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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. VIII.

1920—1923

EDITED BY
T. G. CRIPPEN

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY MILLER, SON AND COMPANY, LIMITED,
FAKENHAM AND LONDON.

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EDITORIAL

WE much regret that a variety of circumstances—of which the greatly enhanced cost of printing is only one—rendered any issue of “Transactions” during the year 1919 impracticable. We trust subscribers will pardon the delay, and accept the present issue as an instalment of Good Things to Come. We have a large store of material in hand awaiting use; and hope to contribute acceptably to the approaching Tercentenary Commemoration of the historic voyage of the *Mayflower*.

* * * *

We have been favoured with a copy of “The Quarterly Magazine of Bethlehem Royal Hospital” for September, 1919, in which there is appearing a series of papers on “The Registers of Bridewell Chapel,” by Rev. E. G. O’Donoghue. This particular issue (Chapter XI) treats of “Congregationalists in Bridewell.” The writer’s sympathies are undisguisedly with Queen Elizabeth and those who were in authority under her; but he has stated the facts very fairly, and has given prominence to some points that are not always duly borne in mind. He reminds us that intolerance was not all on one side; that there were separatists who denounced conforming puritans as “semi-papists”; and that some of these, while lodged in Bridewell, “held services of the Geneva pattern in the Great Hall without interference.” We could wish, however, that he had not *seemed* to acquiesce in the judicial murder of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry.

* * * *

We have read with much interest a small book by Rev. Dr. Nightingale, entitled “From the Great Awakening to the Evangelical Revival.” It is the substance of a course of lectures given some time ago in Liverpool; and treats of the course of Religious Life in England from 1520 to 1800. It is *not* a History; but it is a useful *aid* to the study of history; being a serious endeavour to co-ordinate the leading historical facts, presenting them in their true relations, and passing over others which are of real but minor importance. Particularly instructive is the chapter dealing with

the Arian movement in the 18th century, regarding which some prevalent misconceptions are cleared up. The book is especially designed for Study Circles, and its utility is increased by a condensed Bibliography of about 120 titles, and a list of seventy "Points for Examination and Discussion." It is published by the Congregational Union.

* * * *

Dr. Nightingale has also lately produced an interesting life-story entitled "Fidelity to an Ideal: the Story of a Successful Life." The Ideal is that of "Business continuously run to success on high moral lines"; and the author narrates the steady progress, from lowly beginnings to wealth and social eminence, of a friend of his, who consistently acted on the belief that it is "possible to make the best of both worlds." Incidentally much is told about Lancashire Congregationalism, with which the family are connected: and—what especially justifies the present notice—we read that in the 16th century one of their ancestors, a magistrate in Suffolk, endeavoured to protect his Puritan and Brownist neighbours from persecution.

* * * *

Congregationalists have not usually favoured set forms of prayer: and there was a time when the public use of a liturgy disqualified for membership in the London Board of Ministers. But several aids to domestic worship have at various times had considerable popularity. Dr. Alexander Fletcher's "Guide to Family Devotion" was in its thirteenth impression in 1851. Dr. John Harris's "Altar of the Household" (1853), and Dr. Joseph Parker's "People's Family Prayer Book" (1889) had a respectable circulation, but each had this serious fault, it bore too much the impress of one man. This error is avoided in "The Altar in the Home," edited by Dr. Garvie and Dr. Nightingale, the material of which is furnished by sixty different contributors. To those who find spiritual help in books of this class, "The Altar in the Home" may be confidently recommended.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

THE halo of romance which encircles the *Mayflower* Pilgrims is apt to obscure our perception of the fact that, like ourselves, they were very human. It may be well to summarize, as briefly as possible, what can be gathered of their personality and mutual relations.

The company which finally set sail were 102 in number, of whom one died at sea; but two children were born on the voyage, so that 103 reached the New England shore. Of these fifty-one were men, nineteen women, twenty-three boys, and ten girls. Fourteen of the men were indentured servants, of whom only four signed the historic "Compact" (perhaps the other ten were minors); four were hired sailors, two of whom signed the Compact, and the other two returned to England after fulfilling their engagement. The "Compact," signed at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620, received forty-one signatures, all of men. The signatures of the fathers were, no doubt, supposed to cover the allegiance of the sons; and, of course, in 1620, the women did not count in such matters.

Two or three deaths occurred, apparently by accident, in the early days of the colony; and in a few weeks an outbreak of sickness—supposed to have been of the nature of scurvy, the result of unwholesome food—threatened it with extermination. The *Mayflower* set out on its return voyage on 15th April, 1621, and by that time forty-seven deaths had occurred, which number was increased to fifty-two before the arrival of the *Fortune* on the 19th November, 1621.

These consisted of thirty-one men (including eight

of the indentured servants), fourteen women, and seven children. Four families were totally extinguished, and of six others only one representative was left to each. Only four of the mothers survived.

Beside the two sailors already mentioned, two persons (women or girls) returned to England after a short time, but not in the *Mayflower*; and three others (men) returned several years later. Of the original pilgrims, eight bachelors and eight maids married in the colony, as well as three who had become widowers and two widows. Altogether about thirty-five of the company, men and women (marked * in the schedule), left issue; and about 160 persons of their posterity were living in 1650.

The last survivor of the original pilgrims, Mary (Allerton) Cushman, died in 1699; but Peregrine White, "the first Englishman born in America," reached the patriarchal age of eighty-four, and died in 1704.

Tradition persistently affirms that among the passengers in the *Mayflower* were several who were connected either with the Church gathered in London by Henry Jacob in 1616, or with the remnant of "the ancient Church" which had been scattered by persecution in 1593. There is nothing unlikely in this tradition, and much to be said in its favour; but unfortunately it is impossible to verify it, because no lists of the members of those churches are extant. It is possible, however, to limit the range within which perhaps future research may discover some corroboration. We must eliminate all those names († in the schedule) the bearers of which are *known* to have been resident at Leyden, and those (‡) who were *probably* there; as well as the hired sailors, and those who are distinctly stated to have come from Colchester, Billericay, Norwich, Southampton, or other places. The Billington family must also be excluded, as they are repudiated by Bradford, being "shuffled into the company,"

he knew not by what influence. On the whole the London contingent are most hopefully to be sought under the names of Browne, Chilton, Clark, Dotey, Eaton, Hopkins, Margeson, Mullens, Rigsdale, and Warren ; fourteen names in all, not counting children.

Nothing can derogate from the honour due to such men as Bradford and Brewster, Carver, Fuller, Winslow, Standish, Mullens, and Alden. But there was a Judas among the twelve apostles, and there were one or two black sheep among the 102 who sailed in the *Mayflower*. Bradford ascribes to some who suffered in "the sickness" language and conduct by no means becoming saints ; and the family which he declares to have been "shuffled in" were, beyond question, a bad lot. The father, as early as 1621, was adjudged to be tied neck and heels "for contempt of the captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches" ; and he evidently went from bad to worse until 1630, when, having deliberately waylaid and shot one, John Newcomen, with whom he had a former quarrel, he was hanged for the murder. In 1636, his wife was set in the stocks and whipped for slander. His posterity are traced through a younger son, whose wife—a widow—was not one of the original colonists. It does not appear, however, that the scandals which, a few years later, afflicted the colony were to any appreciable extent due to the influence of this unhappy family ; but rather to later arrivals, who were actuated by no such religious impulse as moved the original pilgrims.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

It may be worth noting that what are called Canting Names are proportionally more numerous among the pilgrim families than in the majority of Puritan lists. It would not be fair so to designate such aptly chosen names as Oceanus and Peregrine; while Desire is merely the French Desirée, and Constant the familiar Constance; but Remember, Love, Wrestling, Humility, and Resolved are canting names of the most pronounced order.

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
7	Alden, John	M	London or Essex ...
5	Allerton, Mr. Isaact ...	M	London, formerly Suffolk
	" Mary†	W	Newbury
	" Bartholomew† ...	B	Born at Leyden ...
	" Remember†	G	" "
	" Mary†	G	" "
38	" John	M	—
26	Billington, John	M	London
	" Eleanor	W	"
	" John	B	"
	" Francis	B	"
2	Bradford, Mr. William† ...	M	Austerfield
	" Dorothy†	W	Wisbech
4	Brewster, Mr. William† ...	M	Scrooby
	" Mary†	W	"
	" Love†	B	"
	" Wrestling†	B	"
34	Britteridge, Richard	M	Prittlewell
33	Browne, Peter	M	Probably London ...
	<i>Button, William‡</i>	M	—
	<i>Carter, Robert</i>	M	—
1	Carver, Mr. John†	M	Probably Essex
	" Katharine†	W	Nottinghamshire ...

It is worthy of remark that, whereas exactly half of the *Mayflower* Company died within a year of their arrival on Plymouth Rock, at least eight attained to the age of seventy and upwards; their actual years being 72, 76, 78, 80, 81, 84, 89, and 90.

In the following schedule is given as much personal information about the voyagers as it has been found possible to condense in the available space.

Date of death.	
1687	Married Priscilla Mullens, 1623; died at Duxbury, aged 89. Last survivor of the signatories.*
1659	Married (2) a daughter of W. Brewster; died at Newhaven.*
7 Mar., 1621	Had a child, still-born, 22 December, 1620.
?	Afterwards returned to England.*
?	Married Moses Mavericke, of Salem; living in 1652.*
1699	Married Thomas Cushman; died aged 90; last survivor of the Pilgrims.*
Mar., 1621	Hired sailor.
Oct., 1630	"Shuffled into the Company"; hanged for murder.*
?	Whipped for slander, 1636; married (2) to Gregory Armstrong, 1638.*
1628 or '29	Died before his father.
?	Married Christian, widow of Francis Eaton, 1634; living at Yarmouth, N.E., 1650.*
9 May, 1657	Governor 1621-33, 1637, 1639-43, 1645-57; married (2) to Alice Southworth.*
17 Dec., 1620	Drowned in Cape Cod harbour, aged 23.
20 April, 1644	Ruling Elder; died at Duxbury, aged about 78.*
1626	Died at Plymouth, aged about 57.*
1650	Married Sarah Collier, 1634; died at Duxbury, N.E.*
?	Died unmarried, date uncertain.
31 Dec., 1620	Died on board the <i>Mayflower</i> in Plymouth harbour.
1633	Died at Plymouth; ancestor of John Brown, of Ossawatimie.*
16 Nov., 1620	Servant to S. Fuller; died on board the <i>Mayflower</i> at sea.
1621	Probably servant to W. Mullens.
April, 1621	Deacon and Governor.
June, 1621	Maiden name White. (Probably a sister of Mrs. John Robinson.)

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
	Carver, Mrs. Carver's maid .	W	—
24	Chilton, James	M	Sandwich
	" his wife	W	—
	" Mary	G	—
36	Clarke, Richard	M	—
	Cooper, Humility	G	—
17	Cooke, Francis	M	—
	Cooke, John	B	—
25	Crackstone, John	M	Colchester
	" John, junr.	B	—
40	<i>Dotey</i> (Doughty?) <i>Edward</i> ...	M	London or Scrooby
23	Eaton, Francis	M	—
	" Sarah	W	—
	" Samuel	B	—
	Ellis or Ely	M	—
39	English, Thomas	M	—
27	Fletcher, Moses†	M	—
8	Fuller, Mr. Samuel†	M	North Ockendon, Essex
21	" Edward	M	Essex
	" Mrs. Edward	W	—
	" Samuel, junr.	B	—
37	Gardiner, Richard	M	—
28	Goodman, John	M	—
	<i>Holbeck, William</i> †	M	—
	<i>Hooke, John</i> †... ..	M	—
14	Hopkins, Mr. Stephen	M	London or Essex
	" Elizabeth	W	—
	" Giles	B	—
	" Constant... ..	G	—
	" Damaris	G	—
	" Oceanus	B	—

Date of death.	
Before 1627	Married Francis Eaton (his 2nd wife), 1623, and died a year or two after.
18 Dec., 1620	Died at Princetown harbour.
Spring, 1621 1679	Married to John Winslow (Brother of Edward); died at Boston.*
Spring, 1621 ?	Related to E. Tilley; returned to England after 1627; probably died unmarried.
1663	His wife and children followed him; died at Plymouth, aged about 81.*
?	Son of Francis; married Sarah Warren, 1634; living at Dartmouth, N.E., 1694; last <i>male</i> survivor of the <i>Mayflower</i> . *
Spring, 1621	Left a married daughter at Leyden.
1628	Died at Plymouth, N.E.
1655	Servant to Hopkins; died at Yarmouth, N.E.*
1633	Married (2) "Mrs. Carver's maid," (3) Christian Penn; died at Plymouth.*
Spring, 1621 1684	An infant; apprenticed 1636; "presented for mixt dancing" 1651; died at Middlesborough, N.E.*
?	A sailor, who returned to England after fulfilling his engagement.
Spring, 1621	Hired sailor.
Early, 1621	Married 2nd time at Leyden, 1613.
1633	Surgeon and Deacon; died at Plymouth.*
Spring, 1621	Brother of Samuel F.
Spring, 1621	Died at Barnstable, N.E.*
1683	A sailor, who died either at sea or in England.
?	
Early, 1621	Probably servant to White.
Spring, 1621	Probably servant to Isaac Allerton.
Spring, 1621	Died at Plymouth.*
1644	Died at Plymouth.*
After 1640	Married Katharine Wheldon, 1639; } Children of
1690	died at Yarmouth.* } Stephen by a
1677	Married Nicholas Snow; died at } former wife.
Eastham.*	
After 1666	Married Jacob Cooke, of Plymouth; died there before 1669.
Before 1627	Born on board the <i>Mayflower</i> , at sea.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
13	<i>Howland John</i>†	... .. M	—
	<i>Langmore, John</i>	... .. M	Billericay... ..
	<i>Latham, William</i>	... .. B	Sherborne
41	<i>Lister or Litster, Edward</i>	... .. M	Probably Scrooby ...
32	Margeson, Edmund	... .. M	—
9	Martin, Mr. Christopher	... .. M	Billericay... ..
	„ Mrs.	... .. W	„
	Minter, Desire	... .. G	Norwich
	More, Jasper	... .. B	—
	„ Richard	... .. B	—
	„ “Richard’s Brother”	... .. B	—
	„ Ellen...	... .. G	—
10	Mullens, Mr. William	... .. M	Presumably London ...
	„ Mrs.	... .. W	„ „ ...
	„ Joseph	... .. B	„ „ ...
	„ Priscilla	... .. G	„ „ ...
29	Priest, Degory†	... .. M	London
	<i>Prower Solomon</i>†	... .. M	Billericay
20	Rigdale, John	... .. M	—
	„ Alice	... .. W	—
18	Rogers, Thomas	... .. M	Chelmsford
	„ Joseph	... .. B	„ „
	Samson, Henry	... .. B	—
35	<i>Soule, George</i>†	... .. M	—
	<i>Story, Elias</i>†...	... .. M	—
6	Standish, Mr. Miles	... .. M	Lancashire
	„ Rose	... .. W	? Isle of Man
15	Tilley, Edward	... .. M	Shipton
	„ Ann	... .. W	—

Date of death.	
1673	Servant to Carver; married Elizabeth Tilley; died at Plymouth, aged 80.*
<i>Early</i> 1621	Probably servant to Martin.
After 1643	Servant to Carver; returned to England, and died in the Bahamas.
Before 1630	Servant to Hopkins; removed to Virginia, and died there.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Treasurer of the Company; had the victualling of the ship.
18 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Returned to England, and died, apparently unmarried.
?	
<i>Dec.</i> , 1620	"Put to the Carver family"; died in Cape Cod harbour.
1656	Adopted by Brewster family; married Christian Hunt, 1636 assumed name of Mann; died at Scituate.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	"Put to the Brewster family."
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	"Put to the Winslow family." (These were four orphans.)
3 <i>Mar.</i> , 1621	Agent who negotiated with the Merchant Adventurers.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Married John Alden, 1623.*
After 1687	
11 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	His wife and children followed, she being Isaac Allerton's sister.
2 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	Probably servant to Martin.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	His children came later, some of whom left issue.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
1678	
1684	Son of Thomas, died at Eastham, N.E.*
1680	Child, six years old, cousin of Ed. Tilley; married Anne Plummer, 1636; died at Duxbury, N.E.*
	Servant to Winslow; married Mary Bucket or Becket; died at Duxbury.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Probably servant to Winslow.
1656	Chosen Captain 17 February, 1621; married (2) Barbara [maiden name unknown], 1623; died at Duxbury.
8 <i>Feb.</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
16	Tilley, John... ..	M	—
	„ Bridget	W	—
	„ Elizabeth	G	—
19	Tinker, Thomas	M	—
	„ Mrs.	W	—
	„ (child unnamed)	B	—
	<i>Thompson, Edward</i> †... ..	M	—
	Trevors, William	M	—
22	Turner, John	M	—
	„ (unnamed)... ..	B	—
	„ (unnamed)... ..	B	—
12	Warren, Mr. Richard	M	London
11	White, Mr. William†	M	—
	„ Susanna†	W	—
	„ Resolved†	B	...
	„ Peregrine	B	—
	<i>Wilder, Roger</i> †	M	—
30	Williams, Thomas	M	—
3	Winslow, Mr. Edward†	M	Worcestershire
	„ Elizabeth†	W	Chattisham, Suffolk
31	„ Gilbert	M	—

It is customary in England to restrict the honourable title "The Pilgrim Fathers" to the company who sailed in the *Mayflower*. In America it is usual to include among "The Pilgrims" or "The Forefathers" those who followed in the *Fortune* and the *Anne*. It seems, therefore, desirable to add the names of these bold adventurers, the more so as several of them inter-married with the *Mayflower* pioneers, howbeit they attained not unto the first company.

Date of death.		
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		Married John Howland ; died at Plymouth.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621 1687		
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		Probably servant to Wm. White ; the first who died after reaching New England. A sailor ; returned to England after fulfilling his engagement.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		
14 <i>Dec.</i> , 1620		
—		
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		His wife and children followed ; the family was related to that of Cromwell ; died at Plymouth.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621		
<i>Spring</i> , 1621 1628		
<i>March</i> , 1621 1680		Sister of Fuller ' s ; afterwards married Gov. Edwd. Winslow.
?		Born at Leyden ; living at Salem 1690.
1704		Born on board the <i>Mayflower</i> in Cape Cod harbour ; died at Marshfield, N.E.*
<i>Early</i> 1621		Probably servant to Carver.
<i>Early</i> 1621 1655		Married Susanna White (Fuller) 22 May, 1621, the first marriage in the Colony ; Governor 1633 and 1644 ; died at sea.
3 <i>April</i> , 1621		Brother of Edward ; returned to England after some years.
—		

Passengers in the " Fortune " arrived 20th November, 1621.

Adams, John	died 1633	Cushman, Thos.	1691
Bassett, William	1667	Dean, Stephen	1634
" Elizabeth (?)	?	Dela Noye—	1681
Beal, William	before 1627	Flavel, Thos.	before 1627
Bompass, Edward	? 1684	" (his son)	do.
Brewster, Jonathan	? 1659	Ford, Martha (married Peter	
Briggs, Clement	?	Brown)	?
Cannon, John	before 1627	" William (Boy)	1676
Connor, William	do.	" John (Boy)	1693

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Ford, Martha (Child)	1684	Prence, Thomas	1674
Hicks, Robert	1648	Simonson, Moses	?
Hilton, William	before 1627	Statie, Hugh	before 1627
Morgan, Bennett	do.	Stewart, James	do.
Morton, Thomas	do.	Tench, William	do.
Nicholas, Anstin	do.	Winslow, John	1674
Palmer, William	1638	Wright, William	1633
" William, Junr.	?	Two others, probably children	
Pitt, William	before 1627		

Of the thirteen dated "Before 1627," some had *left the Colony* before that date.

Passengers in the "Anne," or its tender, the "Little James," which arrived late in July, 1623.

Annable, Anthony	died 1673	Heard, William	before 1627
" Jane	?	Hicks, Margaret (wife of Robt.)	?
" (Two Children)	?	" (Three Children)	
Bangs, Edward (married		Hilton, Mrs. William	before 1627
Lydia Hicks)	1676	" (Two Children)	do.
" Rebecca	?	Holman, Edward	?
" (Two Children)	?	Jenney, John	1644
Bartlett, Robert	1676	" Sarah	?
Bourchier, Edward	before 1627	" (Three Children)	?
" Mrs.	do.	Kempton, Manasseh	1663
Becket or Bucket, Mary		Long, Robert	before 1627
(married George Sonle)	1677	Mitchell, Experience, married	
Brewster, Fear (married		Jane Cook)	1689
" Isaac Allerton)	1633	Morton, George	1624
" Patience (married		" Julianna	1666
Thos. Prence)	1634	" (Five Children)	?
Clark, Thomas	1697	" Thos., Junr.	?
Cook, Hester (a Walloon)	166?	Newton, Eleanor (married	
" (Three Children)		John Adams)	1681
Connant, Christopher	before 1627	Oldham, John	1636
" Sarah	1633	" (Mrs.)	?
" (Four Children)	?	[Eight associated with	
Dix, Anthony	before 1627	them, who all left the	
Faunce, John (married		Colony before 1627]	
Patience Morton)	1654	Palmer, Frances	
Flavel, Mrs.	before 1627	Penn, Christian (married	
Flodd, Edmund	do.	1, F. Eaton, 2, F. Bil-	
Fuller, Bridget	?	lington) ?	
		Pratt, Joshua	1656
		Rand, James	before 1627

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

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<p>Ratcliffe, Robert before 1627 " Mrs. do. " (Two Children) do. Snow, Nicholas ? Southworth, Alice (Carpenter) 1670 " Barbara (?) 1662 Spragne, Francis ? " Anna ? " Mercy (married William Tubbs; divorced 1668) Tilden, Thomas before 1627 " Mrs. do. " (One Child) do. Tracey, Stephen ? " Tryphosa ? " Sarah ?</p>	<p>Wallen, Ralph before 1681 " Joyce ? Warren, Elizabeth 1673 " Mary (married R. Bartlett) ? " Anne (married Thos. Little) ? " Sarah (married John Cook) ? " Elizabeth (married R. Church) ? " Abigail (married Anthony Snow) ? Two servants of the ship-master; one, Abraham Pierce, was probably a negro; the name of the other is not given.</p>
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About the names of Manasseh Faunce, William Palmer, and Phineas Pratt there seems a little uncertainty.

The tonnage of the *Mayflower* is reported as 180; that of the *Speedwell* which declined the voyage, sixty; of the *Fortune*, fifty-five; the *Anne*, 140; the *Little James*, forty. The tonnage of Drake's *Pelican* is said to have been only 120.

A Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England

1. A HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, by Wm. Bradford, Governor of the Colony. Written in the years 1630 to 1650.

Used in MS. by Nathanael Morton, Bradford's nephew, by Thomas Prince, and Governor Hutchinson. This important work disappeared after its use by Hutchinson, the Tory governor of Massachusetts, who fled to England before the revolution. It was given up by the historians of Plymouth in Massachusetts as utterly beyond recovery. A few leaves of one of Bradford's Letter Books were found in a baker's shop in Nova Scotia, but not a shred of the History, until the middle of last century, when it was discovered in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham, having been used by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford in his *History of the Episcopal Church in America*. When the Americans, after a strange delay of some years, identified the precious document they naturally desired to gain repossession of it. After some fruitless attempts, it happened fortunately that when a fresh effort was made by Senator Hoare, through the popular Ambassador Mr. Bayard, Dr. Temple was primate and Dr. Creighton bishop of London. These righteous men overcame the official difficulties which lay in the way, and after taking a photographic facsimile of the complete book, despatched it to its proper home in New England.

Bradford's *History* is the fundamental document for the story of the Pilgrims, extending from 1606, before the Scrooby Church migrated to Holland, to 1646. Without it the early history of the Pilgrims would be a blank, and a noble chapter would be missing from the story of English Congregationalism.

It is written, as it claims to be, "in a plaine stile, with singular regard unto the trueth in all things." Generally the story is written in a quaint and charming way, though the miseries and delays and the long-winded letters of their faithless friends make the close of their stay in Holland somewhat tedious in the telling. The chief fault alleged against Bradford is vagueness in his allusions to persons and places. It needed the trained research of Hunter to identify and locate these. But

Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers. 17

something may be said for Bradford in his humility, not realizing that these particulars would grow into ever-increasing significance, as the world realized the far-reaching results of this great venture in Congregational colonizing. Who would have thought that little Scrooby, least among all the thousands of Israel, would become a name of renown.
Printed Copies of the complete work.

1. *a.* 1856. From a transcript taken while the MS. lay at Fulham. Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society with notes by Chas. Deane.
[1895. The photo-facsimile above mentioned was published.]
1. *b.* 1901. A complete reproduction by the State of Massachusetts; without notes, but with an account of the steps which led to the transference of the MS. to New England, with portraits of the chief personages concerned in the transaction.
1. *c.* 1908. Edited, with notes, by William T. Davis, of Plymouth (N.E.). [In the Series, "Original Narratives of American History."]
1. *d.* 1909. An edition rendered into modern English by Valeria Paget. (London, 8vo.) Miss Paget's transcript makes wonderfully easy and interesting reading.
1. *e.* 1912. Two Vols. issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A truly sumptuous edition, lavishly furnished with reproductions of old maps, documents, paintings, engravings, coins, signatures, and a full apparatus of explanatory notes and references, and two large scale maps.
2. 1622. MOURT'S RELATION.—London, printed by John Bellamie.

The earliest printed book on the history of the Pilgrims. Seven copies known to exist, all save the British Museum copy, in America.

2. *a.* 1865. 4 to. Boston (Mass.). An annotated edition of No. 2 by Dr. H. M. Dexter.

The signature "G. Mourt," at the close of the "Epistle to the Reader," gives the volume its name. Drs. Young and Dexter have proved that it was a thin disguise used by George Morton, one of the Leyden company and an Old Comer.

Half of the volume and more is occupied by Bradford's *Journal* of events, from the landfall, 20th November, 1620, to the second election of Governor Carver, 2nd April, 1621. It also contains four papers by Winslow, narrating the missions sent to the several Indian chiefs in 1621, and a letter by R. Cushman justifying migration from England to America.

2. *b.* 1625. John Smith's *General Historie* contains an abridgment.

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2. c. 1625. *Purchas his Pilgrims*—has a summary of about one-half, poorly done.
2. d. 1802. A reprint of *Purchas* by the Massachusetts Historical Society.
2. e. 1822. A reprint by the Society of the omitted portions. The Massachusetts Historical Society has printed what remains of Bradford's Letter Book. (1st Series, Vol. 3.) Its *Collections* and *Proceedings* contain very much valuable matter relating to the Pilgrims.
2. f. 1848. *The Journal of the Pilgrims*, edited by Geo. B. Cheever, D.D. N. York. 8vo. Two-thirds of Cheever's volume are taken up by his "Historical and Local Illustrations of Providences, Principles and Persons"—a homiletic commentary on the story of the Pilgrims. The volume was reprinted [?1849] by Collins at Glasgow.
3. 1624. GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND. Published in London. Written by Edward Winslow to dispel false rumours and convey some reliable information about the Colony.
4. 1637. THE NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, by Thomas Morton. Written in a jocular, scoffing, vein. The author was one of the undesirables who found their way into the Colony. He was, in the year 1628, "for his Atheisticall and licentious practises," "apprehended by Captain Standish and sent home to England."
5. 1647. NEW ENGLAND'S SALAMANDER DISCOVERED, by Edward Winslow; written during a visit to England as "a satisfactory answer to many aspersions cast upon the Colony." [See Nathanael-Morton's *New England Memoriall*, pp. 68 ff.]
6. 1669. NEW ENGLANDS-MEMORIAL, by Nathanael Morton, Secretary to the Colony, and a nephew of Governor Bradford. Morton acknowledges his indebtedness to his "much honoured uncle," and to Edward Winslow. Up to 1646 his work is chiefly a transcript from these writers; after that date, when they fail him, his narrative becomes very meagre and jejune, and consists indeed chiefly of obituary notices of the chief personages deceased each year, with a selection of memorial verses written in their honour. Of a divine named Mitchell, his elegist says:

"The Scripture with a Commentary bound
Like a lost Callice* in his Heart was found."

John Cotton is described by his panegyrist as

"A simple Serpent or Serpentine Dove
Made up of Wisdome, Innocence and Love."

* Calais.

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When the venerable Father of the Colony, William Bradford, deceased, many found relief in rhyme. One well-acquainted with his work wrote :

“ The Ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plimoth took ;
Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was called away by force of cruel Death.”

The *Memoriall* was several times reprinted.

6. a. 1885. Reprint of the Congregational Board of Publication, with notes. (Boston, Mass.) This is called the Sixth Edition.
6. b. 1910. *New England's Chronicles*, with an Introduction by John Masefield. (Everyman's Library.)

This contains Morton's *Memoriall* and the *Supplement*, taken from the Congregational Board edition ; and Cushman's *Discourse*, and Winslow's *Relation* and *Brief Narration* (in part) from Young's *Chronicles* ; in each case the original notes are retained. The volume also contains Capt. John Smith's *New England's Trials*, which gives an account of several expeditions to the New England coast which came to nothing, with items on the geography and productions of the country—nothing immediately relating to Pilgrims.

7. 1684. HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, by Samuel Hubbard. Has no historical value. Palfrey is very severe, describing it as “beneath contempt.”

We have now reached the last of the authors in our list who had personal acquaintance with the original settlers. The remaining authors referred to have to depend upon literary sources for their matter.

8. 1736. CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS, by Rev. Thomas Prince, Boston (Mass.).

Prince mapped out an ample scheme for his *Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals*. He begins with the creation of the world, goes through all the ancient empires, and follows the English monarchy to the Death of Elizabeth. This by way of Introduction. Then comes the New England chronology in two parts, carrying us to September, 1630. The work was never completed ; though had Prince omitted his Introduction, as well he might, there would have been some prospect of carrying his work to a completion. There was not enough public spirit in New England to see the old scholar's work through the press. He tried the device of issuing the second volume in “sixpenny parts.” Three parts were issued in 1775, bringing the story down to August, 1633. Prince records the affairs of the Colony and contemporaneous events in the great world secular and religious. The special value of his work, which was drawn from an extraordinarily wide range

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of authorities, lay in the fact that he had access to sources of information about the Pilgrims and their immediate successions, which are no longer extant. He has done his work well—with care and without prejudice.

Reprints of Prince's *Annals*.

8. a. 1887, in a series entitled "Bibliotheca Curiosa." Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. (Edinburgh.) Five parts (or volumes) in one. Prince's references are omitted; but a list of his authorities is given.
8. b. 1887-96. THE ENGLISH GARNER, by E. Arber, Vol. II., contains the *Annals*, with the omission of the Introduction.
9. 1702. COTTON MATHERS *Magnalia*, an ecclesiastical history of New England, is an amorphous production—of the rag-bag order.
10. 1767. A HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by Governor Hutchinson, already referred to, in its second volume touches upon Plymouth; but it is of secondary value and may be neglected.
11. 1795. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH AT NEW ENGLAND, by John Corton. (Collections. Massachusetts Historical Society, 1795. Reprinted 1835.) A brief summary of the history of the first foundation of the Church at Plymouth and an account of its subsequent fortune. Additional particulars are given of Brewster's life, and the discussions in the Church on the ministry, ordinances, and so forth.
12. 1836. COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL PAPERS, by Peter Force. 4 Vols. Washington. 8vo. This collection contains two of Capt. John Smith's pamphlets on New England, and *The New England Canaan* and *Simplicities Defence*. The Collection, useful for the general history of American colonization, has no special value for Pilgrim history.

In the volumes published during the 19th century, the earlier works suffer from being written before the publication of Bradford's *History*, and before the fruitful researches of recent years, into the Pilgrim story, made in New England, and, with more important results, made in this country and Holland. The general histories of the United States, of the New England States and of Massachusetts—into which State Plymouth was incorporated—all contain sections devoted to the Pilgrim settlement.

A strictly chronological order may now be conveniently dispensed with.

A. GENERAL HISTORIES.

1834. Bancroft's HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (13th Edition, 1847), has a good summary, occupying 24 pp. [Vol. I. (Edition 1847)], of the Pilgrim story. It is too early to embody the valuable result of later research.

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1835. Thacher's HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH (2nd Edition). Boston (Mass.). Small 8vo. The recognized text-book in its day; containing much local information. It has an Index but no Table of Contents. An Appendix deals with the Indian Wars.
1855. HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by J. S. Barry. 3 Vols. Large 8vo. Vol. I. brings the Pilgrim story down to 1692. Barry makes excellent use of the material available in his day, and gives full references in convenient footnotes.
1857. THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, by C. W. Elliott. 2 Vols. 8vo. New York. The first volume gives us, after preliminary chapters on early discoveries in North America and the rise of the Puritan in England, an account of the Pilgrims from their church organization at Scrooby to their permanent settlement in the Plymouth Colony—from 1602 to about 1634. It is written picturesquely and with sympathy for the ideals of the Pilgrims. But historic research has added much to our knowledge of Pilgrims both here and in New England since 1853, the year when Elliott was writing this section of his work.
1859. THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Gorham Palfrey, regarded by the New Englanders as their standard history. The critical American outsider is apt to regard this very able work as a pious tribute to revered ancestors, rather than a dispassionate history. But English Congregationalists reading Palfrey's admirable summary of the history of the Pilgrims do not find his sympathy with his subject a defect. The only defect of this excellent piece of work is its date.
1871. THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA IN THE 17TH CENTURY, 8vo., by E. D. Neall, American Consul at Dublin, is useful for the general subject, and embodies some personal research. Of small use for our special study.
1886. A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND TO THE TIME OF ANDROS, by Chas. Dean. This is the New England section, by a very competent hand, of Justin Winstor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III.
1886. THE MAKING OF NEW ENGLAND, by Samuel Adams Drake. A popular work by a master of the subject, omitting all controversial matter, giving a clear view of the successive attempts to colonize New England; liberally supplied with sketch maps, portraits, topographical and antiquarian illustrations. Suitable for senior classes in schools. The Pilgrims are given a place of honour.
1887. THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA: THE PURITAN COLONIES. 2 Vols., by J. A. Doyle.
Mr. Doyle's work is well known and authoritative. In Vol. I., Chapter II., in a skilful way he tells the story of "*The Plymouth Pilgrims*," for the first ten years or more. He is tolerant

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and sympathetic, and sees clearly the greatness of the achievement of these sturdy and heroic pioneers. All the available literature is at Mr. Doyle's command, and in less than a hundred pages he presents a well-proportioned and balanced picture of the Pilgrims, from their beginnings in England to their settlement in Plymouth.

1889. *THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND, OR THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATION TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY*, by John Fiske. A great little book. Mr. Fiske commanding an intimate acquaintance with the facts discourses upon them in a large philosophical way. Well worth study.
1898. *HISTORIC TOWNS OF NEW ENGLAND*, 8vo, is a bright, attractive work. Thirteen of the principal towns—there are really more, for the Cape Cod towns form a collective chapter—are described topographically and historically, each by a selected competent writer. The whole is edited by Lyman P. Powell, who contributes an introductory chapter. The work is furnished with a couple of old maps and various excellent illustrations. The writing has an agreeable literary flavour. The student of the Pilgrim history will find the chapters on Plymouth, Cambridge, Boston and the Cape Cod Towns profitable as well as delightful reading.

B. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES.

1880. *CONGREGATIONALISM AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE.*, by H. M. Dexter. New York. This noble volume marks a stage in the literature of Congregationalism. It gives the life of the exiles in Amsterdam and Leyden, and afterwards in New England very fully and with a wealth of reference to the whole literature of the subject which no other writer, probably, could rival. The great Bibliography attached to this volume is a treasure to all students of the subject.
1889. *THE PURITAN AS A COLONIST AND REFORMER*, by Ezra Hoyt Byington.
1900. *THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND*, by the same author.

Both of Mr. Byington's volumes are thoroughly readable and interesting; they tell the large story of the Puritan settlement of which the story of the Pilgrims forms an introductory chapter. This is told with sympathy, but as preparing the way for a socially superior and more substantial settlement by those who were Puritans in old England but not Separatists. They became Congregational Separatists by the logic of their religious

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position, as well as by the force of temporal circumstances. They carried easily across the ocean their evangelical theology, the theology of the XXXIX. Articles, and had no mind to set up the ecclesiastical machinery of episcopacy and the subordinate priesthood. The logic of circumstances led them into Congregationalism—or rather into a modification of Congregationalism, for which the somewhat formidable name of Presbygationalism has been suggested. The introductory Pilgrim section in both books is done sympathetically. Both volumes are slightly documented.

W. PIERCE.

(To be continued.)

SOME MAYFLOWER AUTOGRAPHS.

William Bradford

Wittne Brewster

Jos; Winslow

Myles Standish

Isaac Teriton

The Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments

ON 19th February, 1680, old style (1681 new style)—about midway between the dissolution of the third and meeting of the last Parliament of Charles II.—there was published under the above title a broadsheet which for scurrility, profanity, and real or affected ignorance respecting the persons assailed, is happily almost without a parallel. It amused cynical men of the world, delighted while it shocked extreme High Churchmen, made Papists chuckle over its absurdities, filled Presbyterians with hot indignation at its villainous imputations, made Congregationalists wince by its crass confusion of them with their Presbyterian brethren; and—we may well suppose—delighted the dissolute king as he saw the wild turmoil into which it threw all sorts of people, sowing seeds of mutual suspicion and distrust among the malcontents in his kingdom, and giving spicy encouragement to his friends.

Our transcript is made from a copy that was purchased at a stationer's shop in Cornhill, and has been "impounded," tied up with other documents in a Sessions Roll, and preserved among the city records in the Crypt of the Guildhall. To justify the reprinting of so discreditable a production it is necessary to summarize briefly the events which led up to the crisis at which it first appeared.

The "Convention Parliament"—so called—which invited Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, met at Westminster on 26th April, 1660. It included a large number of persons friendly to the Royal Family,

although most of them were Presbyterians. To show their eager loyalty several Presbyterian ministers hurried to Breda to lay their homage at the feet of Charles, and received the fairest promises of Toleration, and even of Comprehension, in other words the fullest "self determination" in matters of Church government—all to be laid aside and forgotten as soon as the reinstated prelates began to press for ecclesiastical and ritual uniformity. Breda was to the Presbyterian clergy what Brest-Litovsk has proved to the Russian Bolsheviks of to-day.

Charles landed in England on 29th May, 1660, and found a nation mad with joy at his return. The ball lay at his feet, through the loyal welcome he received as well from Presbyterians, established and disestablished alike, as from the reinstated Episcopalians; any discontent felt by Oliver's disbanded army and the excluded Puritan and Independent clergy being "snowed under" by the wild orgies attending his triumphal entry and the re-establishment of the prelatic hierarchy.

The first Parliament which Charles summoned by his own royal authority met on 8th May, 1661. It consisted mainly of old Cavaliers and their sons, all enthusiastic Royalists and still more enthusiastic supporters of Episcopacy, the "Roundhead" or Puritan party being very small and unimportant, and the vast majority, under the lead of Clarendon and Sheldon, ready to do anything to please their gracious and complaisant king. It proved to be almost as long a Parliament as the last summoned by Charles I; *that* sat, with intervals, for nearly twenty years (3rd November, 1640—16th March, 1660); *this* continued seventeen years and almost nine months, being dissolved on 25th January, 1679.

Charles convened his second Parliament six weeks later, on 6th March, 1679; but it sat only five months, being dissolved by Proclamation on 13th August.

His third was summoned for 7th October, 1679; but after seven prorogations had actually met only on 21st October, 1680, and was dissolved on 18th or 19th January following, after sitting barely three months. The bare recital of these facts is enough to suggest the electric state of the political atmosphere, charged with tempestuous forces, ready to burst into the wildest storms on the slightest provocation. It was just then when the "Presbyterian Paternoster" appeared, startling everybody, as "a bolt" not "from the blue," but from a sky covered with piled-up thunder-clouds.

How can we account for the contrast between 1660 and 1680, the change from enthusiasm to disgust, from confidence and hope to distrust and antagonism? Almost wholly it was a question of Religion; not of Puritanism and Prelacy, but of Protestantism and Popery. The nation and its Parliament was still distinctly Protestant. "The Days of Queen Mary," though 120 years distant, were still a potent memory; and Protestantism had its stoutest champions in the Puritans, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent. Charles had come to Whitehall in 1660 with the largest professions of a convinced Protestant—so purely Protestant that he had been willing more than once to take the "Solemn League and Covenant," professing that his one anxiety was that all his dear Protestant subjects should live in amity with one another, and not disturb his princely ease by their sectarian squabbles. Yet all the while whatever slight tinge of religion he had was derived rather from the Papistry of his mother than from the Protestantism of his father; so that though he wore the Protestant mask to the end of his life he was full of Papist sympathies, and in his last moments sought a *vade mecum* from all his profligacies and perfidies in a Papist Mass.

Charles, though the father of a numerous illegitimate progeny, had no legitimate issue; and the next heir to the throne was his brother, James, Duke of York,

an avowed Papist, who enjoyed as much of his confidence and affection as such a nature as his might have to bestow. Year by year the dread of a Popish Successor became more and more oppressive, and disaffection was growing rife, even among Anglicans of the Laudian type, who were still distinctly, though nervously Protestant. As for the disillusioned Presbyterians, after the bitter and persistent persecution they had suffered under the Penal Statutes of 1662, 1664, 1665, and 1670, we cannot wonder that they had grown cool toward their faithless king, and longed for change in the government of Church and State, beginning to share the sentiments which all along had animated their Independent brethren. The disaffection was but partially dispelled by the Indulgence of 1672; so that after its withdrawal in 1673 it was only the fear of worse calamity that kept them from breaking with king and Parliament altogether.

When, in 1672, by an act of unconstitutional autocracy, Charles proclaimed his Indulgence, suspending all Penal Statutes passed by Parliament against Non-conformists, he meant it much more for the relief of his brother James and his papist friends than of Protestant Dissenters. He was prevented from realizing this aim by the strong pressure of three members of the "Cabal" Ministry—Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. And when, on the reassembling of Parliament, the king was compelled to withdraw the Indulgence, they determined to make him see that, much as they disliked Protestant Dissenters, they disliked and distrusted Popish Recusants infinitely more. This they did by passing the Test Act, which excluded all genuine Papists from every public office in the State; and of course, by enforcing the resignation of Clifford and Arlington, broke up the Cabal.

For the next four years, 1674-78, Charles was working secretly for the freedom of the Papists, and indirectly for the re-establishment of papacy, by base

intrigues with France, the unveiling of which roused the Protestant passion of the English people to indignant fury. That fury was intensified tenfold by Titus Oates's pretended discovery of a Popish Plot against the life of the king. For eighteen months the air was full of distrust and mutual suspicion; venal informers, by false accusations, brought about the judicial murder of many innocent persons, and all Roman Catholics in the nation lived under a veritable reign of terror.

The situation became so strained that at the end of 1678, Charles dissolved his first Parliament; but his second (6th March, 1679), proved no more complaisant. They passed an Exclusion Bill to ensure a Protestant successor to the English throne; and to guard against those summary commitments which place the freedom of every citizen in danger, they passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which has been such a safeguard to the liberty of the subject ever since. But Charles would on no account assent to the disinheriting of his brother, and dissolved his second Parliament in July, 1679.

Compelled to summon a third, he issued writs for 7th October, 1679; but (as already stated) it did not actually meet till 21st October, 1680. Prosecutions and judicial murders of innocent persons still went on under the pretence of the Popish Plot; and before long Protestant Dissenters were charged with designs as nefarious as those of the Papists to destroy the monarchy and the Church of England. In sheer desperation the Papists themselves played upon the dislike and contempt for Nonconformists, so openly and persistently shown by the Prelatists; and endeavoured to shift the odium of disloyalty and incipient rebellion to the shoulders of these their fellow-recusants.

In October, 1679, a Papist, Thomas Dangerfield, sought to provide an antidote to Dr. Titus Oates by first concocting and then pretending to reveal a Protestant Plot against the king, his brother, and the Church of England. Forged letters addressed to prominent

Whigs, members of both houses of Parliament, implying their knowledge of and sympathy with the alleged plot, were secretly left at the houses of several Nonconformist Ministers; so that on discovery after search they might be convicted as plotters against both Church and State. Some of these letters were hidden in a meal-tub, whence the name of "The Meal-tub Plot." Happily it was so clumsily contrived that it failed of its purpose, and Dangerfield received the due reward of his villainy. Still, the insinuation had been launched by Dangerfield that the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists and as dangerous; and bigoted Anglicans were ready to believe it.

Meanwhile many of the Whigs (or Country Party) were fixing their hopes of a Protestant Succession on the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest and most popular of Charles's many illegitimate children; and many Nonconformists were too easily persuaded that concealed proofs of his legitimacy could be produced. They more or less openly expressed themselves as willing to intrigue for him as the rival of the Papist Duke of York; so that when at length the long delayed Parliament did meet, Protestant Nonconformists had been brought under a cloud of suspicion as really as the Papists themselves.

The new Parliament sat for less than three months. The Commons again passed, but the Lords rejected, the Exclusion Bill; and the former gave the king plainly to understand that they would grant no supplies until that Bill received the Royal Assent. Both houses passed a Bill to lighten the persecution of Nonconformists by repealing the Act, 35 Eliz. c. 1; but Charles contrived that this bill should be omitted from those to which, on the dissolution of the Parliament, he was to give the necessary sanction.

It was a month after this, when the city was so seething with excitement and flaming with indignation that in summoning another Parliament for the 21st

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March, the king showed such mistrust of London that he called it to meet at Oxford, that this strange broad-sheet appeared.

THE PRESBYTERIAN PATER NOSTER, CREED, AND TEN COMMANDMENTS.

—*Manent veteris vestigia fraudis.* VIRG.

THE PATER NOSTER.

Our Father which art in Hell, magnify'd be thy name, thy Arbitrary Kingdom come, thy Tyrannical will be done in England, now as it was in Forty-One; Give Us this our Day a holy occasion for Rebellion; and forgive others their holy Hypocrisy for our good Cause, and lead us not into an agreement of King and Parliament; But Deliver us from Monarchy and Hierarchy; and then thine shall be this Kingdom, its Power and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE CREED.

I believe in *John Calvin*, the Father of our Religion, disposer of Heaven and Earth,* and in *Owen, Baxter, and Jenkins*,† his dear Sons our Lords, (x) who were conceived by the Spirit of Fanaticism, born of Schism and Faction, suffered under the *Act of Uniformity*; were Silenced, Dead, and Buried, and had descended into Hell but that they rose again in the year of Toleration; (b) ascended into Tub-Pulpits; and now sit at the right hand of the Lord S, (c) from whence they are coming to Judge the Church and State. I believe in the Holy Assembly of Divines, the Holy National Synod, the Separate Meetings, the Act of Oblivion, the Resurrection from Dead Rites, and Toleration Everlasting. (d) Amen.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

The same which *John Presbyter* hath spoken in twenty Chapters of his "Works," saying. I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Antichrist, out of the House of Ceremonial Bondage.

I.

Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me.

* Dominion is founded in Gr. † They the only Saints.

II.

Thou shalt not make any Image, or likeness of any *Saint* in Heaven above (except *S. Oliver*, etc.) or bow down at the Adorable name of Jesus here on Earth, nor use the Sign of the Cross in the Waters of *Baptism*; for I the Lord thy God in my Jealousie murdered the Father, and will visit his *superseditious Iniquity* upon his Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me, but shew Mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my Damnable and Rebellious Commandments.

III.

Thou shalt not make the *Solemn League and Covenant* Vain, nor subscribe the *Declaration*, nor take the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, unless (with a Jesuitical *Salvo* to obtain places of Honour and Power.

IV.

Remember that thou keep holy the Remembrance of *Forty-One*. Many years didst thou labour, yet could'st not do all that thou hadst to do. But in *Forty-One* the Lord thy God sent thee a Sabbath of Deliverance; Thou shalt therefore now remember to do all manner of work that thou didst then, Thou and Thy Son, and thy Daughter, thy Man-Servant and thy Maid-Servant, the Brutes and Proselytes that are within thy Conventicles, for in *Forty-One* the Lord thy God made England and Scotland Rebellious; thou shalt therefore Bless the year *Forty-One*, and hallow it.

V.

Honour *Fanaticism* thy Father, and *Schism* thy Mother, that thy Days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God will once more give thee.

VI.

Thou shalt do no Murder, but upon *Majesty*, *Episcopacy*, and *Loyalty*.

VII.

Thou shalt not commit Adultery, save with the *Holy Sisterhood*, to get Babes of Grace.

VIII.

Thou shalt not Steal, unless by *Sequestration*, *Composition*, or *Publick Faith*.

IX.

Thou shalt not bear False Witness against a *Brother*, but may'st swallow Perjury by a Popish Reservation for the good of the Holy Cause.

X.

Thou shalt Covet nothing but *Crown Lands, Bishops' Lands,*
and the Estates of Malignants.

POSTSCRIPT.

This is our New Religion
Model'd by that of Forty-One;
And we must root up Monarchy
To stop the growth of Popery,
And undermining Church and State
Rome's practices we'll Antedate;
The better to prevent the *Plot*
Ourselves will do what they could
not. (a)
We'll cure all fear of *French Invasion*
By ruining at home the Nation;
And since Petitions do no good, (b)
And all our Tricks are understood,
Since he who never used to fail,
Doth now, our little *Matchiavel* (c)

We'll to the World Proclaim aloud
The *King* and *Duke* Thirst after
Bloud,
Curtis, Harris, Smith and *Carr* (d)
Shall thrice a week the Kingdom
scare
As if the *Devil, Turk* or *Pope*
Were just arrived in the *Hope*
We'll Authorize Men to Rebel [Hell,
By Tales from Hatfield, and from
And then persuade the silly Nation
That Treason comes by Revelation,
And that Imaginary Ghosts
Are Envoys from the Lord of Hosts.
Nor will We cease till We pull down
Episcopacy and the *Crown*.

Printed for *Tom-Tell-Truth*, at the Signe of the *Old King's Head*
in *Axe-yard* in *King Street*, Westminster,

the 19th feeb. 1680. W
D. H.

Such is this strange mixture of blasphemous wit and keen satire, of knowledge and ignorance, of coarse defamation of scrupulous chastity (universally admitted) and unscrupulous insinuations of nefarious designs against Church and State, against Episcopacy and the Crown.

Who can have written it? "Tom Tell-Truth" might be anyone who posed as an unveiler of the bitter bigotry, revolutionary aims, and secret sedition of the pious Presbyterians. "The signe of the Old King's Head in Axe-yard in King Street, Westminster" might be a covert allusion to the decapitation of Charles I. in 1649. But Axe Yard, King Street, was a turning a little south of Downing Street, almost opposite the Privy Garden of Whitehall Palace, and was the abode of an old ejected Presbyterian, James Innes, whose son was active in securing Licences under the Indulgence in 1672, and who had retained the favour

of Lauderdale, and had playful relations with the king himself. But that was only the author's clumsy way of trying to foist this strange farrago of sectarian bigotry and revolutionary sedition on a Presbyterian. The heartless and blasphemous cynicism of the libel might suit a practical atheist like Buckingham or the younger Rochester. There are flashes of biting wit that might bespeak a poor imitation of Andrew Marvell. Were it not for its utter lack of religious reverence, and its senseless dragging in of Oliver Cromwell and Dr. John Owen, some might be tempted to think of it as a cruel thrust at Presbyterian bigotry by an Independent who had suffered from it, like John Goodwin or Henry Burton. Its framework, and the familiarity it shews with every clause and phrase of the documents travestied, suggest an Anglican parson. There is an animus bitter enough, and an ignorance of his opponent's position lofty and contemptuous enough to warrant such a conjecture; but the coarse profanity is scarcely compatible with the decorous piety and reverence of a University-trained and Episcopally-Ordained Clergyman of the State Church. And yet that is exactly what the author was—by his own confession.

It would seem that the instantaneous popularity of the broadsheet had turned the author's head, and he was unable to keep the secret. It was soon known, or at least strongly suspected, that he was a country clergyman who had been a good deal about town of late—by name *Thomas Asbenden*, Rector of Dingley in the county of Northampton, scarcely more than a mile east of Market Harborough. So much being known the authorities would soon be on the track of the Printer and Publisher as well; and all three were indicted for it at the Guildhall in April, 1681.

G. L. TURNER.

(To be continued.)

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(Continued from Vol. VII ; p. 381.)

(X) *A Form of Prayer and Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his Majesties' late Victories over the Rebels ; to be observed in all Churches and Chapels throughout the Kingdom upon Sunday, the Twenty-sixth of this Instant July, 1685.*

[The battle on Sedgemoor had been fought on 6th July. The proper Collect was that which now stands in the Prayer Book as a Thanksgiving " For peace and deliverance from our enemies " ; and after the Litany was to be said that " For restoring Public Peace at home." In the Communion Service the following was appointed :—]

O Lord our God, who by thine Infinite Power and Wisdom dost govern all things, we adore and magnifie thy great and glorious name ; confessing that to thy good providence over us we entirely owe both our being and our preservation. We are here before thee this day to make this humble acknowledgment, as every one of us for himself in particular, so all of us together in the name of this whole nation, to which both now of late and heretofore thou hast vouchsafed so many great and publick Deliverances. Thou art our God, who hast so often and so wonderfully defeated the designs of ambitious, restless, and bloodthirsty men : to whom hadst thou given us up for a prey (as our sins most justly deserved) our blood would have been spilt like water on the ground, we must have lost all that is dear to us in this world, and we should have been overwhelmed in a deluge of sects and heresies, of wars and confusions, of which we could not have expected to see any other issue than the final ruin and destruction of this kingdom, and thy Church amongst us. O our God, how gracious hast thou been unto us all ; and to many of us even against our own wills ! How much better hast thou provided for us than we ourselves could, or would have done, hadst thou left us in the hands of our own foolish counsels ! Into thy blessed hands, O God, we entirely surrender and give up ourselves, and whatever concerns us ; beseeching thee to be still the same gracious God to us, and to our posterity after us. And the better to prepare and qualifie us for the continuance of thy care and good providence, enable us by thy grace to live like a people whom thou hast so often and so wonderfully redeemed ; not following the dictates of our own unruly lusts or passions, not listening any longer to those that go about with lies, and slander the footsteps of

thine Anointed ; but studying every one to be quiet, and to do our own business, fearing God, and honouring our King, and loving one another, and hereby adorning our most holy profession ; that so being delivered from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate us, we may serve thee without fear in holiness and righteousness before thee all the days of our life, to the glory of thy name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*In the evening, before the two final prayers :—*]

A Prayer for our Enemies. Father of Mercies, and Lover of Souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us and despitefully use us : We beseech thee, as to accept our prayers and praises which we have this day offered up unto thee in behalf of all that are faithful and loyal in the land, so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity even to those that are our enemies. O most wise and powerful Lord God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever thou wilt ; work mightily upon the minds of all parties among us. Turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; and so make them a ready people prepared for the Lord. Thou that sittest between the Cherubim, be the earth never so unquiet ; thou that stillest the raging of the sea, and the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people : Stir up thy strength, and come and help us. Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end. Take away his ungodliness, and thou shalt find none. Let the fierceness of man turn to thy praise, and the remainder of wrath do thou restrain. To this end take from them all their prejudices and all their passions ; their confident mistakes, their carnal ends, and their secular interests. Open the blind eyes, that they may see (at least in this their day) the things which belong to their peace, and wisely considering thy work may say. This hath God done ; and so hear and fear, and do no more wickedly. Soften the most obdurate hearts into a meek, humble, and docible temper, that they may no longer resist the truth. Bow down the stiff neck and the iron sinew to the gentle and easie yoke of thy most holy law. Take away the brow of brass and the whore's forehead, and make their faces ashamed, that they may seek thy name. Sweeten, if it may be, the gall of bitterness, and loose the bands of iniquity, and guide their feet into the way of peace. And thus redouble upon us, O Lord, the joys of this day, that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their wicked imaginations, but with thy holy angels in heaven rejoice for their conversion. Which great blessing with the most ardent affections of our Souls we beg of thee, for thy tender Mercies sake, through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ, thy blessed Son, our only Saviour. Amen.

36 State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(XI) *A Form or Order of Thanksgiving and Prayer to be used in London, and ten miles round it, on Sunday, the 15th of this Instant January, and 'throughout England, on Sunday, the 20th of the same month . . . in behalf of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family.* 1688.

Proper Psalms—21, 127, 128, 132.

Proper Lessons—1st., Gen. 17 to v. 17 ; 2nd., Hebr. 11.

Versicles after the Creed—O Lord, save the King :

And evermore mightily defend him.

Present him with the blessings of Goodness :

And make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.

O Lord save thy servant the Queen :

And make her a joyful mother of children.

First Collect—O Almighty God, the Fountain of all Life, by whose only gift it cometh that mankind is increased. Blessed be that good providence which has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of Royal Issue by our Gracious Queen Mary ; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents ; that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our sovereign lord the King, the further establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name. Which we humbly beg of thy gracious goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Litany—Almighty and everlasting God, we most humbly acknowledge that in thee alone we live, move, and have our being, and that children and the fruit of the womb are a gift and heritage that cometh only of thee. We therefore devoutly beseech thee to preserve and protect our most gracious sovereign lord king James, and so bless him that he may see his children's children, and peace upon Israel. We pray thee also for his royal consort Queen Mary. Make her O Lord, as a fruitful vine upon the walls of his house, and his children like olive branches round about his table. Encrease and multiply the whole Royal family, that the king's seed may endure for ever, and his throne be as the sun before thee. So we thy people shall remember, and praise thy name from one generation to another, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[There is more in the same strain, which it is not worth while to reproduce.]

(XII) *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the Queen and happy birth of the young Prince. To be used on Sunday next, being the seventeenth day of this instant June . . . within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distance, and on the first day of July next in all other places throughout this kingdom.* 1688.

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection 37

Proper Psalms—72, 89.

Proper Lessons—1st, Isaiah 12; 2nd, Matt. 22, from v. 15 to the end.

First Collect—O Almighty and everlasting Lord God of heaven and earth, who madest the world and all that is therein, and givest to all men life and breath and all things; We devoutly offer our most hearty thanks to thy divine Majesty, that thou hast given our dread Sovereign his heart's desire, and hast not denied us the request of our lips, in blessing him and our gracious Queen with a son, and all his subjects with a prince. Stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought among us. Grant the princely infant health, strength and long life, that he may live to grow up in thy fear, and to thy glory, and to excell in all virtues becoming his high birth, and the royal dignity to which thou hast ordained him. O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may ever preserve him, for the honour of thy name, and the establishment of the peace, security and happiness of these nations from generation to generation. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake, our only Mediatrix and Redeemer. Amen.

After the prayer "for the Church Militant," the following:—

O Lord our Governour, whose Name is excellent in all the World, and who art king for ever and ever, We praise and bless thy divine goodness for all the marvellous protections and signal favours thou hast vouchsafed thy servant our gracious king James; particularly that after thou hadst preserved him from the dangers of war, from the rage of the sea, and from the madness of the people, thou didst in thy due time bring him to great honour, by setting him on the throne of his ancestors, and hast now enlarged thy blessings towards him, by this happy increase of the Royal Issue. We most humbly beseech thee to continue and multiply these thy mercies to him and us: that thou would'st give him sons to grow up as the young plants, and that his daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple. Bless, O Lord, the whole Royal family, with the blessings of the heavens above, with the blessings of the deep beneath, with the blessings of the breasts and of the womb: that when the king's days shall be fulfilled, and he shall sleep with his fathers in peace and glory, his seed may be set up after him, and his house and kingdom may be established for ever before thee. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ his sake our only Saviour. Amen.

[It is interesting to compare the above with that which was ordained by "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster," on 22nd January, 1688/9.]

The Heads of Agreement, 1691

IN Dale's "History of English Congregationalism," pp. 474 flg., a fair and on the whole sympathetic account is given of the agreement of the Independent and Presbyterian Ministers of London—that "Happy Union" which Matthew Mead celebrated in a long remembered sermon on Ezek. xxxvii. 16-17, in view of which the saintly Flavel was prepared to adopt the song of Simeon, and which became the pattern of many Ministerial Associations in various parts of the country. As it is now seventy-five years since the "Heads" were last fully reproduced in England, it is thought that a careful reprint, *verbatim et literatim* from the original edition, may be acceptable to our subscribers.

It is worthy of notice that, of the five standards of sound doctrine enumerated in Head VIII., all but the first are definitely Calvinistic.

Heads of Agreement

Assented to by the

United Ministers

In and about LONDON

Formerly called

PRESBYTERIAN

AND

CONGREGATIONAL

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON :

Printed by R.R. for Tho. Cockerill, at the *Three Legs*, and
John Dunton, at the *Raven*, in the *Poultry*. MDCXCI.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

*E*Ndeavours for an Agreement among Christians will be grievous to none who desire the flourishing State of Christianity itself. The Success of these Attempts among us, must be ascribed to a Presence of God so signal, as not to be concealed; and seems a hopeful Pledg of further Blessings.

The favour of our Rulers in the present Established Liberty, we most thankfully acknowledg; and to Them we are studious to approve our selves in the whole of this Affair. Therefore we Declare against intermeddling with the National Church-Form: Imposing these Terms of Agreement on others, is disclaimed: All pretence to Coercive Power, is as unsuitable to our Principles, as to our Circumstances: Excommunication it self, in our respective Churches, being no other than a declaring such scandalous Members as are irreclaimable, to be incapable of Communion with us in things peculiar to visible Believers: And in all, we expresly determine our purpose, to the maintaining of Harmony and Love among our selves, and preventing the inconveniences which humane weakness may expose to in our use of this Liberty.

The general concurrence of Ministers and People in this City, and the great disposition thereto in other places, persuade us, this happy Work is undertaken in a season designed for such Divine influence, as will overcome all impediments to Peace, and convince of that Agreement which has been always among us in a good degree, though neither to ourselves nor others so evident, as hereby it is now acknowledged.

Need there any Arguments to recommend this Union? Is not this what we all have prayed for, and Providence by the directest indications bath been long calling and

disposing us to? can either Zeal for God, or prudent regards to ourselves remissly suggest it, seeing the Blessings thereof are so important, and when it's become in so many respects even absolutely necessary; especially as it may conduce to the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdom's Weal; a subserviency whereto, shall always govern our United Abilities, with the same disposition to a convenience with all others who are duly concerned for those National Blessings.

As these considerations render this Agreement desirable, so they equally urge a watchful care against all attempts of Satan to dissolve it, or frustrate the good effects thereof so manifestly destructive to his Kingdom. Therefore it's incumbent on us, to forbear condemning and disputing those different sentiments and practices we have expressly allowed for: to reduce all distinguishing Names, to that of United Brethren: To admit no uncharitable jealousies, or censorious speeches; much less any debates whether Party seems most favoured by this Agreement. Such carnal regards are of small moment with us, who herein have used words less accurate, that neither side might in their various conceptions about lesser matters be contradicted, when in all substantials we are fully of one mind; and from this time hope more perfectly to rejoice in the Honour, Gifts, and Success of each other, as our common good.

That we as United, may contribute our utmost to the great concernments of our Redeemer, it's mutually resolved, we will assist each other with our Labours, and meet and consult without the least shadow of separate or distinct Parties: whence we joyfully expect great Improvements in Light and Love, through the more abundant supplies of the Spirit; being well assured we herein serve that Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose Government and Peace, there shall be no end.

This Agreement is already assented to by above
Fourscore Ministers, and the Preface approved of.

HEADS OF AGREEMENT

Assented to by the
United Ministers, &c.

The following Heads of AGREEMENT have been resolved upon, by the UNITED Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational; not as a Measure for any National Constitution, but for the Preservation of Order in our Congregations, that cannot come up to the Common Rule by Law established.

I. Of CHURCHES and CHURCH- MEMBERS.

1. *WE acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have One Catholick Church, or Kingdom, comprehending all that are united to Him, whether in Heaven or Earth. And do conceive the whole multitude of visible Believers, and their Infant Seed (commonly called the Catholick Visible Church) to belong to Christ's Spiritual Kingdom in this world: But for the notion of a Catholic Visible Church here, as it signifies its having been collected into any formed Society, under a Visible human Head on Earth, whether one Person singly, or many collectively, We, with the rest of Protestants, unanimously disclaims it.*

2. *We agree, That particular Societies of Visible Saints, who under Christ their Head, are stately joined together for ordinary Communion with one another, in all the Ordinances of Christ, are particular Churches, and are to be owned by each other, as Instituted Churches of Christ though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things.*

3. *That none shall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the special Ordinances of the Gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, without Scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are persons of visible Godliness and Honesty; credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.*

4. *A competent Number of such visible Saints (as before described) do become the capable Subjects of stated Communion in all the special Ordinances of Christ, upon their mutually declared consent and agreement to walk together therein according to Gospel Rule. In which declaration, different degrees of Explicitness, shall in no way hinder such Churches from owning each other, as Instituted Churches.*

5. *The Parochial Bounds be not of Divine Right, yet for common Edification, the Members of a particular Church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another.*

6. *That each particular Church hath Right to chuse their own Officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ for exercising Government, and of enjoying all the Ordinances of Worship within itself.*

7. *In the Administration of Church Power, it belongs to the Pastors and other Elders of every particular Church (if such there be), to Rule and Govern; and to the Brotherhood to Consent, according to the Rule of the Gospel.*

8. *That all Professors as before described, are bound in duty, as they have opportunity, to join themselves as fixed members of some particular Church; their thus joining being part of their professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and an instituted means of their Establishment and Education; whereby they are under the Pastoral Care, and in case of scandalous or offensive walking,*

may be Authoritatively Admonished or Censured for their recovery, and for vindication of the Truth, and the Church professing it.

9. *That a visible Professor thus joined to a particular Church ought to continue stedfastly with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry and Ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly seeking a recommendation unto another Church. Which ought to be given, when the case of the person apparently requires it.*

II. Of the MINISTRY.

WE agree, That the Ministerial Office is instituted by Jesus Christ, for the Gathering, Guiding, Edifying, and Governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the world.

2. *They who are called to this Office, ought to be endued with competent Learning and Ministerial Gifts, as also with the Grace of God, sound in judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Gospel; without scandal, of holy Conversation, and such as denote themselves to the Work and Service thereof.*

3. *That ordinarily none shall be Ordained to the work of this Ministry, but such as are called and chosen thereunto by a particular Church.*

4. *That in so great and weighty a matter, as the calling and choosing a Pastor, we judg it ordinarily requisite, That every such Church consult and advise with the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations.*

5. *That after such Advise, the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood of that particular Church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained, and set apart to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite. That the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations concur with the Preaching Elder, or Elders, if such there be.*

6. *That whereas such Ordination is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the Ministerial Office; If any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained, to a new Station or Pastoral Charge, there ought to be a like Solemn recommending of him and his Labours to the Grace and Blessing of God; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of Contenton or Breach of Communion among us.*

7. *It is expedient, that they who enter on the work, of Preaching the Gospel, be not only qualified for Communion of Saints; but also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their Gifts and fitness for the said work, unto the Pastors of Churches of known abilities to discern and judge of their qualifications; That they may be sent forth with Solemn Approbation and Prayer; which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being Called to the work; and for preventing (as much as in us lieth) Ignorant and rash Intruders.*

III. Of CENSURES.

I. *AS it cannot be avoided, but that in the Purest Churches on earth, there will sometimes Offences and Scandals arise by reason of Hypocrisie and prevailing corruption; so Christ hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it self by Spiritual Remedies, appointed by him to be applied in all such cases; viz. Admonition, and Excommunication.*

2. *Admonition, being the rebuking of an Offending Member in order to conviction, is in case of private offences to be performed according to the Rule in Matthew xviii. 15, 16, 17, and in case of Public offences openly before the Church, as the Honour of the Gospel, and Nature of the Scandal shall require: And if either of the Admonitions take place for the recovery of the fallen Person, all further proceeding in a way of censure, are*

thereon to cease, and satisfaction to be declared accordingly.

3. *When all due means are used, according to the Order of the Gospel, for the restoring an offending and scandalous Brother; and he notwithstanding remains Impenitent, the Censure of Excommunication is to be proceeded unto; Wherein the Pastor and other Elders (if there be such) are to lead, and go before the Church; and the Brotherhood to give their consent, in a way of obedience unto Christ, and unto the Elders, as over them in the Lord.*

4. *It may sometimes come to pass, that a Church-Member, not otherwise Scandalous, may sinfully withdraw, and divide himself from the Communion of the Church to which he belongeth: In which case, when all due means for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having hereby cut himself off from that Churches Communion; the Church may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him.*

IV. Of COMMUNION of CHURCHES.

I. **W**E agree, that Particular Churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as not to have care and tenderness towards one another. But their Pastors ought to have frequent meetings together, that by Mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord.

2. That none of our particular Churches shall be subordinate to one another; each being endued with equality of Power from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular Churches, their Officer, or Officers, shall exercise any Power, or have any Superiority over any other Church, or their Officers.

3. That known Members of particular Churches,

constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional Communion with one another in the Ordinances of the Gospel, viz. the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, Singing Psalms, dispensed according to the mind of Christ: Unless that Church with which they desire Communion, hath any just exceptions against them.

4. *That we ought not to admit any one to be a Member of our respective Congregations, that hath joined himself to another, without endeavours of mutual Satisfaction of the Congregations concerned.*

5. *That one Church ought not to blame the Proceedings of another, until it hath heard what that Church charged its Elders, or Messengers, can say in vindication of themselves from any charge of irregular or injurious Proceedings.*

6. *That we are most willing and ready to give an account of our Church Proceedings to each other, when desired; for preventing or removing any offences that may arise among us. Likewise we shall be ready to give the right hand of fellowship, and walk together according to the Gospel Rule of Communion of Churches.*

V. Of DEACONS and RULING ELDERS.

WE agree, The Office of a Deacon is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and distribute the Churches Stock to its proper uses, by the direction of the Pastor, and the Brethren if need be. And whereas divers are of opinion, That there is also the Office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine; and others think otherwise; We agree That this difference make no breach among us.

VI. Of Occasional MEETINGS of
Ministers, &c.

1. *WE* agree, That in order to concord, and in any other weighty and difficult cases, it is needful, and according to the mind of Christ, that the Ministers of several Churches be consulted and advised with about such matters.

2. That such Meetings may consist of smaller or greater Numbers, as the matter shall require.

3. That particular Churches, their respective Elders, and Members, ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not dissent therefrom, without apparent grounds from the word of God.

VII. Of our Demeanour towards the
CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

1. *WE* do reckon ourselves obliged continually to pray for God's Protection, Guidance, and Blessing upon the Rulers set over us.

2. That we ought to yield unto them not only subjection in the Lord, but support, according to our station and abilities.

3. That if at any time it shall be their pleasure to call together any Number of us, or require any account of our Affairs, and the state of our Congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them herein.

VIII. Of a CONFESSIO^N of FAITH.

AS to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient, That a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only Rule of Faith and

Practice, and own either the Doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechisms, Shorter or Larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed to at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said Rule.

IX. Of our *Duty* and *Deportment*
towards them that are not in Communion
with us.

1. **W**E judge it our duty to bear a Christian Respect to all Christians, according to their several Ranks and Stations, that are not of our Persuasion or Communion.

2. As for such as may be ignorant of the Principles of the Christian Religion, or of vicious conversation, we shall in our respective Places, as they give us opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the Doctrine of Life and Salvation, and to our uttermost persuade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That such who appear to have the essential Requisites to Church Communion, we shall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with Disputes about lesser matters.

As we Assent to the forementioned HEADS of AGREEMENT, so we Unanimously Resolve, as the Lord shall enable us, to *Practice* according to them.

FINIS.

Registration under the Toleration Act

THE following appears to be of interest as an illustration of the conditions under which a Measure of Religious Freedom was enjoyed two hundred years ago.

Extracted out of the Registry of the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of London :—

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the parish of Dedham in the county of Essex and in the diocese of the Bishop of London doe hereby Certifye that a Meeting house lately built in Dedham aforesaid is intended to be used as and for a place of Religious Worship for such Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England as are commonly called Independents, Bezaleel Blomfield being their pastor or teacher. We do hereby desire that the same place may be Registered in the Registry of the Bishop of London, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided ; as witness our hands this second day of September, 1738.

Henry Sida

Willm. Parker

Willm. Richardson

Richd. Peacock

Josp. Branston

Edm. Sherman

John Salmon

W. Skelton, registerar

(The Church Act is dated 30th September, 1741 ; only one name, that of Wm. Richardson, is common to both documents.]

The Fakenham Theological Seminary

FAKENHAM is a small market town in Norfolk, about twenty miles from King's Lynn, twenty-five from Norwich, and 120 from London. Its population at the commencement of the last century but a little exceeded 1,200; it is now about 3,200. It stands about the middle of an area of above 200 square miles, containing nearly 40 villages, in which, in 1795, evangelical Nonconformity was represented by one solitary Wesleyan Chapel. In that year a Congregational Church was formed in the town, and a Baptist Church six years later. For a time these were united under a Baptist minister, but on his death, in 1819, a separation took place, and a new chapel was erected. In 1827, Rev. William Legge, from Highbury College, undertook the pastorate, and was ordained on 2nd April, 1828.

For nine years Mr. Legge laboured with a fair measure of success, but amidst social difficulties such as are now happily unusual. In addition to his regular pastoral duties he had done an amount of evangelistic work in the surrounding villages which would have severely tasked the energies of a stronger man. In many of these villages ignorance, ungodliness, and social disorder abounded; while the claims of religion were only presented by representatives of the State Church, some of whom were habitually negligent, and some openly scandalous.

In 1837 the committee of Highbury College, and afterwards that of Homerton College proposed to Mr. Legge that he should undertake the preliminary training of students who were looking forward to the Christian Ministry, but whose early education had been defective, or whose aptitude required testing. The proposal received also cordial support from the Directors of the London Missionary Society. The instruction was to be of a preparatory nature, the men when qualified being transferred to one or other of the regular colleges; and they were to engage in definite evangelistic work in the villages. The institution was to be on a proprietary basis, and it was to be affiliated with Highbury College.

The first two students received were Joseph G. Pigg, afterwards for many years pastor of Marlborough Chapel, Old Kent Road, and Mr. B. B. Woodward, who devoted himself to literary pursuits, and became librarian at Windsor Castle. As the number of students increased, larger domestic accommodation became necessary. A

large house, about a mile from the town, was purchased; and there for several years from ten to fourteen young men were constantly to be found receiving instruction and being exercised in Home Missionary work. No account is preserved of the course of instruction pursued; it would probably vary with the varied deficiencies of the men. The whole household was regarded as a family; and many letters are extant—confirmed by the testimony of survivors—bearing witness to the warm affection in which both Mr. and Mrs. Legge were held by their pupils. The students held services in cottages, farm houses, and in the open; and the villagers were familiarized as never before with the truths of the gospel. There was occasional opposition from well-intentioned ignorance. Some members of the congregation were high Calvinists, and thought Mr. Legge dangerously lax both in doctrine and discipline—though in both he was more puritanic than is usual in these days. One deacon was horribly scandalized to find that the students actually played cricket.

There are indications that the proprietary basis of the Seminary was not quite satisfactory; and that at one time it proved a drain on Mr. Legge's private resources. In this view the following card, which was prepared for circulation, is not without interest:—

"Theological Seminary, Fakenham. In this Institution, which is conducted by the Rev. W. Legge, Pastor of the Independent Church at Fakenham, candidates for admission into the Dissenting Colleges pursue a course of preparatory instruction. Opportunity is also afforded for the mature consideration of their important object, at a period when a secular employment may be most easily resumed. Mr. Legge has much pleasure in referring to all his former pupils, nearly a hundred in number—to their respective Pastors in all parts of England—and to the Tutors of the several Colleges to which they have proceeded."

The Seminary was discontinued in 1853; but Mr. Legge continued to minister at Fakenham till his death, which occurred suddenly on 12th December, 1859. The only publication which bears his name is "*A Pastoral Letter*" addressed to the Church in 1852, on the completion of twenty-five years' ministry. But he published anonymously "*One Thousand Questions on the Old and New Testament*"; and several manuals on Ancient and Modern History.

LIST OF STUDENTS AT FAKENHAM

The following list is not complete; it is based on one lent by H. J. Legge, Esq., of Birkenhead, with additions from "Year-Book" obituaries and other sources.

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.	Pastorate, etc.
1838	Woodward, B. B.	Highbury	Harleston; afterwards Librarian at Windsor Castle
"	Pigg, Joseph G.	do.	Wymondham; Marlborough Chapel, London

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.	Pastorate, etc.
1839	Holford, J. A.	—	—
"	Griffiths, E. ..	Highbury	Merthyr; Wiveliscombe; Brisbane
"	Bendall, B. O. . .	do.	Stamford
"	Jeffries, D. F. ..	—	—
1840	Buck, J. D. ..	—	—
"	Jenkin, John ..	—	Rye
"	Strongman, J. ..	—	Chapmanslade, Wilts.
1841	Reading, Jas. ..	—	Walton; Wheathampstead
"	Hill, Micaiah ..	Springhill	East Retford; Brixham Birmingham
"	Lind, W. A. ..	Hackney	Missionary, South Seas
"	Willis, John ..	—	—
"	Sainsbury, T. B.	Highbury	Finchingfield; Waterloo; Duxford
"	Sleigh, Jas. ..	do.	Hockliffe, Beds.
"	Ray, A. S. ..	—	Sydenham
1842	Johnson, N. W.	—	—
"	Hebditch, Saml.	Highbury	Bristol
"	Gammon, A. ..	—	—
"	Tozer, Hy. ..	—	—
"	Amphlett, Hy. ..	—	—
"	Jeffries, G.	Highbury	Glastonbury
1843	Basden, F. T. ..	do.	Potton
"	Roe, W. H. ..	—	Portsea
1844	Chancellor, H.	Highbury	Ledbury; St. Heliers; Salis- bury
"	Fleming, J. P. . .	do.	Lancaster
1845	Hall, G. F. ..	do.	Linton, Camb.
"	Ray, Thos. ..	University, London	Hatfield; Bishop's Stortford; Clapham; &c.
"	Chambers, W. H.	—	—
"	Lawrence, H. B.	—	—
1846	Williams, R. Gould	—	Rochdale
"	Carpenter, Jas. Jos.	Cheshunt	Clavering
"	Lander, J. W. . .	—	—
"	Guyer, T. T. ..	—	—
1847	Peacock, T. R.	—	—
"	Sillington, J. S.	—	—
"	Wright, G. ..	—	—
"	Buzacott, Aaron	New Col.	Long Sutton; Romford; Peckham
"	Alexander, J. F.	do.	Chichester; Stretton-under- Fosse; Ipswich
"	Jones, R. Pierce	do.	Sedbergh; Saxmundham; Rotherhithe; Burgess Hill
"	Turquand, Paul J.	do.	Walworth
"	Thompson, W.	—	—
"	Kilpin, S. Wells.	—	—
"	Aylen, W. H. ..	—	—
1848	Foyster, Albert	Newport Pagnell ..	Cuckfield; Brighton
"	Baylis, Fred ..	Rotherham	Missionary, Neyoor, India
"	Kent, Wm. ..	—	Missionary, Berbice
"	Parkinson, H. W.	Coward	Rochdale
"	Bellows, G. C.	Highbury	Blackheath

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.		Pastorate, etc.
1848	White, F. M. ..	New Col. ..	..	Tisbury
"	Stuchbery, Jos.	do. ..	..	Tiverton; Wakefield
"	Morrison, A. ..	Cotton End	..	Abbotts Roothing; Richmond, Yorks.
"	Tarleton, R. A.	—	..	—
"	Green, Chas. ..	—	..	—
"	Saunders, Jas.	—	..	—
"	Manton, Matt. . .	—	..	—
1849	Davison, W. ..	Cheshunt ..	..	Bolton
"	Hope			
"	Soden, Frank ..	do. ..	..	Clapton
"	Taylor, Arthur	—	..	—
1850	Jones, John ..	Cotton End	..	Missionary, New Hebrides
"	Insull, J. G. ..	Cheshunt ..	..	Bedford
"	French, J. B. ..	do. ..	..	Richmond
"	Barker, Johnson	New Col. ..	..	Leicester
1851	Goward, Henry	Spring Hill	..	Luton; Spring Hill
"	Davies, J. D. ..	Hackney ..	..	Blakeney; Wareham
"	Sisterton, Walter H.	Cheshunt ..	..	Leamington
"	Mombert, J. ..	—	..	—
"	Miller, Geo. ..	—	..	—
1845(abt.)	Hirschberg, H. J.	—	..	Medical Missionary at Hong-Kong
1841(abt.)	Roberts, W.	Hackney ..	..	High Wycombe; Notting Hill.

Religious Liberty 110 Years Ago.

IN glancing over volumes of the Evangelical Magazine dated a little more than a hundred years ago, it is instructive to find reports of cases which illustrate the spirit that prompted Lord Sidmouth's Bill of 1811, and was barely held in check by the "New Toleration Act" of 1812 (52 Geo. III. cap. 155).

I. In September, 1810, a house in the parish of Childrey, Berks., was registered under the Toleration Act of 1689 as a Methodist meeting place; and duly certified in the registry of the Bishop of Salisbury. In this house preaching was usual once every Sunday, and a prayer meeting was held on the Sunday evening. Such a meeting was held on Sunday evening, 21st October, in which William Kent, William Franklin, and others took part. During part of the evening a woman servant of the parish clergyman, a constable, and others were present, evidently to play the part of informers. In the ensuing week the parson laid an information before a local magistrate, under the Conventicle Act (21 Chas. II.), against Kent and Franklin for "teaching and praying," they having, apparently, not qualified as Dissenting Ministers by making the Declaration required in the Toleration Act. They were fined £20 each; and Kent refusing to pay, the fine was recovered by distraint. Due notice of appeal was given; the appeal was heard on 15th January, 1811, before Lord Radnor and the Bench of Justices at Reading. Counsel for the respondent magistrate argued that although Kent had not preached, he had prayed, and "it is impossible to pray without teaching"; "When

it is said, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' is it not an assertion that God is in heaven?" The witnesses were quite unable to repeat any sentence that Mr. Kent had uttered, and the woman admitted that she did not see him, and could only swear to two detached words. Nevertheless the Earl of Radnor summed up as strongly as possible in favour of the respondent, fully endorsing the plea that praying audibly is teaching, and therefore within the purview of the Conventicle Act; and simply bullied the jury into returning a verdict accordingly. Mr. Kent's solicitor immediately took objection to the whole proceeding, as informal and illegal. The matter was removed by *certiorari* to the Court of King's Bench; the case was heard at the following Easter term, the conviction was quashed, and the £20 was returned to the defendant by the magistrate. But Bennett (Hist. Dissenters, p. 48), says that £300 was expended in resisting and annulling this monstrous conviction.

II. On 30th July, 1811, the Hon. G. Grey, Commissioner of H.M. Dockyard at Portsmouth, and John Maybee, a superannuated shipwright, were summoned before the Mayor of Portsmouth and a full bench of magistrates on an information under the Conventicle Act. Mr. Grey had gathered a Sunday School in his own office, in which he employed Mr. Maybee as a teacher; this was their alleged offence. The information was laid by one Dr. Scott, a clergyman of the Established Church, but in a fictitious name. On discovering this the mayor very properly rejected the information; whereupon it was renewed in another fictitious name. Mr. Grey, being informed of this, wrote to the Mayor, begging that no such irregularity might prevent his going fully into the case, which was heard accordingly.

It appeared that about a hundred boys were taught to read the Bible, and to learn the Catechism, collects, etc., from the Book of Common Prayer; and regularly

attended worship in the place where Dr. Scott officiated: that on a Sunday evening, as the school was about to close, Dr. Scott came in and interrupted Mr. Maybee, who was reading a prayer from a book which was not the B.C.P. The facts were not disputed; but the solicitor for the defence pointed out that the title of the Act was "An Act to prevent Seditious Conventicles," and that it would be absurd to call a Sunday School a Seditious Conventicle. The Mayor without hesitation dismissed the case as against Mr. Maybee; and the prosecutor then withdrew the information against Mr. Grey. Obviously if Dr. Scott's contention had been upheld, the result would have been to make every Sunday School an unlawful assembly.

III. In September, 1811, some months after the rejection of Lord Sidmouth's notorious Bill, J. Whitaker, of Drayton, Salop, was convicted before Lord Kenyon and fined £20 for preaching in the house of Edward Welch at Hanmer, in the County of Flint—that house not being registered under the Toleration Act. Welch was also convicted, apparently under the Conventicle Act, and similarly penalized. A warrant of distress was issued; but it being found that the man's goods would not produce the amount demanded, the fine was remitted. But his mother was deprived of an allowance of a shilling a week, which she had received from a local charity for poor widows; his wife was notified that she would be deprived of an allowance of £3 a year which she had for teaching ten poor children; several of the hearers were fined 5s. each and costs; and Welch was fined a shilling for not being present at the parish church—though he had been there the previous Sunday.

(To be Continued.)