorsetshire." Would not Frome Van church exactly fit that description ? And his previous history as given by Calamy exactly fits the bishop's report about "Mr. Swassell," that he came thither from "the diocese of Sarum."

7. In the county of Cornwall, moreover, we have (13) Mr. Tobias Butcher mentioned with Mr. Robert Jago, A.M., as Nonconformists living in Helston (R. 414) ; though whence he was ejected the Return does not state.

By these thirteen names, then, our roll of Non-conformist martyrs is enriched; and our confidence in Calamy's sobriety and trustworthiness is confirmed.

(5) Further, the Returns incidentally confirm the accuracy of Calamy in little details. (i) Of Benjamin Way Calamy has two notices; first under Barking, Essex (II. 186-187), because he was ejected thence in 1660; and second under West Stafford, Dorset (his native county), in 1662; adding that after ejection from West Stafford he retired to Dorchester, and there continued to live in quiet till 1675. Both of the latter statements are confirmed by Gilbert Ironside's Return (R. 316), in which he reports: "Mr. Way, late rector of West Stafford hath alsoe taken the said Oath" (that required by the Oxford Act), "and is now resident at Dorchester aforesaid." (ii) Similarly, Calamy's statement (I. 356) about Mr. Samuel Austin, that after his ejection from Menhenniot in Cornwall he lived in Plymouth, is exactly confirmed by Seth Ward's Report (R. 405), who gives amongst the Nonconformist ministers living in Plymouth in 1665/6 "Mr. Samuel Austin, turned out of Minkinneth y<sup>e</sup> Right of D<sup>r</sup> Hall y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Chester." (iii) So with Thomas Finney, who, Calamy says, lived on his own estate (in Exbourne) after his ejection from the rectory: the bishop reports that "Thomas Finney, who left Exborne for the like" (*i.e.* for Nonconformity), "liveth sometimes in Exborne and sometymes at Barnstaple." (iv) In the case of Samuel Tapper, Calamy notes him (II. 356-360) as ejected in 1660 from St. Merran in Cornwall, and adds that "after enjoying for a time, the hospitality of R. Erisey Esq., of Erisey, he retired to Exeter to live with his friends." The bishop has nothing to say of the place whence he was ejected,

but mentions him as one of the twelve Presbyterian ministers living in Exeter in 1665, so corroborating Calamy. (v) The fact implied in Calamy's placing the name of Rice-Powell of Llanbeder in his *black list* for Cardiganshire, is strikingly confirmed in the full report of him given by the Bishop of St. David's; for he says (R. 337): "Rice Powell, Clerke, was ejected out of the Vicaradge of Llampedder pont Stephen, in the county of Cardigan for Non Subscription but since hath subscribed and does conforme, and live very peaceably and quietly in the Countrey in relation to Church and State." (vi) Again, Mr. Thomas Bridgeman is noticed by Calamy as ejected from the rectory of Inwardleigh in 1660 (II. 42), "when," he adds, "Mr. F. Nation, who had been dispossessed of it in 1657, returned to it." The summary (R. 307b) reports him as living at Jacobstow in 1665, "inoffensive and poore"; and the fuller Return (R. 403b) has "Thomas Bridgeman who left Inwardley for want of Tytle, liveth at Jacobstow inoffensively and poorely." As "intruded" into the living at Inwardleigh by Oliver's commissioners—when they sequestered Mr. Nation, the bishop would naturally speak of him as "in want of Tytle to it"; and euphemistically expressed his ejection as "leaving Inwardley" for that reason.

(6) The Returns also fill in details which Calamy was unable to furnish.

(a) Mr. Martyn is mentioned by Calamy (II. 175) as one of those ejected in Dorset, but "from places unknown." The Return made by the Bishop of Bristol gives us the information, adding also the place to which he retired on his ejection, thus—"Mr. Martyn, late Rector of Tarrant Munckton is now Resident at Wimborne."

(b) Mr. John Jordan, again, is given by Calamy

(II. 72) as born in Exeter of good parents, educated at Cambridge, presented to Stoke Canon in 1655, and ejected thence in 1660, by the dean and chapter of Exeter; but all he can add is that he continued a Nonconformist to his death, though always poor. The Return shews that after his ejection he retired to his native city, for both in the Summary (R. 307b), and the fuller report (R. 398), "Mr. Jordayne" is mentioned as the twelfth of the dozen Presbyterians, but not keepers of conventicles, "inhabiting within the City and suburbs of the City of Exeter... who above 3 years since have laid down the publique exercise of their Ministry and functions."

(c) Calamy tells us of Thomas Powell, M.A., that he was ejected from St. Sidwell's, Exeter, but all that he can add (II. 35) is: "after his ejection here, he removed to London. He was a good preacher, very active in the ministry, and much esteemed for his piety. He was of the congregational persuasion." This Return shews that he did not leave Exeter till after 1665, as it reports "Mr. Powell" among the three conventicler Independents, who were resident there in that year.

(d) Of Mr. Daniel Moreton, all that Calamy can tell us is that he was ejected from the rectory of Ashbury (Devon) (II. 2,3), and that Dr. Walker's complaint about him was that he had no college training,<sup>2</sup> Palmer adding the apologetic remark: "that he might have been better qualified for the ministry than some who had spent many years in a College." To this meagre account the Returns add interesting information; the Summary (R. 307b) that "thence ejected, he liveth still in y<sup>e</sup> Pars. house; but not inoffensively"; the fuller Return (R. 403b) says much the same thing.

<sup>2</sup>" He had no other education than that of a private school" (II. 316).



(e) Of Mr. Michael Taylor Calamy informs us that he was born at Silverton, educated at Cambridge, and first appointed as assistant to Mr. Humphrey Saunders at Holsworthy; but was afterwards presented to the rectory of Pyeworthy; and in 1660, under pretext of some flaw in his title, was ejected (II. 67). The Returns say, both in the summary (R. 308) and the fuller report (R. 404), that he was "ejected out of Pyeworthy for Nonconformity"—thus making him more directly a sufferer for his Nonconformity than Calamy; and add "who now liveth in Holsworthy, Peaceably and Quietly"—thus confirming Calamy as to the place of his ejection, and giving us the interesting fact that on his ejection he retired to the place and people of his first charge, where he was curate to Mr. Saunders.

(f) In the case of Richard Swaine of Radnor, the Returns and Calamy are mutually supplementary. Calamy (III. 510) has his name in the list for county Radnor; but knows only that he was ejected "somewhere in this county." The place whence he was ejected is given thus in the Return (R. 337); "Richard Swaine, clerke was Ejected out of the Vicarage of Clirowe in the County of Radnor, for non-Subscription." "Clirowe," now known as "Clyro," is in the S. W. corner of the county. The bishop cannot tell us, however, where he was resident in 1665. He simply adds: "and has now left the Diocesse." But Calamy informs us that he died in Salop"; while the licence documents shew that in 1672 he was in Shrewsbury securing licences for himself as Presbyterian teacher and for his house, September 5th, 1672 [E. (244)]. So the probability is that on leaving Clyro he retired to Shrewsbury.

(g) In the instance of John Harries of Cardigan-shire the supplementary information given by the

Returns is considerable. Calamy has "Mr. John Harris as ejected from Tregaron" (high up the valley of the R. Brefi); and the little more which he tells of him is doubtfully to his credit. He says (III. 496) "Dr. Walker mentions him and Mr. Honmer as Welsh itinerants, who received a salary both in Brecon and Radnor," suggesting the sin of pluralism. And this unfortunately, is too likely to be true in view of what the Return tells us, viz., that he was a most abject apostate from his Puritan faith. "John Harries, clerke," the bishop reports "was a Non-Conformist, but since he did subscribe, and conforme, and preached a Recantation sermon; and my Lord Chancellor gave him a benefice in Cardiganshire; and now he lives very quietly and peaceably in relation to the Church and State."

In small details, too, the Returns supplement Calamy. Calamy apparently did not know the Christian names of Mr. Forward, whom he has (II. 139) as ejected from Melbury Bubb (in Dorset) and Mr. Hunt, the ejected minister of Dunchidiock in Devon; but from the Returns we learn the former was "John" (R. 315), and the latter "Edward" (R. 3076 & 3986.)

Calamy can only tell us rather vaguely of Hunt, that after his ejection he went to live "near Exeter"; but the Returns define the place as St. Stephen's.

G. LYON TURNER.

[To be continued.]

## CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FROM MAY 9th, 1907, TO DECEMBER 31st, 1908.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance in hand May 9th, 1907	... 87 13 11	Printing <i>Transactions</i> ...	... 115 16 11
Annual Subscriptions and Donations	77 3 6	Postages ( <i>Transactions</i> ) ...	... 8 13 0
Sales:—		Hire of Room, Memorial Hall	... 2 2 0
C.H.S. <i>Transactions</i> ...	10 16 10	<i>Brown's Retraction</i> ...	... 3 2 6
<i>Brown's Retraction</i> ...	1 0 0	Subscription — Friends' Historical Society ...	... 0 10 0
	— 11 16 10	Stationery, Printing and Sundries ...	... 2 9 11
		Cheque Book ...	... 0 4 2
		Balance at Bank	... 43 15 9
			<u>£176 14 3</u>
			<u>£176 14 3</u>

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

February 12th, 1909.

JOHN MINSHULL,