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## EDITORIAL.

**I**T was a small but select company which gathered together at the Autumnal Meeting of the Society in the Westcliff Congregational Church on October 7th. Dr. Whitley's paper, printed within, will show what a treat his listeners had, and we are very grateful to him for his visit.

The Annual Meeting will be held in the Board Room of the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, May 13th, at three o'clock. The business will simply be the presentation of the Annual Report and the election of officers, which we estimate will take only a few minutes. At the conclusion of the Meeting there will be an exhibition of photographs, books, and documents relating to the early years of the Congregational Union. These will be described by Dr. Peel.

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This number of the *Transactions* is rather late owing to the fact that the Editor has been making an endeavour to get out the *Centenary History of the Congregational Union* in time for the May Meetings.

The preparation of that History has been very revealing in many ways. We have realized, for example, how far the Minutes of the proceedings of a public assembly can be a truthful or a misleading account of what actually happened. We have realized how great a conflict there can be between the accounts of persons who shared in the same incidents—occasionally almost diametrically opposite views have been furnished by participators in episodes in the Union's history. Sometimes, when dealing with the sixteenth century we have been inclined to deplore the absence of that intimacy which comes from knowing the people concerned—we are now disposed to think that it is almost easier to write about events far off than about events when there is both written and oral tradition! When a description is to be written in fifty years' time of the May Meetings of the Congregational Union in 1931 is the authority to be the official Minutes of the Union, impressionist accounts in the religious weeklies, or the more or less reliable memories of men in the seventies and eighties who

were present? It is an interesting speculation about which some member of the Society might very well write a paper.

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Nothing more is being said in this issue about the Centenary of the Union—there will be ample opportunity for that in the September Number. We are anxious to stress the point, however, that this year affords a special opportunity for a great increase in our membership. Already most ex-chairmen of the Union have been approached and have agreed to become members of the Society, but we want 1,000 members before the end of the Manchester Meetings in October. If each member of the Society would get ten new members that aim would be more than realised. A new circular is being issued and will be widely broadcast during the Union Meetings in its Centenary Year. It is not by Circulars, however, but by personal work, that recruits are gained. There is an abundance of work for the Society to do but its present resources are inadequate and they can only be increased by an increase in membership.

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The Crippen Fund is now invested and sums are being paid from it regularly to the Misses Crippen. They desire, through these pages, to express their thanks to all those readers of the *Transactions* who contributed to the Fund.

## Nonconformity in the Middle Ages.

*Read to the Society at the Autumn Meeting in Southend.*

UNIFORMITY was the ideal invented by the Tudors and adopted by the Stuarts. Before Henry VIII there was no attempt at it. As soon as his son sanctioned the first Act of Uniformity, Nonconformists appeared, to uphold the sturdy English tradition of variety. Of conformity there was plenty, especially among the mass of people who simply want a quiet life, and are content to follow, or who will submit to be dragooned: but whatever the standard of uniformity might be, whether Henry's Six Articles, Edward's Prayer-book, Mary's Breviary, Elizabeth's XXXIX. articles, there were always men of conscience who could not conform. Henry sent three Papalists to be quartered and three Protestants to be burned, as nonconformists to his standard: Edward sent for the Kentish men enquiring at Bocking whether his standard agreed with the Bible: Mary burned scores, as Colchester and Billericay and Brentwood remember. Elizabeth quartered scores of Papal Recusants and burned Dutch Anabaptists: James burned two English heretics—and so the story runs on till a Dutch William and an English Mary sanctioned the Toleration Act, which at length legalized Nonconformity. It was ingrained in the English temperament. What we are to look at to-day is the same spirit in the Middle Ages, before Welsh and Scotch monarchs misunderstood what Englishmen would tolerate.

The Prayer-book still witnesses that there had previously been the Use of Sarum, of Hereford, of York; and the list might readily be extended. There was more variety in worship then, within half an island, than there is to-day in the churches of the Roman obedience. There was variety in doctrine: Thomists and Scotists were well recognized and orthodox, but different in their outlook. There was variety in government, and this is the one aspect which shall be examined now. Indeed, this is the aspect which often engrosses attention, so that to-day there are excellent men who cannot recognize fully any organization of Christians which lacks bishops; nor are they appeased by bishops of the Lutherans, of the

Mennonites, of the Methodists, of the Peculiar People here at our doors, unless these bishops have a double succession, in office and in consecration. Whoever lacks a Historic Episcopate is a Nonconformist. I propose to show that in the Middle Ages, this idea was not reduced to practice, was often rejected in theory, and had hardly been formulated with general acceptance. When we have envisaged the fact, we may consider its lessons for us.

An Historic Episcopate, we are told, is clearly to be discerned from the opening third century : it was the standard form of government in Christian circles.

It is not my present purpose to insist that the bishop of those days was far more akin to the Congregational pastor at Raleigh than to the Anglican bishop at Chelmsford, though it is obvious to every one who reflects on the hundreds of bishops convened by Cyprian from the province of Africa, not as large as England. Nor is it my point that in opposition to the Catholic bishop there was often a Montanist or a Novationist or an Arian bishop in the same town. My point is that there were Christians who ignored the bishops, their system, their worship ; that these Christians were important enough to be recognized by the bishops, who again and again strove to make terms with them ; that every success in subordinating or capturing them led to a new uprising, a new style of Christian independent of the bishops and their system. I call attention to men who were not content with the conventional Christianity of their day, insisted on living according to the dictates of their conscience (not always wisely trained) who succeeded in gaining their recognized footing, and who too often were corrupted by their recognition. These men were called first Hermits or Monks : the second set of them were the Cloistered Monks under rule, the Regulars : the third set were the Friars. In their story we may discern, unexpectedly for many of us, the same forces at work that animate us. At their best, we may say of them what one of yourselves has said is the genius of Nonconformity, they valued Life more than Organization.

#### HERMITS

Even before Constantine made it fashionable to profess Christianity, people were drifting or flocking into the Church who had little living experience of fellowship with the Lord. The high standard of conduct was lowered ; even Tertullian has much to say about the inroads of the world into the Church ; and he abandoned the Great Church of his day for

an austerer body. But there were men who, like Robert Browne in a later day, started a reformation without tarrying for any one else : they withdrew from all society, and went to the desert as Eremites, Hermits ; or they were content like Diogenes at Athens to live alone as Monks. Honour them for their singleness of purpose ; whoever might compromise with the world, they would not. For rank in the Church, such as Lucian attained at Antioch, or Athanasius at Alexandria, they cared nothing. To save their souls was their only concern ; and they retired from all society, to dwell alone with God.

We may wonder whether they knew how centuries before, in India, the ideal had been held up, that when a man had done his duty to his family and to his state, he should spend his latest years in such seclusion, to cultivate the sense of the Divine. We may ask whether the ideal came to them through the Essene known to us in the pages of Josephus. It is worth asking, because these hermit monks forgot how the Brahman was essentially a father first, and they followed the Essene in abjuring marriage. They exalted Virginity for its own sake, and so obscured the fundamental ideal of Reality in religion. It is true that the bishops did the same, that the whole church in Persia adopted the same amazing theory, so that baptism marked the separation of husband and wife, and no child could ever be begotten in Christian wedlock. But it remains true that these early Nonconformists shared with the bishops whom they abandoned, the grave mistake that holiness in Life depended on virginity of the body—but not, alas, of the mind !

Despite this drawback, which was not peculiar to them, and despite the temptations they brought on themselves by celibacy and idleness, yet we may well read in the lives of some of these men and women that they did uphold a high standard of conduct, that they did experience a real fellowship with God.

### REGULAR MONKS

The sin of idleness was before long recognized, and reformers brought about two important changes ; they linked the isolated hermits into associated groups, under discipline ; they provided them with steady occupation. Kingsley has given us a picture of a Laura up the Nile ; on the island of Lerins off Gaul there was a famous community ; the islands of Iona and Lindisfarne are even more familiar to us. Examine the ideals of these groups.

They upheld the sense of a Divine vocation : every member

came of his own free-will, responding to the call of God. As it became more and more common that the Church of the bishops was a hereditary corporation, in which a lad found himself a member as much as he found himself a citizen of the empire, each Convent gathered on the voluntary system. Into this a man or a woman came by choice, and was often placed on probation to ensure that the choice was steadfast and not a passing mood.

They learned the value of social life ; man is not to live to himself alone, nor in selfish, if real, communion with God. The apostles bade men live in the world, though not of it ; bade them play their part with their fellows, to find their fellows not in the accidents of neighbourhood but in those who feared the Lord ; not to live in careless rapture, dependent on the pity of others, but to earn their own living and even have to spare for others. Since they abjured family life, they had to construct a new domestic pattern, and an Abbot or Father was at the head of each community ; this involved some domestic regulations and discipline, and experience soon showed that the Rule must be strict, with a pledge of implicit Obedience to the head. This by-product of the ideal of celibacy will probably be viewed with mingled feelings.

In their community-life they needed community-worship, and here attention is needed. The Church of the bishops laid all stress on the Sacrifice of the Mass, offered only by a bishop, or presently by a priest to whom he delegated his powers. But the monasteries were of laymen or laywomen. It was open to them to go *en masse* to a parish church ; it was open to them to ask a priest to visit them. But while both expedients were tried, they were found inadequate. The vital religion of these men and women needed more means of grace, and they evolved their own forms of worship. The situation was as among the Jews shortly before Christ : the temple with its sacerdotal hierarchy existed, and was used ; but vital religion was upheld by the synagogue erected wherever ten families settled. There the priest was not needed, and was barely recognized ; altar and victim there was none ; the scriptures and prayers fed the souls of the worshippers. It was the same phenomenon known after the Reformation among the Collegiants of Holland, the Pietists of Germany, the Methodists of England—laymen ignoring the priest, the minister, and going to the Bible for themselves, singing and praying as the Spirit gave them utterance. The worship of the monastery was non-sacerdotal.

It was precisely this feature which the Bishops and their Councils objected to, and strove to alter. And the question arose often from within. Suppose a priest wished to cease his parish work, to break away from the round for which he felt himself unequal, whether from age or from moral weakness; suppose such a friend sought admission to a convent. He would have to promise obedience to a lay abbot; he would desire still to celebrate Mass, and others might wish to attend: the situation was awkward. Even more so if the applicant had been a bishop, accustomed himself to rule. We can faintly imagine the situation by thinking of a modern Anglican diocese with two or three ex-colonial bishops or even ex-English bishops settled down as vicars or in retirement; by remembering one of our own churches where a minister still in the strength of youth welcomes into his flock a man who was a pastor before he was born. The monasteries found two solutions of this problem—and here we run ahead of other developments to which we shall have to return. (1) The monasteries of western Europe tended more and more to welcome priests, and even to encourage their own members to become ordained; for this met a separate difficulty. Wealth came to be showered on them in many forms, and often with the wise stipulation that they should care for the souls of a parish. If then they had to find a priest somewhere to do this, it became simpler if they had priests within their own fellowship. Thus more and more the convents of men—never of women—included priests, till they often became the majority, and called the others “lay-brothers.” That gravely altered the whole conception of the monastery. Yet it never quite subverted it. If we take at random the visitation of an abbey near where we meet, at Maldon, in 1483, there were seven priests, two rectors, four novices; but the head, the abbot, was a priest himself. It became increasingly rare for an abbot to be a layman; if he were, he too often abjured his duties, lived far away, drew the revenues, but left the house to a prior in his room. These abbots *in commendam*, *abbés* in France, exhibited the breakdown of the system in its very essence. (2) The solution adopted in Ireland was very different. The abbot kept all his monks in discipline, whether lay, priests, or bishops. It was quite usual for a monastery to have bishops; they alone could consecrate, but they lived under the rule of the abbot; much as a Cohen in a synagogue to-day is quite insignificant, and only comes at the call of the Ruler to pronounce the priestly benediction. Adamnan’s *Life of Columba*

is worth studying, to see the rarity of priests and bishops, and their relations to the monasteries.

The worship of the monks was then chiefly of reading the scripture, prayer, and praise. From their service books was compiled the order for Morning and Evening Prayer in the Reformed Church of England. And it is a mark of sacerdotalists to-day to depreciate these, exalting the Communion, the Mass.

Return to consider how the ideals of the monastery were enriched in two directions—Bible-study, missionary service. These two features have never marked the Church of the bishops, they were evolved in monasteries, by laymen chiefly.

Look at the Bible. It was the monk Jerome who translated it afresh for the western world, and the bishop Augustine who objected. But the great impulse was given by Cassiodorus, from 550 A.D. He was the chief minister of Theodoric, Gothic king in Italy; his official correspondence and his history of the Goths remain to show his abilities as a man of affairs and of letters. About the age of sixty he retired, and founded a monastery, for which he drew up the Rule, adopting many features from Benedict. But the great innovation was that to agriculture and other manual work he added the study of the Scriptures, and devotion to Christian literature. Henceforth a library and a copying room became universal in the western monasteries. And the works of Adamnan and of Bede show how wholeheartedly the islanders of Britain took to this new pursuit. It is needful perhaps to insist upon the contrast with the Church of the bishops, and to ask the name of any bishop who showed any interest in the Bible. When a name is given, for example Theodulf of Orleans, he will usually be found essentially a layman, in touch with monks. The man who inspired Theodulf was Alcuin of York, Abbot of St. Martin's at Tours. Whether it is the copying of the Bible, we look to the monasteries of Athos, of Bobbio, of Fulda, and their kin; whether to its translation, we look to the monastery of Aaron in Mesopotamia for a Syriac version, the lauras of Egypt for three Coptic versions, to a monastery on the Bosphorus for Cyril and Methodius who reduced Slavonic to writing and translated the Gospels, to Jarrow for Bede who made an English version. In contrast to the activity of the monks we note the decisions of western bishops that the Bible was not to be rendered into the vernacular, lest laymen should study it for themselves. It is pleasant to remember in face of this, that English versions continued to be made for convents of women.

Consider missions. Nearly every mission was due to monks. Remember Martin of France, the Scots, not only at Iona and Lindisfarne, but in many other parts of England, up the Rhine, in Switzerland, in Italy. It was the appearance of Scottish monks evangelizing Lombardy that stirred up the despatch of Italian monks to Kent. And who sent them? Gregory. Who was Gregory? A monk, who on being ordained priest quitted his monastery, but retained his ideals, and as he attained power, used it to carry out those ideals. It was Winfrid of Exeter and his disciples who won Germany; Anekar of Corbis who evangelized Sweden; Otho, "father of the monks," who by them won Poland and Pomerania. The Baltic peoples were converted by monks coming, and founding new monasteries. The machinery of the Catholic Church, with its canons, deans, bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, pope, was not designed for missionary purpose; and as an official Church it rarely undertook any. Its aim was rather to organize and develop, not to create.

When we look to the Middle Ages for signs of life, rather than of mechanism, we find it with the monasteries. But the organizing ability of Rome was ever directed to capturing these and harnessing them to its chariot. At this, Jeshurun often kicked. Theodore of Tarsus, a monk before he was a bishop, arranged at Hertford in 670: "It shall not be lawful for any bishop to trouble monasteries dedicated to God, nor to take anything forcibly from them." But for centuries the bishops were striving to get the monasteries under their rule, and the abbots were sturdily maintaining their independence. It is instructive to read how when the abbey of the Premonstratensians were to be visited, and the Visitor chanced to be a bishop, he had it formally recorded that he came not as a bishop, but as representative of the Abbot of Prémontré. The monasteries were strongholds of Nonconformity.

But, like every human institution, they had grave faults; and in process of time they degenerated. Western Christendom was very sick and feeble in the twelfth century. And there came another great revival, which embodied the spirit of Nonconformity in the

### FRIARS.

Who knows not the story of Francis of Assisi, the simple lovable man, whose aim was to follow his Master and go about doing good? Mark how he differed from the monk, even in ideals. The monk had learned a social life, under discipline,

## Nonconformity in the Middle Ages

studious, missionary. His typical method was to settle in the wilds, and create a new Christian centre. Francis went to the towns nominally Christian, and showed Christianity in practice. It was the old contrast of John the Baptist and Christ. Dominic added another feature, and trained friars-preachers. These great rival communities regenerated the towns of Europe, bearded the Soldan at Babylon, walked across Asia past the great Cham of Tatar to the fabled city of Cambalu. The magnificent record is fairly well known. The present point is that these men embodied afresh the spirit of Nonconformity.

They did not abide by the old worship, whether of the priest at the altar, or the monk in his choir. Look at the architecture of the Black Friars, and you see for the first time the nave thrown into prominence, for the lay-people, and the pulpit for the preacher. The Franciscan started a hospital, a lazar house. They did not adopt the old forms of organization, but evolved their own system with their own titles. It was as when Wesley invented the Class and its leader, the Circuit and its superintendent, the Steward.

The experienced ecclesiastics at Rome did their best to capture these enthusiasts, and rejuvenate their own system with some transfusion of blood. It is one of the sad chapters of history to read the struggle of the Spirituals, and the way in which the friars were at length subordinated to the cardinals, till they became a mainstay of the papacy. But it will repay any lover of missions to read in Jessopp what the Coming of the Friars meant to England, or in Maclear what the Going of the Friars meant to Asia.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that the ideals and the spirit of modern Nonconformity were well displayed throughout the Middle Ages. Here in England the Hermits were made useful, both by the Anchorites' Rule, which by its being in English shows the real popularity of the men: they were set to work ferries, to watch bridges, to guide travellers over morass or hill. Remember Juliana of Norwich, whose anchorage may still be seen there: if she secluded herself for twenty years, the account she wrote of her inner experiences is as profitable to one type of mind as Augustine's *Confessions*, or Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* to others. Here in England the monks won the English to Christ: Fursey of Ireland at Burgh Castle, Botolph at Iken, Cedd from Lindisfarne at Bradwell and Tilbury, illustrate their heroic age. The golden chain was

lengthened by the friars. Duns Scotus was a philosopher at Oxford.

And when the Middle Ages drew to their close, it was the friars who handed on the torch. An Austin friar, Martin Luther, kindled the billets laid by Erasmus the monk. It was Miles Coverdale, another Austin friar, who translated and edited the Bible into English repeatedly.

If, however, we may look back and recognize with some surprise a line of ancestry we had not suspected, let us try to learn from their decline and fall, as well as from their heroism and success.

For they fell, and fell with a crash in some countries. How came it, if we think of England alone, that Henry VI. and Wolsey nibbled at the foundations of the monks and friars without protest, and that Henry VIII. was able to suppress them utterly, despite one insurrection. How had they forfeited the popular esteem ?

The answer is not far to seek. They had forgotten their own early aims, they had preserved the early taint inherited from the east, they had acquired vices of their own. Test this summary. The hermit came to be literally walled up ; in his cell he did nothing but receive the food and the adulation of his admirers. Monasteries ceased to be centres of learning, and were superseded by universities ; the monks ceased to work, but lived on endowments and paid others to work, themselves the plutocrats and aristocrats of the neighbourhood ; to go on missions became a strange idea and they jeered at the friars who took up their abandoned *rôle*. But the friars themselves sank into beggars, and did not adjust themselves to the changing conditions : when they preached, it was too often with witty stories and baseless legends, not of Christ ; they became the tools of Rome against even bishops and monks, and it was from their ranks that men like Tetzels came, to sell indulgences. When we reflect that all these still exalted celibacy and obedience as virtues in themselves, and that they had developed special vices of their own, on which we need not dwell, we understand their passing with so little lament.

And this has its warning to us. If we have taken over without thought what our fathers inherited in the seventeenth century, and perpetuate it to-day just because it is Historic, wherein are we better than the bishops ? If we have become untrue to our heavenly vision of Life and Experience, then the salt has been washed out from the mingled pile ; how can we

preserve the world ? If we are blind to our peculiar dangers, of opposition, anti-this and anti-that, non-conforming ; of pharisaism and exclusiveness and spiritual pride ; then the tree may indeed stand, though hollow ; but such a blast as Henry blew in England and the Bolsheviks blow in Russia may send the trunk crashing.

Isaiah had a great word of hope. Though thickets and forest fall before the axe, yet a shoot shall come from the stock, and a branch from the roots shall bear fruit. It is ever God's way, both to cut down the tree that cumpers the ground being fruitless, and to replant, or even to graft. Our study of history is but an amusing pastime unless we strive to discern what He has done, and fain would do, that we may be Nonconformists to the spirit of this world, but conforming ever to His will as He reveals it in a world of change.

W. T. WHITLEY.

## The Works of Richard Baxter.

[Continued from page 112.]

28. *Of saving faith.* L. 1658. 4to. 96. Preface addressed to Mr. W. S. Serjeant at Law, 31 March, 1658.

App., 1, ff. "In the second Edition of a Book called *The Saints Rest*, I endeavoured . . . to shew the true difference between the common Grace that may be found in the unsanctified, and the special Grace of the Saints which accompanieth Salvation . . . A while after Dr. Kendal wrote a large digression against some part of my Assertions: to whom when I had prepared half an Answer, at his own peaceable motion, and the Reverend Bishop Ushers, we agreed on a mutual silence, as most sutable to our duties and the good of the church. But before this Agreement, I had printed one sheet in the end of the fifth Impression of the *Saints Rest*, in which I more fully opened my meaning, and shewed that Dr. Kendal himself did seem to consent to what I had asserted. The same sheet I had also put into the press to be affixed to my Confession. Besides in my Apologie I had at large defended against Mr. Blake, that all that will be regularly Baptized (at age) or admitted to Church-communion and Sacraments must make a credible profession of a saving faith specifically distinct from the faith of the unregenerate. Hereupon Mr. Blake in his Reply had manifested much displeasure against this Assertion . . . Hereupon I wrote a Volume of Disputations on that very subject . . . But if it were possible I thought I would yet speak plainer . . . and therefore before the explicatory sheet that was printed in the end of the fifth and sixth impressions of the *Saints Rest*, and in my Confession, and besides both the foresaid Volumes of Disputations, I did some what correct the seventh impression of the *Saints Rest*; and added yet another explicatory sheet in the end of it . . . And now after all this, is brought to my hands a Book of . . . Mr. W. S. . . . with an Additional exercitation pretended to be written . . . by a very Learned Man . . . . If unwritten Tradition may be taken for a sufficient Reporter of the Authors Name . . . I must say, that he is one that I have honoured and very highly esteemed about this twenty years, even ever since I read his *Six Metaphysical Exercitations*."

*Reliq.*, I. 117. "Sergeant Shephard, an honest Lawyer, wrote a little Book of Sincerity and Hypocrisy; and in the end of it Mr. Tho. Barlow (afterward Bishop of Lincoln) wrote (without his Name) an Appendix in Confutation of a supposed Opinion of mine, that Saving Grace differeth not *Specie* but *Gradu* from Common Grace: To which I replied in a short Discourse called (Of Saving Faith &c.) I had most highly valued the Author whom I wrote against, long before, for his *Six Exercitations* in the end of Schibler's *Metaphysicks*: But in his Attempt against me, he came quite below himself as I

made manifest ; and he resolved to make no Answer to it. In this Tractate the Printer paid his part so shamefully, that the Book is scarcely to be understood."

29. *Confirmation and restauration the necessary means of reformation and reconciliation ; for the healing of the corruptions and divisions of the church.* L. 1658. 8vo. 316. Preface 7 Apr., 1658. Finished 13 Feb., 1648 (?1657/8) Postscript 30 July, 1658.

*Reliq., I.* 117. "About that time Mr. Jonathan Hanmer of Devonshire wrote a Treatise for Confirmation, as the most expedient means to reform our Churches, and reconcile all that disagree about the Qualification of Church Members ; I liked the Design so well (having before written for it in my Treatise of Baptism) that being requested, I put a large Epistle before it ; and after that, when some Brethren desired me to produce more Scripture Proof for it than he had done, I wrote a small Treatise . . . But the times changed before it could be much practised."

30. *The judgment and advice of the assembly of the associated ministers of Worcestershire, held at Worcester Aug. 6th, 1658. In reply to John Durey's proposals for church unity.* L. 1658. 4to. 8. Subscribed also by John Boraston, of Bewdley : Thos. Wright, of Hartlebury : Giles Collyer, of Blockley : Geo. Hopkins, of Evesham : Joseph Trebell, of Church Lench.

*Reliq., I.* 117. "Mr. John Dury having spent thirty Years in Endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was now going over Sea again upon that Work, and desired the Judgment of our Association how it should be successfully expedited ; which at their desire I drew up more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English : The English Letter he printed as my Letter to Mr. Dury for Pacification."

31. *Of justification.* L. 1658. 4to. 423. Four disputations. (1) Reply to Thos. Blake, Nov., 1656. "Whether we are Justified by Believing in Jesus Christ, as our King and Teacher ; as well as by believing in his Blood." (2) "Whether any Works be any Condition of Justification." Reply to Anthony Burges. Letters of 1649 and 1650. (3) "Proving the necessity of a two-fold righteousness to justification and salvation." Reply to John Warner, of Christchurch, Hants. Finished 25 Dec., 1657. Discussion of Tombe's animadversions on his *Aphorisms* and other writings. (4) Disputation (See *Reliq. I.*, 114).

32. *A call to the unconverted.* L. 1658. 12mo. 285. (Penes Francis Wellesley, Esq., Westfield Common, Woking, 1930). Pref. 10 Dec., 1657. Finished 31 Dec., 1656 (p. 285). Many other eds.

*Preface.* "In that short Acquaintance I had with that Reverend, Learned Servant of Christ, Bishop Usher, he was oft from first to last importuning me to write a Directory for the several ranks

of professed Christians, which might distinctly give each one their portion ; beginning with the Unconverted, and then proceeding to the babes in Christ, and then to the strong . . . I confess I was not moved by his Reasons . . . And therefore I parted from him without the least purpose to answer his desire. But since his death, his words often came into my mind : and the great Reverence I bore to him did the more incline me to think with some complacency of his motion. And having of late intended to write a Family Directory, I began to apprehend how congruously the forementioned work should lead the way ; and the several conditions of mens souls be spoken of, before we come to the several Relations. The next part to be on Conversion : the third part, ' directions for the younger and weaker sort of christians ' : the fourth part, ' directions for lapsed and back-sliding christians ' the fifth part, for families, ' directing the several Relations in their Duties.'

*Reliq.*, I. 115. " This little Book . . . which God hath blessed with unexpected Success beyond all the rest that I have written (except *The Saints Rest*): In a little more than a Year there were about twenty thousand of them printed by my own Consent, and about ten thousand since, besides many thousands by stolen Impressions, which poor Men stole for Lucre sake : Through God's Mercy I have had Information of almost whole Housholds converted by this small Book, which I set so light by : And as if all this in England, Scotland and Ireland were not Mercy enough to me, God (since I was silenced) hath sent it over on his Message to many beyond the Seas ; for when Mr. Elliot had printed all the Bible in the Indians Language, he next translated this my *Call to the Unconverted*, as he wrote to us here : And though it was here thought prudent to begin with the Practice of Piety, because of the envy and distaste of the times against me, he had finished it before that Advice came to him. And yet God would make some farther use of it ; for Mr. Stoop the Pastor of the French Church in London, being driven hence by the displeasure of Superiors, was pleased to translate it into elegant French, and print it in a very curious Letter, and I hope it will not be unprofitable there ; nor in Germany, where it is printed in Dutch."

33. *Directions and persuasions to a sound conversion.* L. 1658 8vo. 534. Preface 29 May, 1658. Dated 5 July, 1657 (p. 534). Other eds. 1673 (3rd).

*Reliq.*, I. 115. " After this (i.e. *The Call to the Unconverted*) I thought, according to Bishop Usher's Method, the next sort that I should write for, is those that are under the work of Conversion, because by Half-Conversions Multitudes prove deceived Hypocrites : Therefore I published a small Book entituled . . . which though I thought more apt to move than the former, yet through the Fault of the covetous Booksellers, and because it was held at too high a Price (which hindred many other of my Writings), there were not past two or three Impressions of them sold."

34. *The Grotian religion discovered.* L. 1658. 8vo. 119. Begun 9 April, 1658. Finished 14 April, 1658. Replies by P. Heylyn and Bp. Bramhall.

*Reliq.*, I. 113. "Having in the Postscript of my *True Catholick*, given a short touch against a bitter Book of Mr. Thomas Pierce's, against the Puritans and me, it pleased him to write another Volume against Mr. Hickman and me, just like the Man; full of malignant bitterness against Godly men that were not of his Opinion; and breathing out blood-thirsty malice, in a very Rhetorical fluent style. Abundance of Lies also are in it against the old Puritans, as well as against me . . . But Mr. Pierce's principal business was to defend Grotius: In answer to which I wrote a little Treatise . . . In which I cited his own words, especially out of his *Discussio Apologetici Rivetiani*, wherein he openeth his Terms of Reconciliation with Rome . . . This Book the Printer abused, printing every Section so distant, to fill up Paper, as if they had been several Chapters.

"And in a Preface before it, I vindicated the Synod of Dort (where the Divines of England were chief Members) from the abusive virulent Accusations of one that called himself Tilenus junior (Laurence Womock). Hereupon Pierce wrote a much more railing malicious Volume than the former . . . And the Preface was answered just in the same manner by one that stiled himself Philo-Tilenus. . . .

"This Book of mine of the Grotian Religion greatly offended many others: but none of them could speak any Sense against it, the Citations for Matter of Fact being unanswerable. And it was only the Matter of Fact which I undertook, viz. To prove that Grotius profest himself a moderate Papist: But for his fault in so doing, I little medled with it."

35. *Five disputations of church-government and worship*. L. 1659 4to. 492. Finished 9 July, 1658 (p. 491). A reply to "certain calumniators" (pp. 491, 492) dated 11 Oct., 1658. Dedic. to Richard Cromwell; signed "a faithfull subject to your Highness, as you are an Officer of the Universall King." Selections from this work published 1667 *The judgment of Mr. Baxter concerning ceremonies and conformity*. In a letter to a gentleman of the House of Commons. L. 1667. 4to. 15.

*Reliq.*, I. 117. ". . . Published . . . in order to the Reconciliation of the differing Parties: In the first I proved that the English Diocesane Prelacy is intollerable (which none hath answered): In the second I have proved the Validity of the Ordination then exercised without Diocesanes in England (which no Man hath answered, though many have urged Men to be re-ordained). In the third I proved that there are divers sorts of Episcopacy lawful and desirable. In the fourth and fifth I shew the lawfulness of some Ceremonies and of a Liturgy, and what is unlawful here.

"This Book being published when Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremonies were most decayed and opposed, was of good use to declare my Judgment when the King came in; for if I had said as much then, I had been judged but a Temporizer: But as it was effectual to settle many in a Moderation, so it made abundance of Conformists afterwards (or it was pretended at least to give them Satisfaction): Though it never medled with the greatest Parts of Conformity (Renouncing Vows, Assent and Consent to all things in three Books, &c.); and though it unanswerably confuted our Prelacy and Re-

ordination, and consequently the Renunciation of the Vow against Prelacy; and opposed the Cross in Baptism. But *Sic Vivant Stulti Vitia* (as my Aphorisms made some Arminians). If you discover an Error to an injudicious Man, he reeleth into the contrary Error, and it is hard to stop him in the middle Verity."

36. *A key for catholicks*. L. 1659. 4to. 460. Finished 11 Oct., 1658 (p. 460). Dedication to Richard Cromwell. Grosart does not record this dedication in the copy which he collated. It is omitted from the 2nd ed. of Part I (1674).

Replies by anon. author of *A vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, and by John Nanfan, Esq.

*Reliq.*, I. 118. "At the same time I published another Book against Popery, fit for the defensive Part, and instructing Protestants how to answer any Papist . . . In this Treatise, proving that the Blood of the King is not by Papists to be charged upon Protestants, I plainly hazarded my Life against the Powers that then were; and grievously incensed Sir H. Vane . . . And yet Mr. J. N. was so tender of the Papists Interest, that having before been offended with me for a Petition against Popery, and (a Justice of all times) spake against it on the Bench and his Displeasure encreased by this Book; he took occasion since the King came in, to write against me for those very Passages which condemned the King-killers: Because comparing the Case with the Doctrine and Practice of the Papists, I shewed that the Sectarrians and Cromwelians had of the two a more plausible Pretence, (which I there recited) he confuteth those Pretences of theirs as if they had been my own; thereby to make the World believe that I wrote for the King's Death, in the very Pages where to the hazard of my Life I wrote against it . . . But the great Indignation against this Book and the former, is, that they were by Epistles directed to Ri. Cromwell as Lord Protector, which I did only to provoke him that had Power, to use it well, when the Parliament had sworn Fidelity to him; and that without any Word of Approbation to his Title."

"Yet those that were not prejudiced by partiality against this Book have let me know that it hath not been without Success: It being indeed a sufficient Armory, for to furnish a Protestant to defend his Religion against all the Assaults of the Papists whatsoever, and teacheth him how to answer all their Books. The second part doth briefly deal with the French and Grotian Party, that are for the Supremacy of a Council, at least as to the Legislative Power, and sheweth that we never had a general Council, nor can it be at all expected."

37. *A holy commonwealth*. L. 1659. 8vo. 517.

Replies by Bp. Morley, John Rogers, Henry Stubbe, Thomas Tomkins.

*Reliq.*, I. 118. "The Book which hath furnished my Enemies with matter of Reviling (which none must dare to answer) is my *Holy Commonwealth*: The Occasion of it was this; when our Pretorian Sectarian Bands had cut all Bonds and pull'd down all Government, and after the Death of the King had twelve Years kept out his

Son, few Men saw any probability of his Restitution; and every self-conceited Fellow was ready to offer his Model for a new Form of Government . . . In the end of an Epistle before my Book of (*Crucifying the World*) I had spoken a few Words against this Innovation and Opposition to Monarchy; and having especially touched upon *Oceana* and *Leviathan*, Mr. Harrington seemed in a Bethlehem Rage; for by way of Scorn he printed half a Sheet of foolish Jeers . . . And with most insolent Pride he carried it, as if neither I nor any Ministers understood at all what Policy was . . . This made me think fit, having given that General hint against his *Oceana*, to give a more particular Charge, and withal to give the World and him an Account of my Political Principles, and to shew what I held as well as what I denied; which I did in that Book called, *Political Aphorisms*, or *A Holy Commonwealth*, as contrary to his Heathenish Commonwealth: In which I plead the Cause of Monarchy as better than Democracy and Aristocracy; but as under God the Universal Monarch . . . In the end of this Book is an Appendix concerning the Cause of the Parliaments first War, which was thus occasioned: Sir Francis Nethersole a Religious Knight, who was against the lawfulness of the War on both sides, sent his man to me, with Letters to advise me to tell Cromwell of his Usurpation, and to counsel him to call in the King; of which when I had given him satisfaction, he sent him again with more Letters and Books, to convince me of the unlawfulness of the Parliament's War: And others attempting the same at the same time; and the Confusions which the Army had brought upon us, being such as made me very much disposed to think ill of those beginnings which had no better an end, I thought it best to publish my Detestation and Lamentation for those Rebellious Proceedings of the Army, (which I did as plainly as could be born, both in an Epistle to them, and in a Meditation in the end), and withal to declare the very Truth, that hereby I was made suspicious and doubtful of the beginnings or first Cause, but yet was not able to answer the Arguments which the Lawyers of the Parliament then gave, and which had formerly inclined me to that side. I confessed, that if mens Miscarriages and ill Accidents would warrant me to Condemn the beginnings which were for another Cause, then I should have condemned them: But that being not the way, I found myself yet unable to answer the first Reasons, and therefore laid them down together, desiring the help of others to answer them, professing my own suspicion, and my daily Prayers to God for just satisfaction. And this Paper is it that containeth all my Crimes. Against this, one Tomkins wrote a Book, called, *The Rebels Plea*. But I wait in silence till God enlighten us.

In the beginning of this Book having reprehended the Army, I answer a Book of Sir Henry Vane's, called *The Healing Question*.

*Life of Faith* (1670.) See also *Reliq.*, III. 71:

“Let the Reader know, that whereas the Bookseller hath in the Catalogue of my Books, named my *Holy Commonwealth*, or *Political Aphorisms* I do hereby recall the said Book, and profess my Repentance, that ever I published it, and that not only for some by-passages, but in respect of the secondary part of the very scope. Though the first part of it, which is the defence of God, and Reason I recant not. But this Revocation I make with these provisos, 1. That I reverse

not all the Matter of that Book, nor all that more than one have accused ; As e.g. the Assertion that all humane Powers are Limited by God . . . 2. That I make not this Recantation to the Military fury, and rebellious pride and tumult, against which I wrote it : nor would have them hence take any encouragement for impenitence. 3. That though I dislike the Roman Clergies writing so much of Politicks and detest Ministers meddling in State matters without necessity, or a certain call ; Yet I hold it not simply unbeseeming a Divine, to expound the fifth Commandment, nor to shew the dependance of humane Powers on the Divine ; nor to instruct Subjects to obey with judgement, and for Conscience sake. 4. That I protest against the judgement of Posterity, and all others, that were not of the same time, and place, as to the (mental) censure, either of the Book or the Revocation ; as being ignorant of the true reasons of them both. Which things Provided, I hereby under my hand, as much as in me lyeth, reverse the Book, and desire the World to take it as non-scriptum." April 15, 1670.

38. *A treatise of self-denyall.* L. 1660. 4to. 329. Finished 29 Oct., 1659. Dedic. to Col. James Berry. Second ed. L. 1675. 8vo. 417.

*Reliq., I.* 117. " Being greatly apprehensive of the Commonness and Danger of the Sin of Selfishness, as the Summ and Root of all positive Evil, I preached many Sermons against it ; and at the Request of some Friends I published them, entituled, *A Treatise of Self-denial* ; which found better acceptance than most of my other, but yet prevented not the ruine of Church and State, and Millions of Souls by that Sin."

39. *Catholick unity.* L. 1660. 12mo. 379. Preached 24 Dec., 1657. Preface 10 Dec., 1659.

*Reliq., I.* 112. " Another Sermon which I preached at Martin's Church (London), I printed with enlargement, . . . shewing the necessity of Unity in real Holiness. . . ."

40. *Universal concord.* L. 1660. 8vo. 80. Finished 16 Nov., 1658 (p. 80).

*Reliq., I.* 119. " Having been desired in the time of our Associations, to draw up those Terms which all Christian Churches may hold Communion upon ; I published them, though too late for any such use (till God give men better minds) that the World might see what our Religion and our Terms of Communion were ; and that if after Ages prove more peaceable, they may have some light from those that went before them. It consisteth of three parts : The first containeth the Christian Religion, which all are positively to profess. . . . The second Part . . . containeth seven or eight Points of Practice for Church-Order, which, so it be practised, it is no great matter whether it be subscribed or not. . . . The third Part containeth the larger Description of the Office of the Ministry, and consequently of all the Ordinances of Worship. . . ."

" When I wrote, I thought to have published a Second Part, viz.,

a large volume containing the particular Terms of Concord, between all Parties capable of Concord. But the Change of the Times hath necessarily changed that purpose."

41. *The true catholick and catholick church described.* L. 1660. 12mo. 335. Preface, 12 Dec., 1659.

*Reliq., I.* 112. "About that time I had preached a Sermon at Worcester, which (though rude and not polished) I thought meet to print. . . . It is for Catholicism against all Sects; to shew the Sin and Folly and Mischief of all Sects that would appropriate the Church to themselves, and trouble the World with the Question, Which of all these Parties is the Church? As if they knew not that the Catholick Church is that whole which containeth all the Parts, though some more pure, and some less. Especially it is suited against the Romish Claim, which damneth all Christians besides themselves. . . .

"To this small Book I annexed a Postscript against a ridiculous Pamphlet of one Malpas, an old scandalous neighbour Minister, who was permitted to stay in by the Parliament, (so far were they from being over-strict in their Reformation of the Clergy) and now is a considerable Man among them."

42. *A treatise of death.* L. 1660. 12mo. 49 + 250.

Part of it a sermon preached at the funeral of Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Baker, minister of St. Andrew's, Worcester. There are added "some imitable passages" of her life. Dedicated to the Mayor and Corporation of Worcester. (See *Reliq., I.*, 120). Another ed. 1671.

43. *A sermon of repentance.* L. 1660. 4to. 47. Preached before Parliament 30 April, 1660.

*Reliq., I.* 120, 217, f. "The day before they voted in the King, being a day of Humiliation appointed to that end.

"When I was at London, the new Parliament being called, they presently appointed a Day of Fasting and Prayer for themselves: The House of Commons chose Mr. Calamy, Dr. Gauden, and my self to preach and pray with them at St. Margarets Westminster. In that Sermon, I uttered some Passages that were after matter of some Discourse: Speaking of our Differences and the way to heal them, I told them that whether we should be Loyal to our King was none of our Differences; in that we are all agreed; it being not possible that a Man should be true to the Protestants Principles, and not be Loyal; as it was impossible to be true to the Papists Principles and to be Loyal: And for the Concord now wish'd in matters of Church-Government, I told them it was easy for moderate Men to come to a fair Agreement, and that the late Reverend Primate of Ireland and my self had agreed in half an Hour. I remember not the very Words, but you may read them in the Sermon, which was printed by order of the House of Commons.

"As soon as this printed Sermon came abroad, the Papists were enraged against me; and one nameless Gentleman wrote a Pamphlet

to challenge me to make good my Charge : And others sent me Letters with their Names . . . but never told me where they dwelt. . . . To gratifie these Gentlemen, I began to write a fuller Proof of what I there affirmed ; but I was advised not to publish it, considering the Power and Malice of the Papists, and how greatly (though they called for it) they would be enraged by it, and in likelihood quickly work my Ruine. . . .

“ But the other Words about my Agreement with Bishop Usher . . . put me to most Trouble. For presently many moderate Episcopal Divines came to me to know what those Terms of our Agreement were . . .

44. *Right rejoicing*. L. 1660. 4to. 51. Sermon preached at St. Paul's before the Lord Mayor, 10 May, 1660.

*Reliq.*, I., 120, 218. “ Their Day of Rejoicing for General Monk's Success to bring in the King.”

“ I so endeavoured to shew the Value of that Mercy, as to shew also how Sin and Mens Abuse might turn it into matter of Calamity, and what should be right Bounds and Qualifications of that Joy. The Moderate were pleased with it ; the Fanaticks were offended with me for keeping such a Thanksgiving ; the Diocesane Party thought I did suppress their Joy : The Words may be seen in the Sermon ordered to be printed.”

45. *The life of faith*. L. 1660. 4to. 70. Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, 22 July, 1660.

*Reliq.*, I. 120. “ Being all that ever I was called to preach before him, when I had been sworn his Chaplain in Ordinary.”

Preface. “ Though it was but the Sermon as Preached, that I was required to Print, yet for the more common use, I took the boldness to enlarge it, and relax the stile . . . From page 6 to page 47 it is that I have exercised this liberty ; there being only the Heads (or most of them) delivered in speech, in a more contracted stile. But to page 6, and from page 46. to the end, it is Printed as it was delivered ; saving the Addition of the second and third Considerations, page 55, 56. which time allowed me not to utter.”

- Another edition greatly enlarged. L. 1670. 4to. 607. Dedicated to Richard and Lady Laetitia Hampden, 4 Feb., 1669-70.

Dedication. “ The Bookseller desiring me to give him some additions to it, I thought meet first to make up the exciting part in the same style, and then to add a Directory for the practice of the judicious Believers.” (See also *Reliq.*, III, 61.)

46. *The successive visibility of the church*. L. 1660. 8vo. 392. Finished 1 Sept., 1660 (p. 392).

*Reliq.*, I. 119. “ About the same time, one that called himself W. Johnson, (but I hear his Name is Mr. Terret) a Papist, engaged me in a Controversie, about the perpetual visibility of the Church. . . . I inserted a Letter of one Thomas Smyth a Papist, with my Answer to it,

which it seemeth occasioned his recovery from them, as is manifest in a Letter of Mr. Thomas Stanley his Kinsman (a sober godly man in Breadstreet) which I by his own consent subjoyned. To this Book Mr. Johnson hath at last replied; and I have since return'd an Answer to him." (See below, No. 85.)

47. *The vain religion of the formal hypocrite.* L. 1660. 12mo. 340. Preface, 15 Nov., 1660.

*Reliq., I.* 120. "Preached at Westminster-Abby; with a Sermon annexed of the *Prosperity of Fools*. This being preached at Covent-Garden was unjustly accused, and published by way of Vindication, with the former."

*Reliq., I.* 301, 2. "Being removed from my ancient Flock in Worcestershire, (1660) and yet being uncertain whether I might return to them or not, I refused to take any other Charge, but preached up and down London (for nothing) according as I was invited. When I had done thus above a year, I thought a fixed place was better, and so I joyned with Dr. Bates at St. Dunstan's in the West in Fleet-street, and preached once a week, for which the People allowed me some Maintenance. Before this time I scarce ever preached a Sermon in the City, but I had news from Westminster that I had preached seditiously, or against the Government, when I had neither a thought nor a word of any such tendency. Sometimes I preached purposely against Faction, Schism, Sedition and Rebellion, and those Sermons also were reported to be Factious and Seditious. Some sermons at Covent Garden were so much accused, that I was fain to print them, (the Book is called *The Formal Hypocrite detected, &c*) But when the Sermons were printed, I had not a word more against them. . . . While I was here (St. Dunstan's) also the daily Clamours of Accusers even wearied me: No one ever questioned me; nor instanced in any culpable words, but in general all was against the Church and Government: Upon which (and the request of the Countess of Balcarres, one of my Hearers, a Person of exemplary worth) I was fain to publish many of my Sermons *verbatim*, on 2 Cor. 13. 5. in a Book called (*The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance. . .*): And when the Book was printed (without alteration) then I heard no more of any Fault." (See No. 50.)

48. *A petition for peace: with the reformation of the liturgy.* L. 1661. 4to. 95. Anonymous. Reply by Roger L'Estrange.

*Reliq., I.* 121. "After our Dispute at the Savoy, somebody printed our Papers (most of them) given in to them in that Treaty; of which the Petition for Peace, the Reformed Liturgy (except the Prayer for the King which Dr. W. (allis) wrote), the large Reply to their Answer of our Exceptions, and the two last Addresses were my writing: But in the first Proposals, and the Exceptions against the Liturgy, I had less to do than some others."

49. *Now or never.* L. 1662. 12mo. 334. Two other editions 1662 (all in Bodleian). Other editions 1671. 1672 (Edinburgh), 1689.

50. *The mischiefs of self-ignorance, and the benefits of self-acquaintance.* L. 1662. 8vo. 504. Sermons preached at St. Dunstan's West. Dedicated to Anne, Countess of Balcarres. Preface addressed to the people of Kidderminster relating to the reason of his not being allowed by the Bishop of Worcester to preach at Kidderminster, and also dealing with the Savoy conference. Bp. Morley replied with *The bishop of Worcester's letter to a friend.*

*Reliq., I.* 120. "Published partly to vindicate it from many false Accusations, and partly at the desire of the Countess of Balcarres to whom it was directed. It was fitted to the Disease of this furious Age, in which each man is ready to devour others, because they do not know themselves." (See No. 47.)

*Reliq., I.* 377. "My affection to my People of Kidderminster caused me, by a short Epistle to direct it to them, and because I could never after tell them publickly (being Silenced) I told them here the occasion of my removal from them, and my silencing; for brevity summing up the principal things in my Charge. And because I said *This was the Cause* the Bishop took advantage as if I had said, *This was the whole Cause* when the Conference between him and me was half an hour long, and not fit to be wholly inserted in a short Epistle, where I intended nothing but the sum. But the Bishop took occasion hereupon to gather up all that ever he could say to make me odious, and especially out of my *Holy Commonwealth*, and our Conference at the Savoy; where he gathered up a scrap of an Assertion which he did not duly understand, and made it little less than Heresie; and this he published in a Book called *A Letter*; which I truly profess, is the fullest of palpable Untruths in Matter of Fact, that ever I saw Paper, to my remembrance in all my Life. . . ."

Baxter's Preface and the Bishop's *Letter* (1662) were reprinted with Animadversions by D. E. (Ed. Bagshaw) and entitled *Richard Baxter, his account to his dearly beloved the inhabitants of Kidderminster of the causes of his being forbidden by the Bishop of Worcester to preach within his Diocess.* . . . Grosart (XLIX) wrongly includes this among Baxter's works.

*Reliq., I.* 378. "Mr. Edward Bagshaw . . . without my knowledge wrote a Book in Answer to the Bishops: I could have wisht he had let it alone: For the Man hath no great disputing Faculty, but only a florid Epistolary Stile, and was wholly a Stranger to me, and to the Matters of Fact, and therefore could say nothing to them: But only being of a Bold and Roman Spirit, he thought that no Suffering should deter a Man from the smallest Duty, or cause him to silence any useful Truth.

51. *A saint or a brute.* L. 1662. 4to. 384. Preface addressed to inhabitants of Kidderminster, 7 June 1662.

*Reliq., I.* 120. "A Treatise on Luke 10. 42. One thing is needful . . . shewing the Necessity, Utility, Safety, Honour and Pleasure of a Holy Life, and evincing the Truth of our Religion against Atheists and Infidels and Prophane ones."

52. *The last work of a believer.* 1662.

A sermon partly preached at St. Mary Magdalen's, Milk Street, London, at the funeral of Mary Hanmer, Baxter's mother-in-law. The preface of the reprint of 1682 is dated 31 Jan., 1661/2, so that presumably the sermon was first published in 1662, though no copy of that issue is known to be extant. An edition in twelves is advertised in a list at the end of *The cure of church divisions* (1670). Second issue, L. 1682. 8vo. 79, "at the desire of her Daughter, before her death, reprinted" (Title-page).

53. *Fair-warning ; or, XXV. reasons against toleration and indulgence of popery.* L. 1663. 4to. 39. (Cambridge University Library).

54. *The divine life.* L. 1664. 4to. 379. Dedicated to Ann, Countess of Balcarres, 24 Dec., 1663.

*Reliq., I.* 120. "Three parts ; The first is of the Right Knowledge of God, for the imprinting of his Image on the Soul, by the knowledge of his Attributes, &c. The second is, Of walking with God. The third is, Of improving Solitude to converse with God, when we are forsaken by all Friends, or separated from them.

"The Occasion of the publishing of this Treatise was this ; The Countess of Balcarres being going into Scotland, after her abode in England, being deeply sensible of the loss of the Company of those Friends which she left behind her, desired me to preach the last Sermon which she was to hear from me on these words of Christ, John 16. 32. *Behold the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone ; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.* At her request I preached on this Text ; and being afterward desired by her to give it her in Writing, and the Publication being her design, I prefixed the two other Treatises to make it more considerable, and published them together. The Treatise is upon the most Excellent Subject, but not elaborate at all ; being but Popular Sermons preached in the midst of diverting Businesses, Accusations, and malicious Clamours.

"When I offered it to the Press, I was fain to leave out the quantity of one Sermon in the end of the second Treatise *That God took Henoch* : wherein I shewed what a mercy it is to one that hath walked with God, to be taken to him from this World ; because it is a dark, a wicked, a malicious, and implacable, a treacherous deceitful World, &c. All which the Bishop's Chaplain must have expunged, because men would think it was all spoken of them : And so the World hath got a protection against the force of our Baptismal Vow."

55. *Short instructions for the sick.* L. 1665. Fol. 1 sheet. Re-issued 1673. No copy of first issue found.

*Reliq., I.* 121. "When the grievous Plague began at London, I printed a half-sheet (to stick on a Wall) for the use of the Ignorant and Ungodly who were sick, or in danger of the Sickness : (for the Godly I thought had less need, and would read those larger Books, which are plentifully among us). And I the rather did it, because

many well-minded People that are about the Sick, that are ignorant and unprepared, and know not what to say to them, may not only read so short a Paper to them, but see there in what method such Persons are to be dealt with in such a Case of Extremity, that they may themselves enlarge as they see Cause."

56. *Two sheets for poor families. The first: instructions to the ungodly for their conversion.* L. 1665. 8vo. 14. Finished 6 May, 1665. *The second sheet for poor families. Instructions for a holy life.* L. 1665. 8vo. 14. Finished, 10 May, 1665.

*Reliq.*, I. 122. "At that time one Mr. Nathaniel Lane wrote to me to intreat me to write one sheet or two for the use of poor Families, who will not buy or read any bigger Books. Though I knew that brevity would unavoidably cause me to leave out much necessary matter, or else to write in a Stile so concise and close as will be little moving to any but close judicious Readers, yet I yielded to his perswasions, and thought it might be better than nothing, and might be read by many that would read no larger. . . . These three last Sheets were printed by the favour of the Archbishop's Chaplain, when the Bishop of London's Chaplain had put me out of hope of printing any more."

57. *The reasons of the Christian religion.* L. 1667. 4to. 604. Preface, 31 Oct., 1666.

Preface. "The true Reasons of this work . . . I Quod cogitamus, loquimur: That which is most deepest in my thoughts, is aptest to break forth to others. Man is a communicative Creature. Though it be to my shame, I must confesse, that necessity, through perplexed thoughts, hath made this Subject much of my Meditations. It is the Subject which I have found most necessary and most usefull to my self."

*Reliq.*, III. 61. "Mr. Yates of Hambden, Minister, sending me the Copy of a Popish Letter, as spread about Oxford, under the Mask of one doubting of Christianity, and calling the Scholars to a Trial of their Faith, in Principles, did by the Juggling Fraud, and the slightness of it, provoke me to write my book called, *The Reasons of the Christian Religion*. And the Philosophy of Gassendus, and many more besides the Hobbians, now prevailing, and inclining men to Sadducism, induced me to write the Appendix to it, about the Immortality of the Soul."

58. *Directions for weak distempered christians to grow up to a confirmed state of grace.* L. 1669. 8vo. 158 + 183. Two parts (1) Preface 1665. Dedicated to church at Kidderminster, 31 Oct., 1668. (2) Dedicated to Henry Ashurst, "from my Lodging in New-Prison," 14 June 1669.

*Defence of Love*, p. 42. "I published some old notes written eleven or twelve years ago called *Directions for weak Christians*."

*Reliq.*, III. 61. "The great Weaknesses, and Passions, and Injudiciousness of many Religious Persons, and the ill effects; and especi-

ally perceiving that the Temptations of the Times, yea the very Reproofs of the Conformists, did but increase them among the separating party, caused me to offer a book to be Licensed, called, *Directions to weak Christians* . . . with a second part, being *Sixty Characters of a Sound Christian*, with as many of the *Weak Christian* and the *Hypocrite*; Which I the rather writ to imprint on men's minds a right apprehension of Christianity, and to be as a Confession of our Judgment in this malignant Age, when some Conformists would make the World believe, that it is some menstruous thing composed of Folly and Sedition, which the Nonconformists mean by a Christian and a Godly Man. This Book came forth when I was in Prison, being long refused by Mr. Grigg." (For account of this refusal see *Reliq.*, I. 123.)

Abundance of Women first, and Men next growing at London, into separating Principles; Some thinking that it was sin to hear a Conformist; and more, That it is a sin to pray according to the Common Prayer with them; and yet more, That it is a sin to Communicate with them in the Sacrament: And the Conformists abominating their House-Meetings as Schismatical; and their Distance and Passions daily increasing, even among many, to earnest desires of each other's Ruine, I thought it my Duty to add another part to my book of *Directions to weak Christians*, being Directions what course they must take to avoid being Dividers, or troublers of the Churches: The rather because I knew what the Papists and Infidels would gain by our Divisions, and of how great necessity it is against them both, that the honest moderate part of the Conformists, and the Nonconformists, be reconciled, or at least grow not into mortal Enmity against each other. This Book was offered to Mr. Sam. Parker, the Archbishop's Chaplain to be Licensed, but he refused it; and so I purposed to cast it by: But near two years after, Mr. Grove, the Bishop of London's Chaplain (without whom I could have had nothing of mine Licensed, I think) did License it, and it was published."

Preface (See also *Reliq.*, I. 303). "That you may neither misunderstand this Book nor me, I owe you this pre-advertisement. That it was Preached in a Lecture at Kederminster about seven or eight years ago (1658) . . . the special reasons for my publishing them now, are these that follow . . . (4) But that which since urged me to this publication was, that the last Sermon which I preached publicly, was at Black-Fryars, on this Text, Col. 2. 6, 7. and presently after, there came forth a Book called Farewell-Sermons, among which this of mine was one. Who did it, or to what end I know not, nor doth it concern me to enquire. But I took it as an injury, both as it was done without my knowledge and against my will, and to the offence of my Superiors; and because it was taken by the Notary so imperfectly, that much of it was non-sence: Especially when some Forreigners that lived in Poland, Hungary, and Helvetia, were earnest to buy this with the rest of my Writings, I perceived how far the injury was like to go, both against me and many others of my Brethren. Therefore finding since, among the relicts of my scattered Papers, this imperfect piece which I had before written on that Text, I was desirous to publish it, as for the benefit of weak Christians, so to right my self, and to cashier that Farewell Sermon."

59. *The cure of church-divisions.* 3rd. ed. L. 1670. 8vo. 430. Dated 14 April 1668 (p. 430.)

“The book it self was written near two years ago; put this Preface, Feb. 2, 1669.”

*Reliq., III.* 70 ff. “This year 1670 my forementioned *Cure of Church Divisions* came out . . . which occasioned a storm of Obloquy among almost all the separating Party of Professors, and filled the City and Country with matters of Discourse: which fell out to be as followeth. I had long made use of two Booksellers, Mr. Tyton, and Mr. Simmons, the former, lived in London and the later in Kiderminster: But the latter removing to London, they envyed each other, in a meer desire of gain. . . . Mr. Tyton first refused an equal Co-partnership with the other: Whereupon it fell to the others share to Print my *Life of Faith*, and *Cure of Church Divisions*, after my *Directions to Weak Christians*, together: Which occasioned Mr. Tyton to tell several that came to his Shop, that the Book, as he heard, was against private Meetings, at least, at the time of Publick, and made those Schismaticks that used them. . . . Mr. Tyton being a Member of an Independent Church, this sort of People the easilier believed this; and so it was carried among them from one to one, first that I wrote against private Meetings, and then that I accused them all of Schism, and then that I wrote for Conformity, and lastly, that I conformed; so that before a Line of my Book was known, this was grown the common Fame of the City, and thence of all the Land, and sent as certain into Scotland and Ireland: yea, they named the Text that I preached my Recantation Sermon on before the King, as stirring him up to Cruelty against the Nonconformists. . . .

When (it) came out, the sober Party of Ministers were reconciled to it; . . . . But some of the London Ministers, who had kept up Publick Assemblies, thought it should have been less sharp; and some thought because they were under the Bishop's Severities, that it was unseasonable . . . . But upon fore-sight of the tenderness of Professors, I had before given my Book to the perusal of Mr. John Corbet, my Neighbour, (accounted one of the most Calm, as well as Judicious Nonconformists) and had altered every Word that he wished to be altered: And the same I had done by my very worthy Faithful Friend, Mr. Richard Fairclough, who Perused it in the Press, and I altered almost all that he wished to be altered, to take off any Words that seemed to be too sharp. . . .

When the Book came out, the Separating Party, who had received before an odious Character of it, did part of them read and interpret it by the Spectacles and Commentary of their Passions and fore Conceits; and most of them would not read it all; but took all that they heard for granted: The hottest that was against it was Mr. Ed. Bagshaw . . . . He wrote against me a Pamphlet so full of Untruths and Spleen, and so little pertinent to the Cause, as that I never met with a Man that called for an Answer to it: But yet the ill Principles of it made me think, that it needed an Answer, which I wrote. . . .

The next to Mr. Bagshaw . . . who behind my Back did most revile my Book, was Dr. Owen; whether out of Design or Judgement, I cannot tell; but ordinarily he spake very bitterly of it; but never wrote to me a Word against it.”

60. *A defence of the principles of love.* L. 1671. 8vo. 104 + 183. Written in defence of No. 59.

(To be continued.)

## Two Letters of Edmund Calamy.

Readers may be interested in these letters from Edmund Calamy, which speak for themselves. The originals are in beautifully clear handwriting.

A. J. GRIEVE.

To/the Reverend/Mr George Benson :/At Mr. Payne's in/ Abingdon/  
Berkshire.

DEAR MR. BENSON,

I'm sorry for y<sup>e</sup> Loss of y<sup>r</sup> Father : I hope you have one above. You have reason to be thankful y<sup>t</sup> you enjoy'd your earthly Parent so long, til you were got through your Education ; & y<sup>t</sup> a kind Providence has taken care of you since.—I'm sorry after you have seen so much of me, you should have any apprehension y<sup>t</sup> your differing in your sentiments in any thing from me, should abate my respect for you. I gave you my free tho'ts y<sup>e</sup> work was too much for you. You upon consideration, & y<sup>e</sup> people's persuasion, was of another opinion. I shall be glad to prove mistaken ; & y<sup>t</sup> you find your health still improves, & y<sup>t</sup> you have time to lay in as you lay out, & still visit, & improve in y<sup>e</sup> Affections of y<sup>e</sup> people. I wish them & you most heartily well. I intend ere long to send you some Books, & will add some sermons of my own &c.—As to Your Ordination, I think it best to have it at Abingdon ; nor would I advise it to be too long deferr'd. Living without y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament, and using others to administer it, will both of 'em be inconvenient. And yet its sad travelling now. You had best consult Your Friends about y<sup>e</sup> persons y<sup>t</sup> shall assist at it. I beleive you must drop your Friend, Dr. Rigby & Mr. Dodson, for fear of offending some of them : missing them, y<sup>e</sup> Persons out of your parts y<sup>t</sup> to me appear most proper, will be—Mr. Mather of Witney, Mr. Roby of Oxon, Mr. Roscoe of Wantage, Mr. Wallace, and y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman at Wallingford, whose name I have forgot. Twill be your best way to talk with your people about them, & get your Confession ready, & if you'll let me know your tho'ts & theirs,—as to y<sup>e</sup> time, & y<sup>e</sup> part you should allot to one & another, I'll give you my Apprehensions.—Mr. Millar is at last chosen at Andover, & I beleive to gratify him, I must go down & pray over his head at his Ordination : I should not be averse to do y<sup>e</sup> same Office for you, if it falls out conveniently : for y<sup>e</sup> Crossing would be no great trouble in y<sup>e</sup> month of March, if it proves but dry. I have propos'd to him

## Two Letters of Edmund Calamy

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by this very Post for him to be Ordain'd on Wendsday March 20. If he agrees to it with his people, I could cross to you at Abingdon, on Friday March 22, & give you a Sermon y<sup>e</sup> Lords Day following, & assist at your Ordination on March 26, wch is Tuesday ; & so return homeward on Wendsday, March 27. But this is as yet a random Proposal. Give me your free th'ots of it. Perhaps it would not be amiss if you by Letter invited Mr. Tong, and desir'd him to give you a Sermon upon y<sup>e</sup> Occasion. It might strengthen Your interest amongst y<sup>e</sup> people. But then you must fix y<sup>e</sup> day of Your Ordination on y<sup>e</sup> Wendsday, rather than on y<sup>e</sup> Tuesday, y<sup>t</sup> so he may have time to reach you, which I doubt he cant well do in a day. Or Perhaps upon farther tho'ts, it may be better to deferr both y<sup>e</sup> Ordinations a week longer, in hope of better weather. But y<sup>e</sup> Exchange of a few Letters will help to clear matters up. I pray God direct you to what may be for y<sup>e</sup> best. You may depend upon it, that whatever method you take, you will have y<sup>e</sup> best wishes of

Y<sup>r</sup> Sincere Friend & Servant,

Jan. 31.  
172 $\frac{2}{3}$

E. Calamy.

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To/ the Revd./ Mr George Benson,/ at Abingdon.

SIR.

I have had some free talk with Hobbes, whom you recommended to me, & am afraid your kind Design for him will hardly take effect. Our Fund takes no notice of Students but twice a year ; in y<sup>e</sup> Months of November & March. When we shall be upon that head next month there are but two Vacancys. Young Moore I suppose will have one ; it being among our stated Rules, to give such as are Sons of Ministers y<sup>e</sup> preference of others. As to y<sup>e</sup> other, there are various Candidates, & several much more likely to carry it. As to Hobbes, tho' he seems very serious, (which is an excellent Qualification) yet he is very short for his Age, not only in Greek, but even in Latin. We are grown so careful upon that head, that we now admit none but what are beyond his pitch considerably. We are indeed at present very strict as to y<sup>e</sup> Persons we take upon y<sup>e</sup> Fund for Students. Repeated complaints as to y<sup>e</sup> deficiency of some, y<sup>e</sup> irregularitys of others, and y<sup>e</sup> Conformity of others, after they have with our Assistance been carry'd through their Education, (together with several other things) have contributed hereunto. And as things stand, I could difficultly get him upon y<sup>e</sup> Fund next year. But supposing that done, I cant see any great service it could be of. For I understand by y<sup>e</sup> Youth himself that his Father is

## Two Letters of Edmund Calamy

past his work ; & tho' he has several Children has but about 30*l* per An. to live upon. Now I can't see how he can propose to go thro' his Education, with any little help added to what his Father can spare. His Tutorage, Board, Cloaths, Books, & other expenses, cant amount to much less than 35*l* per An. So that to encourage him to think of a Students Life, to me appears y<sup>e</sup> running him into snares & temptations. He'll hardly be able to get through. He must come into y<sup>e</sup> world unfledg'd ; & be cramp'd all his days. I think he had much better think of some Trade. I have mention'd such things as these to y' Lad, & he seems discourag'd at them. But after all, If you do determine him for a Student, I'll do what I can to serve him, when you have drawn a Scheme, & let me know where you design he should be educated ; & what can with certainty be depended upon for his Support. I am too much incumbred, (as he himself will let you know) to be able at present to enlarge. I rejoice in your usefulness : But should be glad if as Old members drop off, you had suitable persons to supply their rooms. My service to all Friends, particularly Mr. Stephens, & your present Landlord & Landlady. I hear your honest Old Landlord is got safe to Heaven. May you help many thither.—To hear from you now & then, will be very agreeable to,

Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Friend & Brother,  
& Humble Servant.

E. Calamy.

October 5.  
1726.

## Monumental Brasses, Communion Plate, Church Bells, 1640-1660.

MONUMENTAL BRASSES. [This note is based on *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, by Mill Stephenson, B.A., F.S.A., London, 1926—a work so admirably arranged and indexed that precise references are unnecessary.]

ENGLAND is rich in monumental brasses; we have some four thousand. The rest of Europe has not one tenth part of that number. Of English brasses, a larger proportion than we could expect—between three and four hundred—belong to the period (1640-1660) when Nonconformity was in the ascendant. Not many of them are in what were then the great centres of population. The City of London has but one (All Hallows, Barking); how many perished in the Great Fire we do not know. Apparently there are none of our period in Austin Friars, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, or St. Giles, Cripplegate. One is in St. Margaret's, Westminster. In Bristol there are none. In Hull there are three; but in Norwich there are more than a dozen.

Of cathedrals, Carlisle has one [*"archididaskalos"* of Carlisle School, c. 1650]; Norwich, one [son of Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich (1642)]; Southwark, one.

The great majority are in remote rural parishes. The social status of the persons commemorated is not always indicated. A large proportion (over 200 or nearly two thirds of the total number) are designated as "gent.," "Esq.," or as of some higher rank. Suffolk, which may be chosen as a typical county, has memorial brasses in the following fifteen places, only two of which, Lowestoft (with two brasses) and Bury St. Edmunds, could be called towns:—

Hoxne (Esq.) ..	1640	Debenham (Knt.) ..	1650
Orford (thrice Mayor)	1640	Chattisham (?) ..	1651
Shadingfield (gent.)	1640	Lowestoft (?) ..	1651
Mendham (Esq.) ..	1641	Washbrook (minister) ..	1653
Syleham (gent.) ..	1641	Bury St. Edmunds	
Darsham (Esq.) ..	1641	(burgess) ..	1654
Edwardstone (?) ..	1642	Cratfield (gent.) ..	1654
Lowestoft (?) ..	1644	Fornham All Saints	
Halesworth (gent.) ..	1645	(gent.) ..	1656

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Not a few brasses are for ministers or members of their families. The following is a fairly complete list.

BEDS. *Cranfield*. Thomas Grubbe, 1652. "Here lyeth interred the body of Thomas Grubbe, a pious and a painefull preacher and pastor of y<sup>e</sup> word of God, 33 yeares in this parrish. He was aged fifty eight years and deceased the 31 of August, 1652

"The God of peace sent us this man of peace  
Who preached y<sup>e</sup> peace of God till his decease  
Blessings and virtues here do lye, example for posteritye.  
His charity did all the poor sypplye ;  
He lived beloved, and much bewayl'd did dye "

[Copied from *Ancient Memorial Brasses*, by Edward T. Beaumont, Oxford University Press, 1913, p. 173.]

BERKS. *Newbury*. Geo. Widley, M.A. minister of God's word, 1641, aged 75.

*Purley*. Wm., Son of Thos. Noble of Reresby, Leic., parson of Brooksby and vicar of Queniborough, Leic., 1644.

BUCKS. *Hambleton*. John Domelaw, S.T.D. rector for 9 years, 1640, aged 49.

*Denham*. Philip Edelin, 1656. "Here lyeth Mr. Philippe Edelin, A man of rare Indowments, singular Integrity, holy Conversation and a most prudent, solide and constant Preacher of Truth in the most difficult times wherein he lived, continuing unmoved in the principles he had first layd and dying a true Sonne of the Church of England."

[Copied from *Ancient Memorial Brasses*, by Edward T. Beaumont, as above, pp. 8 and 9.]

CAMBS. *Cambridge, St. Clement's*. Phoebe, dau. of Jas. Percevall of Cambridge, w. of Edw. Withnoll, pastor, 1658, aged 22.

CHESHIRE. Nil.

CORNWALL. Nil.

CUMBERLAND. Nil.

DERBY. *Darley*. Mary, w. of John Potts [rector], 1654.

DEVON. *Charles*. Geo. Kellie, M.A., rector, 1649, aged 77 and w. Ursula (died 1636) aged 50. With 6 Latin vv.

DORSET. *Long Burton*. Nathaniel Faircloughe, M.A., rector of Stalbridge, 1656. With 6 Engl. vv.

*Swanage*. Susan, w. of Brune Cockram, parson of Swanwich, 1641, aged 44.

DURHAM. *Barnard Castle*. Jonathan, eld. son of John

- Rogers, M.A., by his w. Grace, 1650 ; also John, their second son, 1652. With 4 Engl. vv.
- ESSEX. Nil.
- GLOUCS. Nil.
- HANTS. *Monk Sherborne*. Wm. Dobson, rector, 1653.  
*Winchester Coll.* John Harris, D.D., warden, 1658, aged 70.  
*Calbourne, I.W.* Dan Evance, rector, born in London in 1613, died at Calbourne, 1652.
- HEREFORD. *Eardisley*. [Geo. Coke] bp. of Hereford, 1646, aged 76.
- HERTS. Nil.
- HUNTS. *Thurning*. Susan, [w. of John] Welles [rector, 1658].  
 With 8 Lat. and 6 Eng. vv.
- KENT. *Maidstone*. Rich. Beeston, M.A., clerk, 1640, in gown, and w. Elizth., dau. of John Pawle, gent., with 4 sons and 3 daus., all kneeling, 1640.
- LANCS. Nil.
- LEICS. *Scalford*. Jas. Bardsey, B.D., son of Edm. Bardsey, D.D., by his w. Sara, 1651, aged 37.
- LINCS. Nil.
- MIDDLESEX. Nil.
- NORFOLK. *Bawburgh*. Philip Tenison, S.T.P., archdeacon of Norfolk, rector of Hetherset and Foulsham, King's Scholar of Trin. Coll., Camb., 1660, aged 48.  
*Denton*. Anne, dau. of Edw. Foster of Thorne, Yorks, w. of Wm. Goode, minister of Denton, 1645.  
*Norwich Cathedral*. Edw., youngest son of Joseph Hall [bp. of Norwich], 1642, aged 23.
- NORTHANTS. *Chipping Warden*. Rich. Stanwix, B.D., rector, 1656. With 10 Engl. vv.  
*Clipston*. Elizth. . . . w. of Wm. Brearley "presbiter Anglicanus" rector, 1659, aged about 30.  
*Harleston*. Grace, dau. of Valentine Morley, rector, w. of Wm. Shortgrave, rector, 1656, aged 32.  
*Raunds*. Wm. Holmes, S.T.B., vicar, 1653.  
*Southwick*. "The revd. learned and pious Mr. Anthony Cade, buried 6 July, 1641." [Engr. c. 1682.]
- NORTHUMBERLAND. Nil.
- NOTTS. Nil.
- OXFORD. *Harpsden*. Hen. Owen, rector, 1649, aged 63.
- RUTLAND. Nil.
- SALOP. *Ditton Priors*. Thos. Jenks, pastor, 1648.
- SOMERSET. *North Petherton*. Kath., w. of John Morley, vicar, 1652.

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- STAFFS. *Tettenhall*. Thos. Beiston, curate, 1652, "oolde and full of dayes."
- SUFFOLK. *Washbrook*. Joseph Clerke minister for 34 years, 1653, aged 69.
- SURREY. *Ashstead*. Dorothy, w. of Robert Quinnell, rector, 1640, aged 54.  
*Croydon*. Sam. Otes, M.A., Vicar, 1645.  
*Kingston*. Children of Edm. Staunton, 'D.D., late minister of Kingston, now president of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford, 1653.  
*Willey*. Sara, w. of John Holney, rector, 1641, aged 37.  
 With 4 Lat. and 4 Engl. vv.
- SUSSEX. *Eastbourne*. Jas. Graves, M.A., *priest*, 1647, aged 43.  
*Ringmer*. John Sadler, pastor, 1640.
- WARWICK. *Solihull*. Robt. Ladbroke, pastor, 1655, aged 57.
- WESTMORELAND. Nil.
- WILTS. *Everley*. Susan, w. of Christ. Tesdale, rector, 1650.  
 With 8 Eng. vv.  
*Lydiard Tregoz*. Wm. Blackburne, rector, 1644.
- WORCS. *Bredon*. John Prideux (*sic*), bp. of Worcs., died 1650, aged 72.  
*Ripple*. Sarah, dau. of bp. Prideaux, w. of Wm. Hodges, rector, 1652, aged 33.  
*Spetchley*. Wm. Smyth, a native of Taunton, D.D., vice-chancellor of Oxford, rector of Tredington, prebendary of Worcester, born 1582, died 1658.
- YORKS. *Bentham* (W.R.). Christ. Fetherstone, M.A., rector, 1653. With 4 Lat. and 6 Engl. vv.  
*Hull*. *Holy Trinity*. Dorothy, w. of John Shaw, "preacher of the Gospel in this church" 1657.  
*Patrington* (E.R.). Emot, w. of John Shaw, of Sickhouse in Bradfield, mother of John Shaw, preacher of the Gospel at Kingston-upon-Hull.

The following inscriptions on brasses of the seventeenth century are of interest :

- Booton* (Norfolk). Edw. Fentone "preacher of the word in Boton for 46 years," 1610.
- Lydd*, Kent. John, 4th Son of Thos. Godfrey, gent. "student in the schoole of protestants neere Roane (Rouen) and at Hart's Hall, Oxford, 1612, aged 18."
- Frettenham*, Norfolk. Rich. Woodes, M.A., "a paynfull and profitable preacher for 48 years," 1620.

- Bigby, Lincs.* Edw. Nayler "a faithful and painefull minister of God's word." Rector 16 years. 1632.
- Notts. Willoughby-on-the-Wolds.* Col. Michael Stanhope "slayne in Willoughby Feild 1648."
- Cambs. Boxworth.* John Killingworth, pastor, 1667, aged 69.
- Lancs. Middleton.* Ralph Assheton, 1650, aged 45, M.P. for Lancs & commander of the Parliamentary forces in the county.
- Hunts. Little Gidding.* (cf. "John Inglesant.") Mary, eld. dau. of Solomon and Judeth Mapletoft, grandchild to John & Susanna Collet, 1656. John Farrar, Esq. lord of the manor, 1657. Susanna only dau. of Nich. Farrar of London, mcht., sister to John Farrar, Esq., w. of John Collet, Esq., 1657, aged 76, had 8 sons and 8 daughters.

### COMMUNION PLATE (based on *Victoria County Histories.*)

Communion plate belonging to the period 1640-1660 is to be found in the churches of the following parishes :

- Bedfordshire.* Westoning (1655?), Tempsford (1660).
- Hampshire.* Branshott (1641), Chawton (1641), Otterbourne (1641), Exton (1648), Hamble (1651), Chilbolton (1659).
- Hertfordshire.* Watford (1642), Wheathampstead (1648), Little Gaddesden (1650), Hemel Hempstead (1651), Great Ayot (1659).

Other counties, if tested, might give similar results.

### CHURCH BELLS (based on Ellacombe's, North's, and Raven's works, and *V.C.H.*)

Of the church bells cast during the period 1640-1660, many must have been recast subsequently. But the survivals are numerous. Raven gives over thirty for Suffolk; North more than a dozen for Herts.; while the *Victoria County Histories* know of more than a score (one of them for Elstow, dated 1655) for Beds. and some sixteen for Cambs. A list compiled from Ellacombe on the bells of certain Western Counties would be very long. The following parishes whose names begin with one or another of the first three letters of the alphabet will, perhaps, be accepted as samples :—

- Devon.* Axminster (1647), Bickleigh (1656), Burlescombe (1642), Clyst Honiton (1650). [A bell was recast for Exeter Cathedral in 1658.]

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*Gloucs.* Abbenthall (1654), Almondbury (1652), Ampney Crucis (1660), Bourton-on-the-water (1650), Brimpsfield (1657), Bristol, St. John's (3 bells, 1649), Bristol, Temple (2 bells, 1653), Charlton Kings (1647), Coln (1656).  
*Somerset.* Aller (1640), Ashcott (1650), Bishop's Hull (1660), Bradford (1646), Brewham, South (1654), Bridgwater (1650), Chilton (1656), Chiselborough (1640), Clatworthy (1648).

It was in this period that the famous bell-founder, "Colchester Graye" flourished.

Some good bells must have been cast. Ellacombe goes out of his way to pay a (from him) rare compliment to a bell at Farway, Devon (1656). "A very fine bell."

So many of the bells in the Western Counties belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that not a few of the seventeenth century must have ceased to be.

Some items from churchwarden's accounts are interesting, e.g. :

*St. Martin's, Leics.*, 1651. Paid for casting the third bell & charges in court 11 11 10.

*Loughborough*, 1645. payd to ye Ringers when ye King's Ma<sup>ty</sup> came by 0 2 6.

1646. Spent on ye Ringers whe Sir Thomas ffarefax passed by 0 1 0.

1657. Spent on ye Ringers when the Lord Protector [Richard Cr.] was proclaimed 0 4 6.

*Culworth* (Northants.), 1658. Casting the Bell 11 7 0.  
 Hanging the Bell 1 4 0. Carpenter 17 6.

*Re Culworth, North* remarks: "Charges for sets of six bell ropes occur at intervals for 300 years. The ropes generally cost about 15s. or 16s. the set. During the Commonwealth the charge was a little more, 18s. the set; and it is somewhat curious to note that the purchases were then as frequently made as during any other period, the inference being that the bells were then as much used as usual."

*Lutherworth*, 1645. for Bell-ropes & Ringings at Gunpowder Trea 8 0.

1647. Spent in Beere when the bell weare taken down and hange up againe 0 1 6.

*Kirton in Lindsey*, Lincs, 1658. to the Ringers on Saint Andrews Day 0 1 0.

*Stamford*. 1652-3. Given to ye Ringers for ringing on Nove 5th 0 1 4.

An account Book of Jesus Coll. Cambs. reads (1658-9):  
Paid . . . for new casting of the Chapell Bell 06 15 00.

On a bell at Welwyn and on another at Little Wymondley (Herts.) is engraved: "Prosperity to the Church of England and no Encouragement to Enthousiasm." In both cases the date of the legend is 1760.

As with memorial brasses, so also with other ecclesiastical metal work of the time; most of it is to be found in quiet country churches.

W. J. PAYLING WRIGET.

## The Savoy Confession.

**T**HE following pages are a reprint of the concluding portion of "A DECLARATION of the FAITH and ORDER Owned and practised in the CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES in ENGLAND; Agreed upon and consented unto By their ELDERS and MESSENGERS in their Meeting at the SAVOY, October 12, 1658."

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### OF THE INSTITUTION OF CHURCHES, AND THE ORDER APPOINTED IN THEM BY JESUS CHRIST.

By the appointment of the Father all Power for the Calling, Institution, Order, or Government of the Church, is invested in a Supreme and Sovereign manner in the Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head thereof.

II. In the execution of this Power wherewith he is so entrusted, the Lord Jesus called out of the World unto Communion with himself, those that are given unto him by his Father, that they may walk before him in all the ways of Obedience, which he prescribeth to them in his Word.

III. Those thus called (through the Ministry of the Word by his Spirit) he commandeth to walk together in particular Societies or Churches, for their mutual edification, and the due performance of that publique Worship, which he requireth of them in this world.

IV. To each of these Churches thus gathered, according unto his minde declared in his Word, he hath given all that Power and Authority, which is any way needfull for their carrying on that Order in Worship and Discipline, which he hath instituted for them to observe with Commands and Rules, for the due and right exerting and executing of that Power.

V. These particular Churches thus appointed by the Authority of Christ, and intrusted with power from him for the ends before expressed, are each of them as unto those ends, the seat of that Power which he is pleased to communicate to his Saints or Subjects in this world, so that as such they receive it immediately from himself.

VI. Besides these particular Churches, there is not instituted by Christ any Church more extensive or Catholique entrusted with power for the administration of his Ordinances, or the execution of any authority in his name.

VII. A particular Church gathered and compleated according to the minde of Christ, consists of Officers and Members : The Lord Christ having given to his called ones (united according to his appointment in Church-order) Liberty and Power to choose Persons fitted by the holy Ghost for that purpose, to be over them, and to minister to them in the Lord.

VIII. The Members of these Churches are Saints by Calling, visibly manifesting and evidencing (in and by their profession and walking) their obedience unto that Call of Christ, who being further known to each other by their confession of the Faith wrought in them by the power of God, declared by themselves or otherwise manifested, do willingly consent to walk together according to the appointment of Christ, giving up themselves to the Lord, and to one another by the will of God in professed subjection to the Ordinances of the Gospel.

IX. The Officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the Church so called, and gathered for the peculiar administration of Ordinances, and execution of Power or Duty which he intrusts them with, or calls them to, to be continued to the end of the world, are Pastors, Teachers, Elders, and Deacons.

X. Churches thus gathered and assembling for the Worship of God, are thereby visible and publique, and their Assemblies (in what place soever they are, according as they have liberty or opportunity) are therefore Church or Publique Assemblies.

XI. The way appointed by Christ for the calling of any person, fitted and gifted by the holy Ghost, unto the Office of Pastor, Teacher or Elder in a Church, is, that he be chosen thereunto by the common suffrage of the Church it self, and solemnly set apart by Fasting and Prayer, with Imposition of Hands of the Eldership of that Church, if there be any before constituted therein ; And of a Deacon, that he be chosen by the like suffrage, and set apart by Prayer, and the like Imposition of Hands.

XII. The Essence of this Call of a Pastor, Teacher or Elder unto Office, consists in the Election of the Church, together with his acceptance of it, and separation by *Fasting and Prayer* : And those who are so chosen, though not set apart by

Imposition of Hands, are rightly constituted Ministers of Jesus Christ, in whose Name and Authority they exercise the Ministry to them so committed. The Calling of Deacons consisteth in the like Election and acceptation, with separation *by Prayer*.

XIII. Although it be incumbent on the Pastors and Teachers of the Churches to be instant in Preaching the Word, by way of Office ; yet the work of Preaching the Word is not so peculiarly confined to them, but that others also gifted and fitted by the holy Ghost for it, and approved (being by lawful ways and means in the Providence of God called thereunto) may publicly, ordinarily and constantly perform it ; so that they give themselves up thereunto.

XIV. However, they who are engaged in the work of Publique Preaching, and enjoy the Publique Maintenance upon that account, are not thereby obliged to dispense the Seals to any other then such as (being Saints by Calling) and gathered according to the Order of the Gospel) they stand related to, as Pastors or Teachers ; yet ought they not to neglect others living within their Parochial Bounds, but besides their constant publique Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the Word, instructing them in, and pressing upon them (whether young or old) the great Doctrines of the Gospel, even personally and particularly, so far as their strength and time will admit.

XV. Ordination alone without the Election or precedent consent of the Church, by those who formerly have been Ordained by vertue of that Power they have received by their Ordination, doth not constitute any person a Church-Officer, or communicate Office-power unto him.

XVI. A Church furnished with Officers (according to the minde of Christ) hath full power to adminster all his Ordinances ; and where there is want of any one or more Officers required, that Officer, or those which are in the Church, may adminster all the Ordinances proper to their particular Duty and Offices ; but where there are no teaching Officers, none may adminster the Seals, nor can the Church authorize any so to do.

XVII. In the carrying on of Church-administrations, no person ought to be added to the Church, but by the consent of the Church itself ; that so love (without dissimulation) may be preserved between all the Members thereof.

XVIII. Whereas the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed and instituted as a means of Edification, that those who walk not according to the Rules and Laws appointed by him (in respect of Faith and Life, so that just offence doth arise to the Church thereby) be censured in his Name and Authority : Every Church hath Power in itself to exercise and execute all those Censures appointed by him in the way and Order prescribed in the Gospel.

XIX. The Censures so appointed by Christ, are Admonition and Excommunication : and whereas some offences are or may be known onely to some, it is appointed by Christ, that those to whom they are so known, do first admonish the offender in private : in publique offences where any sin, before all ; or in case of non-amendment upon private admonition, the offence being related to the Church, and the offender not manifesting his repentance, he is to be duely admonished in the Name of Christ by the whole Church, by the Ministry of the Elders of the Church ; and if this Censure prevail not for his repentance, then he is to be cast out by Excommunication with the consent of the Church.

XX. As all Believers are bound to joyn themselves to particular Churches, when and where they have opportunity so to do, so none are to be admitted unto the Priviledges of the Churches, who do not submit themselves to the Rule of Christ in the Censures for the Government of them.

XXI. This being the way prescribed by Christ in case of offence, no Church-members upon any offences taken by them, having performed their duty required of them in this matter, ought to disturb any Church-order, or absent themselves from the publique Assemblies, or the Administration of any Ordinances upon that pretence, but to wait upon Christ in the further proceeding of the Church.

XXII. The Power of Censures being seated by Christ in a particular Church, is to be exercised onely towards particular Members of each Church respectively as such ; and there is no power given by him unto any Synods or Ecclesiastical Assemblies to Excommunicate, or by their publique Edicts to threaten Excommunication, or other Church-censures against Churches, Magistrates, or their people upon any account, no man being obnoxious to that Censure, but upon his personal miscarriage, as a Member of a particular Church.

XXIII. Although the Church is a Society of men, assembling for the celebration of the Ordinances according to

## The Savoy Confession

the appointment of Christ, yet every Society assembling for that end or purpose, upon the account of cohabitation within any civil Precincts and Bounds, is not thereby constituted a Church, seeing there may be wanting among them, what is essentially required thereunto ; and therefore a Believer living with others in such a Precinct, may joyn himself with any Church for his edification.

XXIV. For the avoiding of Differences that may otherwise arise, for the greater Solemnity in the Celebration of the Ordinances of Christ, and the opening a way for the larger usefulness of the Gifts and Graces of the holy Ghost ; Saints living in one City or Town, or within such distances as that they may conveniently assemble for divine Worship, ought rather to joyn in one Church for their mutual strengthening and edification, then to set up many distinct Societies.

XXV. As all Churches and all the Members of them are bound to pray continually for the good and prosperity of all the Churches of Christ in all places, and upon all occasions to further it ; (Every one within the bounds of their Places and Callings, in the exercise of their Gifts and Graces) So the Churches themselves (when planted by the providence of God, so as they may have opportunity and advantage for it) ought to hold communion amongst themselves for their peace, increase of love, and mutual edification.

XXVI. In Cases of Difficulties or Differences, either in point of Doctrine or in Administrations, wherein either the Churches in general are concerned, or any one Church in their Peace, Union, and Edification, or any Member or Members of any Church are injured in, or by any proceeding in Censures, not agreeable to Truth and Order ; it is according to the minde of Christ, that many Churches holding communion together, do by their Messengers meet in a Synod or Council, to consider and give their advice in, or about that matter in difference, to be reported to all the Churches concerned ; Howbeit these Synods so assembled are not entrusted with any Church-Power, properly so called, or with any Jurisdiction over the Churches themselves, to exercise any Censures, either over any Churches or Persons, or to impose their determinations on the Churches or Officers.

XXVII. Besides these occasional Synods or Councils, there are not instituted by Christ any stated Synods in a fixed Combination of Churches, or their Officers in lesser or greater

Assemblies ; nor are there any Synods appointed by Christ in a way of Subordination to one another.

XXVIII. Persons that are joyned in Church-fellowship ought not lightly or without just cause to withdraw themselves from the communion of the Church whereunto they are so joyned : Nevertheless, where any person cannot continue in any Church without his sin, either for want of the Administration of any Ordinances instituted by Christ, or by his being deprived of his due Privileges, or compelled to anything in practice nor warranted by the Word, or in case of Persecution, or upon the account of conveniency of habitation ; he consulting with the Church, or the Officer or Officers thereof, may peaceably depart from the communion of the Church, where-with he hath so walked, to joyn himself with some other Church, where he may enjoy the Ordinances in the purity of the same, for his edification and consolation.

XXIX. Such reforming Churches as consist of Persons sound in the Faith and of Conversation becoming the Gospel, ought not to refuse the communion of each other, so far as may consist with their own Principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same Rules of Church-Order.

XXX. Churches gathered and walking according to the minde of Christ, judging other Churches (though less pure) to be true Churches, may receive unto occasional communion with them, such Members of those Churches as are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without offence.

FINIS.

## The Christian Witness.

**O**NE of the most remarkable figures in the history of Congregationalism is Dr. John Campbell. Here is his Preface to the first number of the *Christian Witness*, published by the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1844 as its first official periodical.

THIS Volume is the first of a series which will probably extend through many ages; and from this circumstance it derives an interest and an importance which could not otherwise belong to it. On this account, therefore, it becomes not only proper but necessary to record, and so preserve an outline of the Plan of the Work, as published preparatory to its appearance. That Document comprised nine Heads, of which the following are the special provisions.

I. THEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.—The paramount object of our Journal will be, by every means, to promote the work of God in the hearts of his children. With this view particular attention will be constantly paid to the subject of Gospel truth in its manifold and multiform doctrinal, experimental, and practical bearings. Each Number will contain a Short Discourse, or Essay, or Address to some particular class, in which especial regard will be had to the comfort and encouragement of Old Age, as also to the support and consolation of Christian suffering. In addition to these, there will be generally an Illustration of some difficult, important, or interesting portion of Scripture. Into the pages of the CHRISTIAN WITNESS, however, no profound and perplexing theological controversy, no scholastic and elaborate criticism, will be admitted.

II. BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARY.—The cultivation of this department will be a particular object of our regard. Grace reigning in life; grace triumphing in death! Properly conducted, nothing conduces more to interest, impress, and edify all classes of believers. Especially is this the case in regard to death. Never are the riches and the power of sovereign grace displayed with greater beauty than at the close of a life of faith, when the countenance of God shines on the face of his departing child, and heaven, with all its glories, opens to receive him to its rest and bliss!

III. ESSAYS, EXTRACTS, AND CORRESPONDENCE.—This department will bear a very comprehensive character. Christian Missions, Church Polity, Church History, Popery and Puseyism, Memoirs of particular Churches and Institutions, Striking Events, illustrative of Divine Providence, Extracts from works, new, rare, or remarkable, Anecdotes, Plans of Usefulness, Essays on Benefit and Friendly Societies,—these and kindred subjects will all, in turn, find a place in the CHRISTIAN WITNESS.

IV. CHURCH AND STATE.—The Separation of Church and State is the grand, the paramount question of our times. It involves the principal interests, both religious and political, of the British Empire; and unhappily it most affects those interests on which, for England and all nations, most depends,—public harmony and the diffusion of Education, the purity and spread, both at home and abroad, of true religion, the introduction of patriotic government, and the perfecting of a system of rational and just legislation. Language cannot express the importance of this separation! The human mind cannot even approximate the formation of a true estimate of the calamity and evil which flow from this most unscriptural and most baneful union! To fire the mind, we must illumine the judgment, and awaken the conscience. Line must be upon line, line upon line, precept upon precept, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little; and this will not be forgotten in the CHRISTIAN WITNESS.

V. ANALYTICAL REVIEWS AND SHORT CRITICISMS.—True Criticism is less allied to art than to instinct; it depends on a right perception of the just, the true, and the beautiful. As founded in truth and nature, its principles are, therefore, as immutable as their basis, and its operations are regulated by fixed and settled laws. The prevalent and popular system of reviewing by the worldly Press of this country, is, to a vast extent, anything but criticism; it is essaying; it is dissertation; it may be, and it frequently is, crudite, able, and eloquent, but it is not criticism; the matter, the manner, the merits of the works, which supply the thesis, are oftentimes entirely forgotten; not a sentence is penned that can guide the public judgment. The vice of the great secular Periodicals too frequently appears also even in the best of our religious journals. In the CHRISTIAN WITNESS, dissertation will give place to analysis. Of one class of books, the substance, the scope, and the aim, will be carefully set forth, and a judgment pronounced on their merits and claims. Of another class, only the subject and object will be stated, and the character critically described. By this process, notwithstanding its brevity, great things may still be achieved for literature, as much, indeed, as by reviews of greater length. All that is really JUDICIAL, IS, GENERALLY, CONTAINED IN A FEW SENTENCES.

VI. SABBATH AND BRITISH SCHOOLS.—These great modern Institutions claim the special regard of Periodical Writers. To meet their Home wants, therefore, and to support their interests in the Domestic circle, will be, with the CHRISTIAN WITNESS, a uniform effort of laborious anxiety. To meet the necessities of the teachers, it will talk with them in dialogue, and teach them by essay and dissertation, concerning books and studies, the preparation of school addresses and village discourses, and everything adapted to promote their endeavours at self-improvement, and preparation for usefulness in the church of God. To meet the wants of the scholars, it will present them with matter adapted to fix their attention, promote reflection, and excite a thirst for inquiry into the Word of Inspiration, the works of God, and useful learning. To this end, it will levy contributions on civil and natural history, natural and moral philosophy, oratory and poetry, voyages and travels, and on the whole circle of Art, Science, and Literature. Remarkable juvenile biography and obituary, and whatever may tend to promote conversion to God, will not be forgotten.

VII. RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC INTELLIGENCE.—Here, while preference will be given to that which is Congregational, so far as space will permit, nothing will be overlooked, in any section of the church of God, which serves to display the working of his hand, and tends to support the faith, and guide the prayers of his people.

VIII. POETRY.—The choicest productions of our Christian poets will be summoned to aid in refining the taste, regaling the fancy, and purifying the heart of our readers.

IX. BRITISH MISSIONS.—As Missionary Institutions are the glory of the churches, so every Denominational Periodical ought to endeavour, to the utmost of its power, to further their interests. With a view to this, a digest of the operations of these Missions will form a part of every Number.

Such is an outline of the CHRISTIAN WITNESS; and while it is obvious, that such a variety of topics cannot always be *all* introduced in each successive Number, such is the channel in which our matter will generally flow, and, taking the months of the year together, they will be found each to have received a proportionate share of attention.

This plan is so comprehensive that, without violating the great principle on which the work itself is founded, it can hardly admit of expansion. It comprises the whole empire of morals and religion, and beyond that it was never designed to extend the province of the CHRISTIAN WITNESS. By actual experiment it has been fully proved to be sufficient for every purpose contemplated by its authors, and to require no material modification. Properly worked out, it will be found in its operations to touch Christian Society at all points, from the heart to the extremities. The general acceptance of the Work has, to some extent, arisen from its large outline and mixed character; and to alter it, in either of these respects, or to give absorbing prominence to any single department, would be to mar its usefulness and diminish its popularity. The Astronomer, in *Rasselas*, on bequeathing to Imlac the inheritance of the Sun, said, "I have diligently considered the position of the earth and Sun, and formed innumerable schemes, in which I changed their situations. I have sometimes turned aside the axis of the earth, and sometimes varied the ecliptic of the Sun; but I have found it impossible to make a disposition by which the world may be advantaged; what one region gains, another loses by any imaginable alteration. Do not, therefore, in thy administration of the year, indulge thy pride by innovation, The memory of mischief is no desirable fame." We recommend the principle of the Astronomer's counsel to all future Conductors of the CHRISTIAN WITNESS.

J. C.

## Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688.

By C. E. WHITING, D.D., B.C.L. (S.P.C.K., 21s.)

**W**E always welcome incursions by other than Nonconformist writers into our denominational history and are therefore pleased to find that the latest publication of the Church Historical Society has taken this form. Its author, Dr. Whiting, Reader in History in the University of Durham, has travelled far and wide in the literature of his subject and has given us a volume full of information, some of which lies quite off the beaten track. There are chapters on the Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. For those enamoured of the vagaries of religious experience there is a chapter on the Minor Sects, the Muggletonians, Grindletonians, Sweet Singers of Israel and the rest of the eccentrics. The review of the religious life of the day is interestingly extended by the inclusion of the Foreign Protestants in England. There follow chapters on various aspects of Puritan life and literature. The whole work has been planned on a full and generous scale.

Let us consider the portions of the story which more particularly fall within the purview of this journal. Writing as an Anglican—not an aggressive or prejudiced one, but scholarly and severely objective in the handling of his material—Dr. Whiting makes the best of the case for the Act of Uniformity (1662) and its consequences. It was the only way out of the chaos of the situation. Kennett, from Calamy's candid *Account*, collected the instances where the hardships of ejection were mitigated by the ministers becoming private chaplains or finding wealthy benefactors or, by connivance, turning to teaching or medicine. But Kennett did not fill in the other side of the balance sheet and calculate the cases of prosecution given by Calamy, the 170 or so ministers who were imprisoned, some of them several times, the nine who died in gaol. In his summary of the situation Dr. Whiting has followed Kennett both in what he said and in his silence.

It is easy to lose one's way amid the idiosyncrasies of Presbyterians and Independents, especially if one is not of their number. Dr. Whiting gets astray in his comparison of the Presbyterianism established in England in 1646 with the Scottish system, and gives the northerners an equality of clergy and laity in their assemblies and the southerners a minority of laymen. To the "blue-nosed" Presbyterian it was a grievous offence in the English scheme that

it exalted the laity and even went so far as to crown its edifice with a lay court of appeal. Nor it is correct to say that the later English Presbyterians acted "contrary to one of their root principles" in giving the lay elders of a congregation a voice in the appointment of the minister. That is to confuse ordination to the ministry with appointment to a particular charge. In what sense the Presbyterians of to-day can be regarded as the true heirs of the Presbyterians of the later seventeenth century is a disputable question. Nor can we be satisfied with having so significant a movement as that of the Voluntary Associations, inspired chiefly by Baxter's influence, dismissed in a single sentence. The Associations had the possibility of becoming the basis of a truly comprehensive national church, and in any case were taken for the models of those later Happy Unions whose life in some parts of the country was longer than Dr. Whiting suggests.

Accuracy of detail is always difficult and to find others succumbing is comfort for one's own shortcomings, but such charitable allowance for human frailty being granted, we feel that Dr. Whiting has nodded more often than is proper in a professional historian. Here are some examples. He tells us that there were men holding livings in 1660-2 "who had not the slightest intention of conforming to the Anglican system." Among them he enumerates the Vicar of Shinfield, Bucks. (*sic*), rebuked by his bishop for allowing an Anabaptist cordwainer to officiate in his church. But the vicar—his name was William Cosins—was one of those turned out under the Commonwealth, he petitioned the House of Lords for his living in 1660, and was restored. What he was doing with a Baptist curate is a question beyond our answering, but his non-conformist enormities should not be laid at the door of Nonconformity.

Again, if Dr. Whiting credits Palmer's story of Peter Ince, the shepherd of Birdbush—and for ourselves we have always thought it very improbable, a doubt confirmed by the property of which Ince's will shows him in possession—he must not give a reference to Calamy, who knew nothing of the incident. Browne, first of Congregationalists, was not named Richard. Bowles, of York, was named Edward; once he is so called, but in another place he is William, and in the index appears as both. Chantry was not ejected from "Welford chapel, Shropshire," but from Weeford chapel, Staffordshire. Martendale appears as ejected from "Rosthorne," and then again from "Rotherstone." It is idle to look for Zachariah Noctroffe in the clergy list; the satirist was aiming at Zachary Crofton. Alas! this is not all the tale of errors. Despite their presence we believe that students will find it worth their while to consult the book and will by its aid often discover sources of information which had previously eluded their notice.

A. G. MATTHEWS.