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Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society

Vol. XIV · 1940-1944

Edited by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D.
and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, M.A., B.D.

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EDITORIAL

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, May 5th, in the Council Chamber, Memorial Hall, Dr. Grieve presiding. The Report of the Treasurer was read and the Balance Sheet, printed herewith, showed a balance in hand at the end of the year of £39 19s. 9d., of which £21 is capital, representing five Life Members. The Editor reported that one issue of the *Transactions* would appear in 1937, a 64 page number to be issued in September, while in 1938 it was hoped to revert to two issues per year of 48 pages each. Mr. Geoffrey Nuttall, M.A., was unable to be present owing to illness, and his paper, on "Walter Cradock, 1606(?)—1659. The Man and His Message", was read by the Rev. A. G. Matthews. An interesting discussion followed in which the President, the Rev. T. Mardy Rees, and the Rev. Maurice Charles participated.

* * * *

A meeting of the Society will be held at Bristol during the Congregational Union meetings. The Rev. Dr. Platt, who is the Warden of John Wesley's Chapel, called by him "The New Room in the Horsefair", has very kindly arranged to have the New Room open for the inspection of delegates from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. each day during the meetings. He himself will be present and speak to members of the Society and other friends on Tuesday afternoon (12th October) at 3 o'clock. The New Room contains many mementoes of John Wesley and it is hoped that there will be a good attendance at the meeting.

* * * *

The number of Life Members of the Society is now (September, 1937) 7, the number of churches 18, and the number of Ordinary Members 151.

* * * *

It must be gratifying to the President of the Society that many of his old students in Lancashire College are giving themselves to the work of historical research. We are glad to print two papers by them in the present number, the Rev. R. F. Calder's "Robert Haldane's Theological Seminary", and "Roby's Academy, Manchester", by the Rev. C. E. Surman, who has done a good deal of work on the alumni of Lancashire College.

* * * *

It is a hundred years since the opening of the General Register Office at Somerset House. Probably most research students have visited Somerset House at some time in order to study wills, but certainly few people are aware of the riches of its non-parochial registers of births, marriages, and deaths. The registers of the foreign Protestant Refugee Churches, nearly all French or Walloon, are kept there, and also those of the Chapels Royal and of the marriages in the Fleet Prison. There are also the Census returns of 1841 and 1851. Somerset House is of special interest to Nonconformists because so many of the churches subsequent to the incorporation of the new service in 1837 placed their registers in the General Register Office for safe keeping. In the summer an exhibition was held in which a number of the most interesting registers and other exhibits were on view. A booklet has been issued entitled *The Story of The General Register Office and Its Origins, from 1638 to 1937*. It contains sections devoted to the Methodist Church (Dr. A. W. Harrison), the Baptist Church (Dr. W. T. Whitley), the Independent or Congregational Churches (Dr. Albert Peel), and the Society of Friends (Mr. J. L. Nickalls). Among the Congregational documents exhibited were Robert Browning's Baptismal Certificate and the registers of the churches at Angel Street, Worcester; Kidderminster; Carrs Lane, Birmingham; Bunyan Meeting, Bedford; Fetter Lane, London; Above Bar, Southampton; Castle Hill, Northampton; Northowram, Yorkshire; Downing Street, Cambridge; Tabernacle, Dursley.

* * * *

All members of our Society will offer warm congratulations to Dr. S. W. Carruthers on the publication of the critical text of the Westminster Confession, together with an account of the preparation and printing of its seven leading editions. Dr. Carruthers's father was himself an authority on the Confession, and collected copies, and so Dr. Carruthers's work has been a labour of love. He has collated many copies in Great Britain and America, down to the last punctuation mark. He prints facsimiles of the title-pages and of special pages, and describes in detail the changes, voluntary and involuntary, in the different editions. His work, it is safe to say, will stand for all time, and every college library should have a copy (*The Westminster Confession of Faith*: Manchester, Aikman, 12s. 6d.).

Another volume which rejoices our hearts comes from the Chetham Society, for whom Mr. Ernest Axon has edited Oliver Heywood's Life of his father-in-law, John Angier of Denton. Our own readers will value Mr. Axon's notes, but it is worth anybody's while to read the life as it stands, together with Angier's diary, his "Cases resolved", and the extracts from his *Helpe to Better*

Hearts, for Better Times. Angier (1605-1677) though undoubtedly Presbyterian, was in some ways almost Congregational: while a devoted pastor and often prevented from preaching, his Nonconformity was not aggressive, and he seems to have been unmolested for long periods. Heywood's account of the preaching of John Rogers of Dedham is interesting:

Mr. Angier was kept a season at his mothers house, followed his studies, attended on Mr. Rogers Ministrie; this Mr. John Rogers of Dedham was a mirrou and miracle of zeal and success in his Ministerial labours; it was wont to be said, Come let's go to Dedham to get a little fire; he was Lecturer there, and preached once on Lordsday, and a Lecture on the Tuesday to which multitudes of people flock'd from the parts adjacent; and his plain preaching was blessed with a large Harvest; however some expressions and gestures he used, would now seem indecent; yet the gravity of the man, and general reverence people had for him, rendered them not only not offensive, but sometimes very effectual; his taking hold with both hands at one time of the supporters of the Canopy over the Pulpit, and roaring hideously, to represent the torments of the damned, had an awakening force attending it. Mr. Thomas Goodwin, after Dr. Goodwin, when we was a Fellow in Cambridge, and an eminent Preacher, much followed and honoured, occasionally hearing Mr. Rogers, fell under such convictions, that he after professed, that he lookt on himself neither as a Christian, nor a Preacher.

* * * *

The Presbyterian Historical Society is voted an Annual Grant by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of England. It is right to be taught even by Presbyterianism, and we trust that the Congregational Union of England and Wales will speedily copy this example.

* * * *

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (1936). The chief articles are "Benjamin Lay (1681-1759)" (C. Brightwen Rowntree), "Christian Lodowick" (Henry J. Cadbury), "Elihu Burritt and Friends" (Samuel Graveson), "The Great Revival at Malton in 1652" (Ernest E. Taylor), "Margaret Edmundson (c. 1630-1691). Her Husband's Testimony" (Isabel Grubb), "The Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk" (Arthur J. Eddington), "Jacob Boehme's Influence in England" (Stephen Hobhouse).

The Contribution of the Pilgrims to American Life.

THE Christian Pilgrims of New England brought with them to its bleak but beckoning shores a vital and potent form of Protestantism, fashioned by English Nonconformity, influenced and aided by wholesome contact with the religious and political life of the Netherlands.

In coming to America they faced a great opportunity and equally great difficulties. The unique task and mission of the New England colonists lay in fusing, adjusting, and developing the progressive principles that had already come to birth within them, amidst the scope and freedom of a new creative and conditioning environment and under the demanding pressure of pioneer life. Here was one of those relative racial *de novo* beginnings, comparable in some respects to that of the people of Israel as they entered Palestine, or that of the Aryan peoples from the North as they came to the shores of the Aegean.

How did these venturesome builders of a new order meet their major opportunity? What kind of a *cultus* did they fashion amidst the vigours and rigours of what Governor Bradford termed a "hideous and desolate wilderness", which offered, nevertheless, a chance to build a new heaven and a new earth wherein should dwell righteousness?

I.

Their first and most urgent problem was political and economic, *i.e.*, the problem of civil government. The Compact in the cabin of the Mayflower pre-visualized their ideal, which was confirmed, enlarged, and implemented as the experiment advanced. The result was a strikingly idealistic and in many ways effective inter-fusion of religion and morals—yielding a distinctively theocratic, moralistic Protestant commonwealth. These men were founders, framers, and administrators of both Church and State, a select and highly qualified company, sifted as wheat by the severe threshing of ecclesiastical persecution; and resolutely and devotedly did they give themselves to the severe enterprise in which they felt themselves engaged as by divine appointment and direction.

Nothing was more influential in the constructive process, as it developed, than the interaction of the two somewhat diverse colonies—the Old Colony of 1620 (Plymouth) and the Massachusetts Bay Colony of 1630 (Salem and Boston). Both consisted of

Pilgrims and Puritans¹, but the Plymouth Colony, known as Separatists, emphasized the principle of independence, being staunchly autonomous, while the Bay Colony was more deeply conscious of attachment to the Mother Church, counting too precious to despise the corporate unity and continuity of the Christian community.

The story of the political, social, and religious institutions and customs which these colonies worked out, and of the way in which they influenced and aided one another in the process, and thus gradually formed a vital and effective confederation, throws much light upon the principles and procedures which have made these United States of America what they became, religiously, politically, and socially.

II.

These principles may be summarized as follows : full recognition of the rights and worth of the individual ; representative electoral government ; a qualified and dutiful exercise of the franchise ; a just economic co-operation ; a democratic and public-spirited administration of the local community, centring in the town meeting ; a distinctive and loyal recognition of the place and prerogative of religion and the church ; and an outstanding emphasis upon education, culminating in the education of a thoroughly trained and qualified ministry².

To trace the inception, development, and exercise of each of these principles in the New England colonies would be both instructive and inspiring, but it cannot be undertaken in so brief a sketch as this. All that I will attempt to do is to point to some of the outstanding events in the development and application of two or three of the most important of these ideals.

Recognition of *the freedom, worth, and obligation of the individual*, anticipating and preparing the way for the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, is to be found in the Compact in the Cabin of the Mayflower, centring in the vital principle of the *Covenant* there enunciated. The covenant idea was still more definitely adopted and put in practice by the Salem Church at its organization in 1629, being given classic expression in the ever memorable words :

We covenant with the Lord, and one with another and do bind ourselves to walk together in all his ways, according as

¹ It is a manifest injustice to both colonies to call one that of the Pilgrims and the other that of the Puritans, for they were all Pilgrims and Puritans, although the Plymouth settlers might be called more Pilgrimatic and the Massachusetts Bay more Puritanic.

² It is by no means assumed that these ideals and virtues were confined to New England, but they were there especially formative and pervasive.

6 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PILGRIMS TO AMERICAN LIFE

he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth.

The free and forward-looking character of this covenant reflects the same spirit as that of John Robinson's noble "Farewell Address" with its prophetic anticipation of "more light to break forth from God's Word".

*This sacred and fruitful idea of a covenant, taken from the Old Testament, Christianized, Protestantized and given an individual as well as a collective import, is the chief contribution of New England Congregationalism to the structural organization of society*³. It includes all the virtues and values of the *social-contract* theory in political life, lifted to the level of the inherent sacredness of personal and social obligation and given a progressive and forward-looking character which the contract theory lacked.

III.

Directly associated with the covenant principle were these vital correlates: *congregational appointment by election, congregational ordination, and church fellowship*—all springing into full activity at once. For as soon as the Salem Church convened its members they proceeded, first, to adopt the covenant, and then to elect a pastor and teacher by ballot, reputedly making use for the first time in history of the written and therefore secret ballot, resulting in the choice of Samuel Skelton as pastor and Francis Higginson as teacher. They next went forward, on a day set apart for this sacred purpose, to ordain these two ministers—already ordained in England—the solemn rite being performed by the laying on of hands of the leading laymen of the church and of the two ministers in turn, each minister thus participating in the ordination of the other, though not performing the ceremony, that being the prerogative of the church itself. This presumably indicates no disparagement of previous ordination but the recognition that this was the founding of a *new church for a new world*, its ministers being chosen out of its membership to fulfil a special service, in the spirit of Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

Moreover this signal occasion witnessed the initial act of Church fellowship in America, the necessary complement of independence, thus establishing the precedent for a practice that became general and permanent. It consisted in the participation of the Plymouth Church in this epochal inauguration of corporate church life in the New World. For, as a result of the happy and heaven-inspired

³ This does not, of course, imply that this was the first ecclesiastical, or political, adoption of the Biblical idea, preceded as it was by the Scottish covenant of 1560. But in this case it was a mutual covenant between equals.

instruction and persuasion of Deacon Doctor Samuel Fuller, who had come from Plymouth to Salem to minister to the sick but who had also spiritual well-being at heart, and who may well be called the first apostle of church unity in America, the Plymouth Church sent a delegation with a message of fraternal greeting, brought by no less a person than Governor Bradford himself accompanied by two fellow members of the Plymouth Church. The record of this event is as follows :

Gov. Bradford, of Plymouth, and some others, "coming by sea were hindered by cross winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward and gave them the right hand of fellowship wishing all prosperity and a blessed success unto such good beginnings".

Well do I remember how deeply I was impressed, when as pastor of one of the Congregational churches of Salem, I witnessed the delegates from across the seas (chiefly from England) to the Second International Congregational Council in 1899, as they came out from Boston, marched up Washington St. to the site of the old First Church of Salem, and sang Leonard Bacon's hymn :

O God, beneath Thy guiding hand
Our exiled fathers crossed the sea ;
And, when they trod the wintry strand,
With prayer and psalm they worshipped Thee.

IV.

Turning now to advances in economic life and relations made by the colonists, it is to be noted that the ideal, and to a considerable extent the early practice, of each of the colonies, as also of that of the important and progressive Connecticut Colony of Hartford and New Haven, was one of mutual economic co-operation. The Plymouth householders at first cultivated their land in common and changed to separate family allotments only after an honest trial of this form of Christian communism. It is instructive that they found that the results were much more productive when each family was responsible for its own garden plot. Alas for human nature ! shall we say ? Or, alas for Christianized human nature ! Shall we not rather say : Witness here an instructive example of the family unit filling its essential place in corporate community life.

The custom of common pasture lands, adopted by many communities from the outset, was maintained for an extended period, until at length these desirable lands were absorbed by the successful representatives of an increasingly acquisitive spirit which

gradually insinuated itself into Puritan society before its members became aware of the truth later so forcefully expressed in those penetrating lines of Goldsmith :

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Yet it was long before these sacrificial and devoted New England folk reached the stage in which the allurements of wealth and luxury began to undermine their sturdy Christian virtues.

Striking and in some respects reproachful is the contrast between the living conditions of the original colonists and those of their descendants of two hundred and fifty years later and to-day. In no way can this contrast be so poignantly realized as by a visit to the reconstructed original Salem Village as it is now to be seen at the head of Salem Harbour. The first hovels, for they were such, of these refined and cultured English families, as there reproduced, were nothing more than dugouts and wigwams, consisting of only one room with stone fireplace, dirt floor, and a roof of bark; and the little houses, built of boards sawed in the saw-pit, which succeeded the first rude shelters, were not greatly superior. Conditions at Plymouth were much the same, only there log construction was used. Nothing less than a virile religious faith could have enabled these hard-pressed men and women to keep up their *morale* under such demoralizing conditions.

V.

Not that all was perfect peace and harmony, however; for in this great enterprise of laying the foundations of a new religious, political, and social commonwealth, as it went on, it is not strange to find the conflict of ideas and the clash of leaders. Conservative and liberal, literalist and idealist, conformist and antinomian, fell into sharp controversy—as everywhere has happened.

Among the colonists there stand out above their fellows three great constructive and guiding spirits: Bradford, Winthrop, and Roger Williams. In the tercentenary of the banishment of "the New England Firebrand", as Williams was called, and the founding by him at Providence in 1636 of "the first purely 'social contract' in history creating a civil state"⁴ fortified and ennobled by absolute freedom of conscience from civil control, it is fitting that all who are of the Pilgrim inheritance should pay to this great apostle of liberty the tribute of heartfelt honour and gratitude. Truly a prophet of the Lord in the wilderness was this utterly fearless, searchingly conscientious man, a veritable incarnation of conscience; refusing to pray with the "unregenerate", yet becom-

⁴ James Ernst, *Roger Williams*, 170.

ing the apostle of tolerance; violently opposing his fellow ministers, yet beloved friend of the Indians and of every outcast; controversialist and pamphleteer, yet protagonist of unity; transcendentalist and mystic, yet pioneer progressive; turning from pædo-baptism and accepting rebaptism, yet abandoning this, too, and becoming in the end only a "Seeker"—was ever a greater human paradox? And yet, when all is said, here is a truly great and free and magnanimous soul, an Independent indeed in whom is no guile, pilgrim of pilgrims, wandering alone, ill and in exile, for the truth, "destitute, tormented, afflicted, of whom the world was not worthy", puritan of puritans, American of Americans!

Penitent Massachusetts, no longer blinded as to this great patriot, has now revoked the edict of his banishment with one hand, but with the other is vainly endeavouring by restrictive legislation to suppress the freedom for which he stood. Long before the edict of banishment was repealed the people of every State in America had welcomed the noble exile and advocate of religious liberty, and to-day none should honour him more than the religious representatives of those who, though they banished him, produced this sorely tried and liberated spirit, who stands staunchly and fully for what American Congregationalism represents: freedom, tolerance, and progress.

VI.

The principles and ideals of political and social democracy and co-operation in all the colonies were decidedly advanced for the time—in spite of some very inconsistent survivals of aristocratic and class divisions, such, *e.g.*, as the jealous use of titles and the seating of the congregation in meeting according to rank and station. While political and social principles were not emphasized in the Sunday worship the Thursday night lecture was largely used for this purpose, as the record of John Cotton's lectures on the laws of commerce and the rules for just buying and selling, in the First Church of Boston, indicates⁵.

There is more than ample precedent in the early churches of New England for the recent uplifting of the Social Ideal by the National Congregational Council at Oberlin in 1934 and for the creation of the Council for Social Action. But at the same time it should not be forgotten that if the principles of the fathers are to be honoured *the personal gospel must never be absorbed in the social gospel*, and also that in their minds *doctrinal virility lies close to vital Christian experience*.

Indeed the whole history of English and American Independency is a standing reproach to any loss of interest in the great in-

⁵ Cf. *Report of Fourth International Congregational Council*, 324.

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⁵ Cf. *Report of Fourth International Congregational Council*, 324.

tellectual foundations and progressive interpretations of the Christian faith. This theological virility largely accounts for their signal achievements in the realm of education and especially of higher education, and still more for that emphasis upon education for the ministry which distinguishes New England Congregationalism.

VII.

The founding of Harvard College in 1636, the commemoration of whose tercentenary last September signalized an event of national and even international importance, is the outstanding evidence of this devotion to higher education, the original purpose of the College being in classic words :

to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the dust.

This signal tribute to the value of higher education, and especially of its necessity to the Church, followed by the founding of Yale College in 1701—the founders being ten ministers, all Harvard graduates—“for the instruction of youth for public employment both in church and civil state”, and this in turn followed by the establishment of theological seminaries, beginning with Andover in 1807, and of Christian colleges across the whole breadth of the continent, gives to Congregationalism in America a place of honour and leadership which should not be lowered in these days when religion has suffered so ignominious a neglect in our institutions of learning.

Few enterprises in the history of Congregationalism are so eloquent of its farsighted and devoted character as the prophetic and prominent part it played in inaugurating the missionary movement with the formation of the American Board in 1862. To fail to sustain and carry forward this great Christian enterprise would be an act of deep disloyalty.

It is no mere flaunting of sectarian pride, or supine satisfaction with inherited achievement, which prompts the children of the Pilgrims to rehearse their deeds and honour their memory. It would dishonour them, however, to stop with commemoration. New days demand new ideas, new counsels, new deeds. Our tasks are not the same as theirs. They laboured and we are entered into their labours. Yet a just and reverent commemoration of their greatness, in deed and ideal, cannot but nerve us to face, with new courage and devotion, the difficult task of carrying on the work for God and man which they so nobly and constructively began.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM.

Walter Cradock (1606?-1659) : The Man and His Message.

SOME years ago Dr. Selbie wrote in the *Congregational Quarterly*¹ that belief in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was the acid test of a living Church : it is in this high tradition, now so unfashionable, that Cradock takes his place. Together with this emphasis in his approach goes, I think inevitably, an appeal to religious experience, a faith in the possibility of fresh light from God, and a recognition of natural as well as biblical revelation ; it is interesting to observe this, if only as a reminder that, despite the attacks of the dialectical theologians, natural revelation (as perhaps it should be called rather than natural theology) is not a nineteenth century invention nor confined to Catholic mysticism, and that faith in new light is not a product of the theory of evolution nor the appeal to experience a result of the "new psychology". Cradock further insists on the centrality in Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God ; this also, then, is not simply a "pre-War emphasis, initiated by Fairbairn and dependent on an undue regard for the Synoptic Gospels". The fact, of course, is that all these tendencies—Holy Spirit, natural revelation, experience, fresh light, God's Fatherhood—form a definite tradition in Christianity, and a tradition of which there seems no reason to be ashamed, either because it has been the tradition of the Sects rather than of the Church, or because it is now out of fashion. Part of the historical interest of Congregationalism is in its interweaving of the Calvinist and Anabaptist strands ; in the quater-centenary year of the *Institutio* it has been natural to stress the Calvinist strand, but in the classical Puritans, of whom Cradock may justly be counted as one, the other strand, the texture of which I have suggested, is often as markedly present. I have called it Anabaptist for want of a better name, but I believe that certain of its threads may be discovered already in the Lollard Movement, while in Cradock's day it was becoming strongly represented by the Quakers, with whom his sympathy, at least potentially², will be evident. Since I am personally in sympathy with the Anabaptist strand, it may be as well to say plainly that I did not study Cradock on this account, but came

¹ July, 1926.

² He was not the only man of that age who showed at once a sharp antagonism to the Quakers and a partial sympathy with their outlook ; cf., e.g., Henry More.

to him for his own sake, not knowing what I should find. I thought it best, however, to indicate the general orientation of my paper, before retiring and allowing Cradock to speak for himself.

His dates are usually given as 1606?-1659, he succeeded William Wroth as minister of the first Congregational church in Wales, and he was appointed a Trier; otherwise there seems little in his life which calls for remark³. Yet on his contemporaries his influence was sufficiently great for them to bring him from Llanvaches in Monmouthshire to London, to preach at All Hallows and before the Parliament. A perusal of his sermons⁴ reveals a most attractive personality, that of a humble, earnest, deeply spiritual preacher, whose Celtic⁵ origin appears in the warm, tender style of his appeals and illustrations, but who shows above all simply a longing to bring men to Christ. "I doe verily believe, that he preached these Choise Lectures from the bosome of Jesus Christ, that these things were the very experiments⁶ of his owne soule, and the lively actings of the spirit of God within him": so writes John Robotham to the reader, very justly.

Cradock was a Congregationalist, and he could say a word in defence of the Independent polity, of the theocratic nature of which he was not unconscious: it was his complaint against Papacy and Prelacy that under them "the people never had yet liberty to choose men according to God's own heart, that would feed them with knowledge and understanding". It was evidently the freedom of Congregationalism which attracted him, for he was no sectarian. For him

Presbytery and Independency are not two religions: but one religion to a godly, honest heart; it is only a little ruffling of the fringe.

In contrast with the army, where "there is abundance of sweet love", he laments

³ His son-in-law Thomas Jones, of Abergavenny (T. Rees, *Prot. Noncon. in Wales*, 57), should perhaps be identified with Thomas Jones, of Bedwelty, who obtained a licence to teach at a Baptist conventicle in his own house (G. L. Turner, *Orig. Records*, II. 1227).

⁴ The original quarto edition of his collected sermons was republished in 1800: both editions are in the Cong. Library. I am indebted to Dr. Sippell of Marburg for the loan of the original edition and of other Puritan texts from which I quote.

⁵ Cradock is English for Caradoc.

⁶ This use of *experiment* and *experimentally* is significant for Cradock's type of piety. Geo. Fox's "And this I knew experimentally" (*Journal*, 1901 edn., I. 11) is well known, but the word is also to be found not only in a mystic like John Everard but in such a sober Puritan as John Owen.

We are the most miserable men in the world, this poor City : if a man had as much grace as Paul had, if some Independent see him, and say he is inclining to Presbytery, or if a Presbyterian see him, and say, he is inclining to Independencie, then let him go, and cut his throat.

When I have communion with a Saint, I must not looke so much whether he be of such an opinion, or whether he have taken the Covenant, or have been baptized once or twice or ten times, but see if he have fellowship with the Father, and with Jesus Christ⁷. I speake not this as if my opinion were for rebaptization or against the baptizing of the infants of beleevers, the contrary appears by my practise : but only, that such difference of opinion should not hinder their mutuall receiving each other to fellowship and communion, who are in fellowship with God and Jesus Christ.

In keeping with this attitude is his condemnation of undue scrupulosity and of the formal fastings which were the order of the day :

I have known one eat but one meal in a week ; and let them eat little or much, they defile their consciences. One while they must go so in their apparel with lace, and after that, lace damneeth them. . . . This shews that they are defiled ; for to a good man everything is pure⁸.

The first thing that I fear highly provokes God among us . . . is our formall humiliation, and repentance, and fasting, and such like things. . . . I feare our fast dayes are the most smoky dayes in Gods nostrills of all the dayes of the year. . . . There is a great deal of stirre about the Sacrament, and the mixed multitude, and the Service-Book, and I know not what . . . and people think there is a glorious reformation, but God knows where it is, only there is a great stirre about it⁹.

He reveals very clearly the Puritan's passion for integrity, his hatred of all sham :

How hatefull, how abominable hypocrisie is to God.

⁷ Cf. Joshua Sprigg, *A Testimony to Approaching Glory* (1649), 127 :

Is there no unity, but where there is uniformity? Because we have not still one form, have we not therefore one Father (*sic*), one Lord, one Baptism, or one common condition of suffering?

⁸ Margaret Fox had the same criticism to make, when Quakerism began to stiffen (*Works*, 535) :

they can soon get into an outward garb, to be all alike outwardly ; but this will not make them true Christians. It's the Spirit that gives life.

⁹ Cf. John Everard, *The Gospel-Treasury Opened* (2nd edn. 1659), II. 253 : Truly they make a great deal of stir about the Outward Baptism more then need : for outward Baptism is but a Type and Shadow of the True Baptism.

It is a principle in Religion that Christians should observe (and a principle, that is a generall grand rule) to call things as they are, to call a Spade a Spade.

With a firm hand Cradock strikes at the root of scrupulosity, when he warns against an exaggerated biblicism :

Remember, the greatest miserie to an honest heart (next to an old Testament spirit, that is the rise of all) is this, a mis-drawing of rules out of the word of God: you take a word and doe not compare it with other Scriptures, and see whether it be temporarie and doth absolutely binde : but you goe with your book under your arme, and think all wise men are out, and you have Scripture for it : beware of that¹⁰.

The question to ask of a man was not, or not only, "Has he Scripture for it?" but "Has he the Spirit?"¹¹.

O such a one doth great things, he prayes, and hears, and reads, and disputes much : I [Aye] but hath he the spirit, or no?

The greatest difference (that I know) in all the Book of God, between Saints and Sinners is, that the one hath the Spirit, and the other hath not.

The spirit is all in all in religion.

Like others with experience of spiritual religion, he speaks of its self-authenticating nature :

A man may know the spirit in himself clearly by the evidence of the same spirit, And a man that hath the spirit may know the spirit in another by the spirit . . . How can a poor lamb know the dam among a thousand?

For as in naturall things, you know, that by the same light whereby I see the Sun, by the same light I know that I see him¹² : So there is in the very manifestation of God to the

¹⁰ Cf. Everard, *op. cit.*, I. 370 :

there are Too, Too many such children (who indeed think themselves Tall men) who have most of the Scriptures at their fingers ends; who Because they can answer or discourse of any Catechistical Point in Divinity, they must be accounted The greatest Proficients and Tallest Christians.

¹¹ The nearness of this to the Quaker approach appears *e.g.* from a comparison with the following from William Penn's *Summons or Call to Christendom* (*Select Works*, 1825 edn., II. 338) :

You profess the holy scriptures, but what do you witness and experience? . . . Can you set to your seal they are true, by the work of the same Spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy ancients?

¹² It is interesting to find Bp. Pecock accusing the Lollards of using precisely this simile (which has a long history) to explain the nature of faith; *cf.* also John Owen on Scripture, *Divine Originall* (1659), 72 f., 80 :

soule, it carries a witness in it self, it is so cleare, that when I have it, though I never had it before, and I cannot demonstratively speak a word what it is, yet I know as it is Gods sight, so I know I see him.

With John Robinson, Cradock believes that "the Lord hath yet more light":

One maine cause of contention among us is, God comes now with more light than wee had before; we have more, and more; but this light is not a full light, I mean thus, this light comes, and shines but in part of the will of God to us.

Goe on in love, and when it comes to that wee shall see more light.

If you endeavour to do that which is pleasing in Gods eye, God will reveale himself more and more clearly and fully to your soules.

With the "jangling" of "proud Professors" he has no more sympathy than has George Fox :

There are many men, I, and many Professors, that doe not love to heare a man in a few modest words to commend the spirit of God : but all must be by studie, and reading, and learning, and for the spirit of God it is a plaine meere Cypher, and there is an end. But my life on it (if I had a hundred I would say so) they shal be beholding to the spirit of God, and extoll him before they be taught spiritually; they shall be willing to lay downe all their learning (as I have seen a learned godly man of late) even with the Plow-boy.

Of the original Gospel

we see the Lord chose simple people to go, and preach it, he chose generally fisher men, and such poor men, and women¹³ sometimes. Rude men, in a manner without learning, these were to goe and tell a simple story of Jesus Christ, and him crucified, &c.

So of their successors

Let the Sun arise in the firmament, and there is no need of Witnesses to prove and confirme unto a seeing man that it is day. . . . Doth it not evince its selfe, with an Assurance above all that can be obtained by any Testimony whatever? . . . It is all one, by what meanes, by what hand, whether of a Child or a Church, . . . the Scripture comes unto us; Come how it will, it hath its Authority in it's selfe . . . and hath it's power of manifesting it's selfe . . . from it's owne innate Light.

¹³ This perhaps with a glance at the revival of preaching among women in Cradock's time, and not only in Quakerism, though only in Quakerism was this particular form of the freedom of the spirit permanently retained.

it may be he hath Greek, and Latine, and not Hebrew, though he be full of the Holy Ghost, and yet the people must be starved.

and shall we raile at such, and say they are Tub-Preachers, and they were never at the University? Let us fall downe, and honour God.

How much better that such Tub-Preachers should help in "the most glorious work that ever I saw in England . . . the Gospel is run over the Mountaines between Brecknockshire, and Monmouthshire, as the fire in the thatch" than that the Spirit should be restrained, as in former days. Of the days of "stinted prayers" Cradock's memories are bitter :

When it may be the poore Ministers soule was full of groanes, and sighs, and he would have rejoiced to have poured out his soule to the Lord, he was tied to an old Service-Booke, and must read that till he grieved the Spirit of God, and dried up his own spirit as a chip, that he could not pray if he would; and he must read it for an houre together, and then if may be come into the Pulpit : but his spirit was gone.

This is not to say that Cradock underestimated learning. He was evidently familiar with Hebrew as well as Greek, and could quote a Latin poet where it suited. He knew his history too : more than once he refers to "Queen Maryes time", and of the part played by the Lollards he is fully aware. Nor does his enthusiasm for spiritual religion imply a contempt for the ordinances of Christ's Church :

The devil . . . hath brought us from repétition of the word, and from singing of Psalms, and many from baptizing the infants of the godly, and divers from the supper of the Lord¹⁴, and from hearing the word of God preached.

There is a people that throw away the ordinance of prayer, and they professe to live immediately upon God without ordinances, without prayer, and without all the rest. I do not know what their perfections may be, therefore I cannot judge; but this I know as far as ever I had experience, that the chiefest way of communion with God is spirituall prayer.

Elsewhere he says :

I speak not this as if the Spirit were contrary to the Word, as some men to advance the Spirit, set the Word and Spirit by the ears; but the Spirit leads by the Word.

That his idealism was not a spurious one, that he understood men's frailties well enough, is apparent from the following :

¹⁴ This is interesting in view of the date (1650).

But you goe home when Sermon is done, and say there was a great Company, a throng, and he Preached a little too long, and we must goe to him againe after Dinner, and so you mind not, the Lord Jesus pittie you; that is the reason that you are ignorant, and will be World without end, because you mind not spirituall things.

It is his pure spiritual idealism which is Cradock's most marked characteristic, and which is the grandest thing about him. The grace of God is a reality to him in his own life, and he longs for it to be so in the life of others. The Saint, he tells us, can say

God hath appeared two hundred times, two thousand times to my soule. I have seene him one while in the Sacrament, I have seene him among the Saints, I have seene him in such a country, in such a condition, in such a place, in such a medow, in such a wood, when I read his word, and called upon his name ¹⁵.

I remember, in such a Countrey, in such a Chamber, in such a place, where God shew'd himself to me, and I was satisfied; I saw everything vanish before me, and I desired nothing but that.

God may be out of sight, and ken, and yet you may be Saints: but there is a more glorious life, when a man always walks in Gods sight, God seeing him, and he seeing God. These things are not for the head, but for the heart. Now talk with thy heart a little, and see what is thy temper, and thy way, and if thou finde it not thus, tell God: the minister said that there be Saints that live gloriously, that are fond of God, that are always with him, sleeping, and waking, at bed, and board, they are never out of his sight. Lord, make me such.

Cradock would have agreed wholeheartedly with Joshua Sprigg that "the glory of our moderne Orthodox Divinity" was that "The Father himself loves us, That the enmity is on the creature's part, not God's"¹⁶.

Ye are Come to mount Sion, to the glorious state in the new Testament; and there is nothing but what is amiable, and what is beautiful.

¹⁵ Cf. Agnes Beaumont (a member of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford), *Narrative* (1674: ed. G. B. Harrison), 6 f.:

And, the Lord knowest it, their was scarce A Corner in the house, or Barnes, or Cowhousen, or Stable, or Closes vnder the hegges, or in the wood, but I was made to poure out my soul to god.

¹⁶ J. Sprigg, *op. cit.*, Preface; John Smyth also taught that Christ's sacrifice doth not reconcile God unto us, which did never hate us, nor was our enemy, but reconcileth us unto God and slayeth the enmity and hatred which is in us against God.

It is ordinary with the Saints, that they have a little adoption, they can cry Abba father, a little, and low, and at sometimes : but there is a great deale of the spirit of bondage mingled with it, there are sometimes feares, secret whisperings in the heart. . . . Now in the New Testament we should labour for a full spirit of adoption. . . . If thou come below this, if thou call on God with feare, and canst not cry abba, abba, that is as much as daddie, daddie, as our babes use to say, if thou doe not come so high, thou art spoiled, and undone, desire God to teach you this Lesson also.

From this filial relation to God Cradock is not afraid to draw the conclusion that the Christian has a freedom not known before :

It is base to tie a son as much as a servant. So we being now to be sonnes, truly and really, the Lord hath given us a larger liberty.

What an abominable thing is it to tie the sonnes of God that are not babies, now under tutors, with paltrie things, when the Spirit of God in the least Saint is better able to determine than all the Bishops.

More often, however, it is the peace and trust and security of the Christian upon which he dwells : "we must suffer : talk of Reformation, and what you will ; all honest hearts inevitably shall have tribulation" ; but

our trouble is not a little imprisonment, or poverty : Paul, or Sylas, were in prison, and were to be hanged the next day, for ought they knew ; yet they could sing ¹⁷. The man is as his minde is¹⁸ . . . There is (saith the Apostle) a peace of God that shall keep you, or as the word in the Greek is, garison you.

As if you should see a Plowman, or a countrie man come to a Mathematician, that were at his Globe, and his compasses, and were drawing lines from one to another ; the Countrie man knowes nothing of this : but he would not therefore say the other is a foole, and doth he knoweth not what. He would rather say, I warrant you he is a Scholler, and hath had good breeding : but allas what simple people are we in the Countrie, we know not what belongs to the Globe, and compasses. So a Christian when he is in affliction, he doth not say, God doth he knows not what, and he plagueth me : but sayth he, God hath wisdome, and love, in all this ; only I am a simple poore creature that know not this.

¹⁷ So could Fox (*Journal*, I. 171 f.).

¹⁸ A good Puritan sentiment ; cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 254 f. ; Cromwell, *Letters and Speeches*, Speech V.

When a mans ways please God, the stones of the street shall be at peace with him. Did you ever see the stones of the street angry with you? but the meaning is, when a mans ways are cross with God, and he hath a guilty conscience, a guilty soul hath no true peace, he is ready almost to fall out with the stones in the street, he quarrels with his servant, with his horse, with everything, because he hath an unquiet spirit within; when a man pleaseth God, the stones shall be at peace with him, that is, he shall be at peace with everything. Why so? because there is an infinite, unspeakable quiet in his own soul.

One might fear that this quietistic strain would imply a certain self-centredness in religion, but the passion with which Cradock preaches to others shows that it need not be so; he also says expressly that "a strong, fond saint takes less care for his own salvation, but he cares much for the service of Jesus Christ". What it does imply is a tolerance, a slowness to judge others, springing from a humble gratitude for God's mercies to oneself. So Cradock interprets Jesus's words :

but many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first. As if he should say, I would not have you to be proud, and to crow over that poor man that is run from me, because you are old Disciples; it may be that man may come back again to me, and be my best servant when you may run away: for many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first.

With this in mind, he cannot bring himself either to be proud towards sinners or to condemn those who are wanderers in the faith :

It may be because of my fleshliness I think him to be an heretick or a Schismatick, and it may be he is a Saint, and childe of God, and one of his hidden ones.

And indeed Beloved, I doubt not but that there is many a poore sinner that now follows the ale-house, and drinking, and swearing, and whoreing, that yet may be in Heaven before thee and me.

The right thing, therefore, is not proudly to condemn sinners but humbly and gently to invite them to come to Christ :

We are not sent to get Gally-slaves to the Oares, or a Bear to the stake: but he sends us to woove you as spouses, to marrie you to Christ.

I am the doore: But some may say, wee love not to go in at such a doore, unlesse wee know when it is locked, and when it is not. No, saith he, I am not a doore that hath locks and bolts, that will bring you into straits; but I am a doore that you shall goe in and out, and find pasture for your soules.

This is Cradock's characteristic note. It reappears in a passage with which we must end and which may be quoted *in extenso*, that the appeal of his simple sustained rhythms may be felt—they are simple, but is it fanciful to be reminded by their swayings and swellings of John Donne?

For your comfort, this is one thing; thou that hast but little grace coming in so many yeers: I tell thee, God saith that grace is like the springing of the sea; or the springing of the year. Now in the springing of the sea, when men would have a tide for their passage, a man is glad to see a little turning of the water first, it is so much the nearer: then he observes, and is glad to see the Sea rise, and cover a few stones or marks, though it be little: but stay till it be almost full Sea, when it is high tide, then every thing almost is covered on a sudden, the tide over-runs all. Take it in the spring of the year (for we should learn something from the creatures) about February, you are glad to see the buds of Haw thorn; you look a week together, and it grows a little, and you see no other, it is a signe that Summer is coming. In the beginning of March it may be there are two or three things more, and they come slowly, and you are glad to see them, and look on them every day. In Aprill or May, the Gardens are full of Flowers, and the fields full of grass; you know not what to observe. So it is in experience, in the beginning the Lord makes a Saint glad of a Primrose, of a little turning of the water, that the flood, that the stream is turned; if he begin to hear the word, that hated it, and to rejoyce in the company of good neighbours, that hated it, two or three little Primroses. But grace comes as the tide; stay a while, and thou shalt see such a flowing of grace in thy soul, that thou knowest not where to look; such a tide of love, and joy, and knowledge, such innumerable lessons, that thou knowest not where to look. Therefore wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt see grace come in as the tide.

Lastly, thou dost not (it may be) make use of the experiences thou hast had of God. Thou hast had abundance of experience of the Lord; and we are apt to forget: As Christ saith, do you now doubt whether you have bread? O ye of little faith!¹⁹ Truly the very creatures will rise in judgement against us, that having had so many experiments of God, we are so shie

¹⁹ Cf. John Everard, *op. cit.*, I. 319:

why murmur you, O you Of little faith? . . . Let me ask you, do you not believe that God is your Father?

Prof. P. Smith points out, in *The Age of the Reformation*, 696, that the subject of the Prodigal Son was treated by 27 German dramatists in that period.

of trusting God, and thinking well of God. Didst thou ever see a Dog (let me instance in that vile creature) (for God would have us learn from the creatures, and God hath cast them so that they should not be onely for our use, but every thing in reference to his Gospel, that we may not only occasionally draw such things that hap hazzard fall out, but to observe their nature, and qualities, and learn somewhat from them) you see in a Dog when he hath abused you, it may be against his will, and it may be you have beat him; he runs away, or he comes with fear, and is very shie, and will hardly come to you : but take him in your arms, and stroak him, and all his fear is gone; when you smile, he thinks you mean him no hurt, he hath no thought of your former anger. So we come many times to the Lord, and are shie, and tremble, and fear, and think he means to hurt us; and what are his thoughts? How oft hath God taken us in his arms and stroaked us, and laid us down again, and yet we fear again, and are worse in many respects than the bruit creatures. When the Master hath the Dog, he may kill him if he will; but he stroakes him, and the Dog thinks his master means well to him; so, many times God might kill us, and throw us into Hell, and catch us at advantage, yet in stead of that he loves us, and imbraceth us, and layes us down again; and yet we are so shie, we fear, and distrust him. We have not that plainnesse of heart as that old Martyr said, I have lived eighty yeers, and he never did me any hurt : So God many times hath had advantage to have thrown us into hell, yet he hath kissed, and stroaked us. Why should we be so fearfull, when afflictions, and troubles come upon us? These things procure sadnesse, because we do not trust in that God, that in our extremity hath been friendly, and fatherly to us. The Lord help you to lay up these few broken words in your hearts.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Anabaptism in England during the 17th Century¹

THE 17th century saw the development of the movement which has become historically known as the "Society of General Baptists"². Despite the fact that English General Baptists disowned connexion with Münster Anabaptists, the charge of Anabaptism was frequently brought against them during the 17th century. It was often done ignorantly, or derisively, and even at times maliciously; but there was some truth in the charge, and English Baptists must have been aware that there were some important links between them and the Anabaptists, although the historian must be careful to distinguish between them as they differed both in thought and in doctrine. The very publications denying the connexion can be used as evidence that Anabaptist doctrines and history were *at least* a living memory in England during the 17th century.

James I at the beginning of his reign in England in 1603 attempted to relax the laws against the Roman Catholics. The number of people who took advantage of this leniency was so alarming to the Government that the penalties for not attending the established Church were again enforced. After the Gunpowder Plot was detected the King and the authorities enforced the penal laws against Nonconformists more strictly than ever, although after 1612 people were no longer burnt at the stake in England.

The last burning of heretics on English soil took place in that year (and it is worthy of note that it was an Anabaptist) when Edward Wightman was burnt at Lichfield. Wightman attracted notice by a petition sent to the King, whereupon he was arrested and sent before Bishop Neile for examination. The warrant for Wightman's arrest informs us that Bishop Neile was aided by "other divines learned in the law", but in Wightman "were embodied the wicked heresies of . . . the Anabaptists" which . . .

were stubbornly and pertinaciously, knowingly, maliciously, and with a hardened heart, published, defended, and dispersed . . . We therefore command thee (the Sheriff) that thou cause the said Edward Wightman . . . to be committed to the fire in some public and open place . . . and the same Edward Wightman cause really to be burnt, in the detestation of the

¹ See previous articles, "Anabaptism in England during the 16th and 17th Centuries", *Trans., C.H.S.*, XII. 256, 312.

² *Ibid.*, XII. 257n.

said crime, and for manifest example of other Christians, that they may not fall into the same crime.

In 1613 English Baptists entered on a literary campaign to make it clear that they were not of the type brought into odium by the name Anabaptist. They hoped thus to establish a more tolerant feeling towards themselves, but they failed completely, for a generation later they were still regarded as one with the slandered victims at Münster³, and another Parliament doomed them to life-long imprisonment.

Objections Answered came out in 1615. It is signed "By Christ's Unworthy Witnesses, His Majesty's faithful subjects: Commonly (but most falsely) called Anabaptists", and the text is at pains to justify this disclaimer and to lament the strange opinions held by Continental Anabaptists.

During the next few years considerable interest was shown in Anabaptism. Books⁴, some of which ran through several editions, were published giving an account of their history and doctrines. The popular editions were in French, German, and Dutch, and an English account was written by Thomas Harrab⁵.

Among the papers of the Privy Council is a letter dated 29 Nov., 1617⁶, to "his Majestie's learned counsell". It concerns a prisoner in the "Gatehouse" named William Ellis, "a wycked Anabaptist", who is charged to have spoken desperate speeches "touching his Majestie's person". It is followed by a warrant⁷ to the Master, Governors, and Keeper of Bethlehem to receive into their charge the person of William Ellis, . . . "and to keep him safe in their chaynes untill further order".

In the Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Peter's Church, Tiver-

³ This on the authority of Dr. W. T. Whitley, *History of British Baptists*, 40. See also publication (by John Murton?) dated 1613, *A most humble supplication of divers poore prisoners, and many other the King maties loyall subjects ready to testifie it by ye oath of allegiance in all sinceritie,—whose Greivances are lamentable onely for cause of conscience*, asking the Commons that they, "most falsely called Anabaptists", may have the benefits of the Act of 1610, which widened the oath of allegiance from Popish Recusants in 1606 "to all your (James I) subjects . . . reiected by committee". Calendared by Hist. MSS. Comm., III. 14.

⁴ Clouzier, *Histoire des Anabaptistes* (1615); Hans de Rics, *Histoire der martelaaren . . . sint het jaar 1524* (1615). The history of the German and Dutch Anabaptists was recast by Van Braght (1660). It went through several editions; Underhill translated it for the Hanserd Knollys Society (1850).

⁵ *Tesseradelphus, or the foure Brothers* (Lutheranisme, Calvinisme, Anabaptisme, Anglianisme), 1616. Francis Johnson's (Smyth's old tutor) book, *Touching the Anabaptists*, widely read in Puritan circles, does not deal with the Münster sect, but with Smyth's followers.

⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*—29 Nov., 1617.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 Dec., 1617.

ton, we again find reference to the Anabaptists, including "An Accompte of moneys levied on the Anabaptists for their Absence from Church in the year 1628". These accounts have been examined by the Rev. W. H. Burgess, who has published his findings in the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* (IV. 1 and 2). They give evidence of further persecution and add another grain of evidence to show that Anabaptism was rife in England.

A study of the *Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens resident in England, 1618-1688* (Camden Soc.) reveals another interesting entry under the heading, "A True Certificate of the names of straungers residing and dwelling within the city of London and the liberties thereof, together with the place of their birthe, and under the sovereignty of what prince they depende . . . signified by letters bearing the date of vj of September, 1618" (*S.P.D., Jas. I, Vol. CII*). Among the names in the Dowgate Ward is one John Pippinge, who is certified as having been born in Münster "under the Bishop of Mounster in Jernany".

In 1620 "An Humble Supplication to the King" contains the clause, "Your Majesty's Subjects, not for fear only, but for conscience sake, Unjustly called Anabaptists".

From 1624-1630 there was considerable correspondence between the Waterlander Church in Amsterdam and the six Baptist Churches in England. The correspondence has been preserved in Amsterdam, and an English publication has also been issued⁸. Dr. Whitley in his *History of British Baptists* gives a summary of the doctrinal points discussed; although the two sects remained apart, it is significant that they maintained friendly relations, and that letters passed frequently between them.

Despite a century of "extermination" Anabaptism in England still continued. In Feb., 1636, the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical wrote to John Wragge, messenger of the chamber⁹:

Credible information has been given that there are at present in London, and many other parts, sundry sorts of separatists and sectaries, as namely Brownists, Anabaptists and others . . . For remedy whereof, taking with him a constable and such other assistance as he shall think meet, he is to enter into any house where such private conventicles are held, and search for such sectaries as also for unlawful and unlicensed books and papers, and such persons, papers and books so found, to bring forthwith before the writers to be dealt with as shall be thought fit . . . And all justices of peace

⁸ *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.*, IV.

⁹ *Cal. S.P.D. Chas. I, CCCXIV*, 20 Feb. 1636.

and others are to yield assistance herein as Wragge shall require.

The State Papers show that this order bore speedy fruit. In 1636¹⁰

Francis Jones, of Ratcliff, Middlesex, basket-maker, was charged with keeping private conventicles—being an Anabaptist and as he refused to take an oath to answer these articles, for which contempt, and for that he confesses he had been rebaptized he was committed to Newgate.

In 1637 Archbishop Laud acquaints the king that

in his diocese near Ashford, several Anabaptists stood out so obstinately against the customs of the church, that there was no other way of dealing with them but having recourse to the Statute of Abjuration, or applying to the assistance of the Temporal Courts,—But whether this remedy is proper or not at this disturbed juncture is referred to His Majesty,—The hurt which they have done is so deeply rooted that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden.

Charles wrote against this report,

Keep these particular persons¹¹ fast until you think what to do with the rest.

Charles admits¹² the influence of the Anabaptists while at the same time he slanders them.

How many of the gravest and most substantial citizens of London, . . . are disgraced, robbed and imprisoned, without any process of law or colour of accusation, but of obedience to the law and government of the Kingdom; whilest Anabaptists and Brownists, with the assistance of vicious and debauched persons of desperate fortune take upon them to break up and rife houses, as public and avowed ministers of a new-invented authority.

After the imprisonment of Laud in 1640 there was a reaction in favour of Nonconformists; even the Anabaptists found sympathy.

¹⁰ *Cal. S.P.D. Chas. I, CCCXIV.*

¹¹ A Mr. Brewer and a Mr. Turner. Brewer remained in prison for 14 years. A courtier is reported to have said, "If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back" (*Howell's Letters*, 270).

¹² Charles's "Answer to an Ordinance of Parliament" (*Parliamentary History*, III. 31). That the "Anabaptists" so-called were not all "mean people" of "desperate fortune" can also be shown. The Court of High Commission, sitting in 1640, its last year of existence, dealt with John Fort of Tiverton, clothier, who on 10 Oct., 1639, had been fined £500 for his "Anabaptist" beliefs.

This would be hard to believe if we had not direct evidence¹³ :

On 18 Jan., 1640, Edmond Chillendon, Nicholas Tyne, John Webb, Richard Sturgess, Thomas Gunn, John Ellis, with at least sixty persons more, were all taken on Sunday last, in the afternoon in the time of Divine service, by the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour (in Southwark), in the house of Richard Sturgess, where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ. They being brought before Sir John Lenthal, he demanded why they did not go and resort to their parish church, according to the law of the 35th Elizabeth?

They answered : 1. That the law of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth was not a true law, for it was made by the bishops, and they would not obey it. 2. That they would not go unto their parish churches, for that those churches were not true churches; that there was no true church but where the faithful met. 3. That the King could not make a perfect law, for that he was not a perfect man. 4. That they ought not to obey him, but in civil things. 5. that some of them threatened the churchwardens and constables, that they had not yet answered for this work.

This is subscribed by the Knight and churchwardens. Sir John was ordered to take care of them and bring them to the House with all that could witness against them. According to order the Anabaptists were brought to the House and being severally called on, all of these faithful to our church did deny the most material things which they were charged with; whereupon Sir John Lenthal and the other witnesses were sworn, and did justify what they had subscribed on oath. Upon wh. the House did order "*That these Sectaries should receive for this time an admonition from this House, and be enjoyned hereafter to repair to their several parish churches to hear Divine service, and give obedience thereto, according to the Act of Parliament of this Realm: To that purpose, the order was read to them of this House 16 Jan.*". And they were told "That if hereafter they should not observe these commands, they should be severely punished, according to law: and so they were dismissed".

On 4 July, 1642, Charles from his Court at York issued directions to the Judges going on circuit :

That you take care for the suppressing of Popery in the counties by putting the laws in due execution, and stop the over-hasty growth of Anabaptism and other schisms as far as by the laws you may¹⁴.

¹³ Nelson's Collection, I. 727/728. ¹⁴ Cal. S.P.D. Chas I, CCCCXCI.

An interesting side-light which adds another grain of evidence that Anabaptist doctrines and historical tradition were to be found in England during this period is found in Stovel's Introduction to Canne's *A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England*¹⁵ :

And the Anabaptists whereof it is said, are *above thirty several sects* have their Churches, . . . Mr. Canne being the pastor of one company, and Mr. Greenwood, an old man, a tradesman, who sells stockings in the Exchange, I saw him there; he is the leader of another company.

On 26 June, 1643, Charles issued a Proclamation¹⁶ declaring the Common Council of London are many of them being chosen out of Brownists, Anabaptists and such who oppose the regular wholesome government of the city.

The General Baptists had entered on another campaign to show the distinction between them and the Anabaptists. In 1644 they published a Confession of Faith¹⁷, but the very effort they made to show the distinction between themselves and the Münster sect shows that they were familiar with Münster doctrine and history, and it is worthy of note that writers against the Baptists attacked and accused them (whether ignorantly or maliciously) of holding the same doctrines.

One writer¹⁸, who seeks in the history of German Anabaptists an armoury of crimes with which to assail them, thus sums up their offences :

I expect some will say with *John of Leyden*, that if the word of God were lost they might soon supply it with another . . . that regenerate men cannot sin is the very doctrine of the Ana-

¹⁵ Hanserd Knollys Soc. John Canne is supposed to have been pastor of the church in Deadman's Place, but was compelled to flee to Holland where he became pastor of the "Ancient English Church" in Amsterdam.

¹⁶ *Parliamentary History*, III. 134 f.

¹⁷ *The confession of faith of those churches which are commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptists*. Subscribed in the names of 7 churches in London. Revised 1646. Reissued 1651, 1652.

In Edwards's *Gangraena* (1645) there is a counter-blast to these publications: "Before you have heard of the condition of these Hereticks in times past; but with griefe of heart I speak it. Now they lift up their heads, they write books and publish them in defence of their detestable opinions, of which I have seen some . . . and this without any controle that I can heare of. . . Would to God our Religious Patriots assembled in Parliament would at length take care (as they have done with the Romish Emissaries) to suppress these . . . that they may not infect the simple people with their abominable Errours . . . The Wolves that were wont to lye in the woods, are come into our Sheepfold, and roar in the holy Congregations".

¹⁸ Underhill, *Confessions of Faith and other Public Documents* (Hanserd Knollys Society).

baptists . . . that a liberty of prophesying must be allowed . . . all these are scions of that stock of Anabaptism that was transplanted out of Holland in the year 1535, when two ships laden with Anabaptists, fled into England after they had missed the enterprize of Amsterdam.

Robert Baillie, writing in 1647¹⁹, ignores the statements of the General Baptists and repeats the calumnies against the Anabaptists :

The London Anabaptists' Confession is such an one as I believe thousands of our new anabaptists will be far from owning, as any man may be able to say without a spirit of divination, knowing that their usual and received doctrines do much more agree with the *Anabaptists in Germany*.

Baillie next proceeds in a special chapter to describe the tenets of the Anabaptists in England; not from their published and united confessions or their acknowledged writings, but from the pages of their antagonists.

It is interesting to note how upholders of the various sects combined against the Anabaptists. Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians alike seemed to find it only necessary to say that a belief or doctrine was Anabaptist to condemn it.

The final defeat of the King gave the supreme power virtually into the hands of the Army, in which the principles of Independency were very prevalent. The Presbyterians were therefore very fearful lest the Army should reject their polity and in its stead establish a more free and liberal government in Church and State. It is not surprising therefore to find references to Anabaptism in the letters and documents of the period.

A pamphlet was published in 1655 asserting that Cromwell had avowed his intention of turning all Anabaptists out of the Army. It is written apparently by someone with Anabaptist sympathies and is entitled *Queries for His Highness to Answer to his own Conscience*. Its author²⁰ addresses the Protector thus :

The way you intend to bring about this design is two-fold (1) To purge the Army of the Anabaptists, (2) to do it by degrees. But O, Oliver, is this thy design? And is this the way to be rid of the Anabaptists? And is this the reason because they hinder the reforming of things amiss in the Church? I confess they have been enemies to the Presbyterian Church; and so were you when you were at Dunbar in

¹⁹ *Anabaptisme the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownism, Antinomy, Familisme, etc.* (1647).

²⁰ Possibly John Sturgion. Copy in the British Museum.

Scotland . . . so highly did you love the Anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the Army, but entertained them in your family; but it seems the case is altered. But do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the Anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birthright as free-born people of England.

The report, however, was without foundation. Cromwell was more anxious to keep the Anabaptists in the Army than to turn them out. Any Anabaptist who was obedient to authority kept his commission without difficulty. Indeed Henry Cromwell, who had some trouble with the Anabaptist section among the officers intriguing against him, complained that the Anabaptists found too much support from his father. In a letter written from Whitehall on 21 Nov., 1655, addressed "For my Son, Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland", Cromwell writes²¹:

Son,

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and to find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs . . . Time and patience may work them to a better frame of mind.

In another letter dated 21 April, 1656, he writes²²:

I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach *you*, whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim . . . Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you.

Friction continued, however, and finally Henry cashiered Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Brayfield, an Anabaptist, for speaking words against his father. Cromwell wrote, 13 Oct., 1657²³:

I am sorrie you gave mee not one word about Leifnt Coll : Brafeild's busnesse . . . I would not believe 2 carnell men, against one such protestinge innocency (minde this)²⁴ it beinge in a case concerninge my selfe, where it is in my power to pardon without iniustice . . . I pray you give a remidee for my sake, and lett the poore man bee handsomely restored . . .²⁵

With Cromwell's death England for a time fell into a state of confusion. No man could tell which party would come to power.

²¹ Letter CCVII (Carlyle).

²² Letter CCVIII (Carlyle).

²³ Not in the Carlyle collection. The only copy is in the British Museum.

²⁴ These two words are inserted between the lines in a different handwriting.

²⁵ See Appendix.

The State Papers contain a letter²⁶ dated July, 1659, written by Secretary Nicholas to M. de Marces, Palais Royal, Paris, in which he reports the current rumours :

Hen. Cromwell will, it is said, submit as basely to this rump of a Parliament as his basely pusillanimous brother Richard has done. . . The divisions in Parliament and Army continue. The Presbyterians are quite out of favour. The Anabaptists, Brownists and Quakers are chief in esteem with Sir Hen. Vane and the rest of the rulers.

A later letter²⁷ adds :

The rebels are raising in London 3 regiments of Quakers, Anabaptists and Brownists, called Congregational men to be under Sir Hen. Vane, Major Skippon, and White, a famous Quaker from New England.

Still later²⁸ in September he reports :

The Anabaptists and Quakers are most powerful in Parliament and strongest in London, though disliked by most of the inhabitants.

But any Anabaptist hopes of power were short lived. The general feeling was strong against them. In 1659 a mob demolished their meeting-house on St. Dunstan's Hill in London and the authorities would give them no redress. An extract from a letter written to General Monk in the last week of 1659 by a Colonel in the Army shows that the brief tide of their fortunes had already ebbed. "The Anabaptists", says the letter, "are all as tame as asses, and as mute as fishes". In January, 1660, we find the Townsmen of Newcastle petitioning General Monk, that "no Anabaptists nor Quakers may be admitted to places of trust, either civil or military".

The Petitions presented to Charles II show the Anabaptists were out of favour. In June, 1660, Jane, a widow of Ralph Shirte, late Postmaster of Caxton, Cambridgeshire, petitioned²⁹ for the aforesaid office for her son, "it being now held by John Martin, one of Cromwell's sequestrators, and an Anabaptist".

The Postmaster at Newbury also wrote³⁰ and complained, "Major Wildman, Thomson and Oxenbridge, Anabaptists, put whom they please into the post".

In July Nathaniel Butter, citizen and stationer of London, petitioned³¹ Sec. Nicholas for his favour to obtain him a place in Sutton's Hospital "where there are not six pensioners lawfully put

²⁶ *Cal. S.P.D., Chas. I, 1659, CCIII.*

²⁷ *Ibid., CCIV.*

²⁹ *Cal. S.P.D., Chas. II, VI, Petition 113.*

³⁰ *Ibid., XXIII, 71 (2).*

²⁸ *Ibid., CCIV.*

³¹ *Ibid., IX. 150.*

in, many being Anabaptists or spurious fellows”.

Lord Cleveland's regiment lying at Yarmouth was ordered to be disbanded in October, 1660. Colonel Doyly wrote³² to Colonel Blagge saying “he hoped the place would not be trusted without a guard as the Anabaptists tried to foment differences between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians”.

In the same month Sir Humphrey Bennet wrote³³ Nicholas asking a recommendation for a lease of Collingborn farm, Wiltshire. He declares: “Anabaptists and Quakers swarm in every corner of the country”.

Richard Elsworth complained³⁴ to Nicholas in November that he was obstructed in administering the oath of allegiance by the Quakers and Anabaptists of Bristol, “who are numerous and defiant”, and he asks power to imprison the refusers.

Three days later he wrote again³⁵, “These monsters are numerous . . . and have meetings of 1,000 or 1,200 to the great alarm of the city of Bristol”.

On 2 Jan., 1661, orders were issued in Charles II's name³⁶ that to preserve peace and prevent plots, no people out of their own families should assemble on pretence of preaching, teaching, praying, or hearing the same, in any place whatsoever but in public

³² *Ibid.*, XVIII. ³³ *Ibid.*, XIX. ³⁴ *Ibid.*, XXI.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XXI. Bristol seems to have been an Anabaptist stronghold, for in the same year (1660) the Governor of Hereford wrote: “Teig late postmaster at Bristol, an Anabaptist, is still powerful here” (*Ibid.*, XXIII. 71 (1).) In 1661 we find William Colston reporting “the trained bands cannot suppress meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists at Bristol” (*Ibid.*, 1661, XXIX. 48).

³⁶ Order in Council against Anabaptists, Whitehall Council Board. “Whereas divers factious persons, under pretence of the liberty indulged by His Majesty's late gracious declaration, in reference unto tender consciences, do meet in great numbers and at unusual times, whereby it may be justly apprehended, that many of them enter into plots. . . It was thereupon ordered . . . that Mr. Solicitor-General should forthwith prepare a proclamation, commanding all such persons going under the motion of anabaptists, quakers and other sectaries, henceforward not to meet under pretence of serving God, at unusual hours . . . and if any shall be found to offend therein, the next justices of the peace are to cause them, and every of them, to be proceeded against, according to the laws. . .”—Kennet, *Register*, 352.

The State Papers show that the Baptists united and tried to mitigate the severity of this proclamation by pointing out that they were not the Anabaptists the memory of whose history alarmed the authorities. In the State Records of 1661 lies “The humble petition of certain baptised Christians (untruly called Anabaptists), of the counties of Kent, Sussex, Bucks., Dorset, Lincoln and Nottingham . . .” (that the Declaration of Breda be fulfilled). *Ibid.*, XLVIII. 41. That the memory of Anabaptist history in Münster was alive in England is evident from a pamphlet (in Sion College Library, London) issued in 1661 entitled *Münster parallel in the late massacres committed by the Fifth Monarchists*.

parish churches and chapels appointed. This caused a rising of the Fifth Monarchists, but it was suppressed in 4 days.

The Fifth Monarchy Rising gave the government the pretext for summary measures against conventicles. Accordingly proclamations were issued prohibiting all meetings of Nonconformists whatsoever.

We find additional confirmation of this in a letter written by Sir John Finch to Lord Conway, dated 11 Jan., 1661, in which he describes the Fifth Monarchy Rising under Venner, then goes on³⁷ :

No man is now allowed to have arms, unless registered; nor to live in the city without taking the Oath of Allegiance; nor to exercise religious duties out of his house; nor to admit others into it under penalty of a riot. This troubles the Quakers and Anabaptists, who had nothing to do with the business.

A quaint popular rhyme, *A Lecture for all sects and schismatics to read*, illustrates the situation at this period :

What ayles the Anabaptists
So much to be perplext,
The Quakers they are troubled too
With many severall sects,
The Brownists and the Adamites,
With fift monarchies too,
In this their mad and frantic fits
Seek Protestants t' o'erthrow.

With hey ho base Quakers,
Your wicked deeds all rue;
You must to Church or Tiburn
With Anabaptists too.

The Cobblers and the Tinkers
Must now forbear to Preach,
Taylors, Joyners and Tanners,
Must no false doctrine teach.

You Quakers and you Dippers,
Your wicked deeds all rue;
With speed return and go to Church
And leave that factious crew.

Nevertheless despite their proclamations the authorities found themselves faced with the same difficulty as their predecessors, for Anabaptism still persisted. The State Papers clearly show this, and that it was not a thing of small moment is evidenced from the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1661, XXVIII.

status of the people who wrote and took action against this "divellified sect".

On 26 Jan., 1661, Colston, Deputy Lieutenant of Bristol, stated³⁸ they were still forced to raise the trained bands for safety of the city, which abounds with Quakers and Anabaptists, "who meet contrary to the Proclamation".

On 19 Mar. Henry Toone wrote³⁹ to his brother in Staffordshire :

There are abundance of Quakers in prison, and many Anabaptists too, who refuse to swear.

William Williamson wrote⁴⁰ to Sir John Mennes on 1 April :

Yesterday there were great congregations of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchy men, so that the major part of London were there. . . The meeting of sectaries cannot be particularised for they are everywhere.

Captain Pestell reported⁴¹ to Secretary Nicholas on 26 Sept. :

The people are transported with jealousy and will not believe in the King's goodness, and spread seducing pamphlets everywhere. Several . . . at Plymouth are determined that the Common Prayer shall not come into Mr. Hughes's church ; the same feeling exists at Dartmouth and other places on the coast, where Anabaptists and Quakers abound.

From Barwick, Wiltshire, Roger Griffin wrote⁴² in the same strain to Lord Falkland :

Yesterday there was a great meeting of Anabaptists held at Titmarsh's house, where they used words as seditious as they could find. . . The Mayor sent constables who secured them, as they denied the Oath of Allegiance and security for good behaviour.

The State Papers also record⁴³ in Jan., 1662, the examination of John King, Southwark, and Goody Roberts of Uxbridge, an Anabaptist, stating there were divers meetings there. In June Thos. Culpepper and two other Captains of Militia wrote from Goudhurst to Sir Edward Hales that there were unlawful meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists held within the seven hundreds (in Kent)—and unless this were prevented good subjects must suffer⁴⁴, and William Kilburn lodged information duly recorded in the State documents that meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists had long been held at or near Cranbrooke in Kent, and lately many strangers had been amongst them⁴⁵.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIX. ³⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXII. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXIV.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XI.II. ⁴² *Ibid.*, XLIV. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1662, XLIX.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, LVI. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LVI.

That some of the Anabaptists took to treasonable plotting is clear from official records. The first hint the authorities received was in July, 1662, when John Parker and Charles Wood informed⁴⁶ Captain Busbridge of the Lord General's regiment against Robert Carter, a disbanded lieutenant and an Anabaptist costermonger of Thames Street, who had abused them when drinking together, "and spoke of an alteration soon to take place".

That the authorities were afraid of Anabaptism is evident from the correspondence. Lord Fauconberg wrote⁴⁷ to Secretary Nicholas reporting meetings and night ridings of disaffected persons, and he adds definite information :

Being near Beverley, Wm. Hallas, an Anabaptist, formerly a sergeant in Sir Arthur Hasslerigg's regiment, informed them of an intended general rising . . . to be executed about August 28, when they intended to seize the trained bands.

Further information is given in the official documents⁴⁸ under 20 Oct., 1662 :

The Anabaptists and Presbyterians of London unite in their design against the King, but intend to give it out that the rising will not be till spring, in order that the Guards may be taken from the city.

Nevertheless the "Anabaptist rising", if it ever was seriously proposed, came to nothing, and although many Nonconformists were persecuted, some being banished, while others were shipped as criminals to the Barbados, the government was prepared to pardon those who would accept the Oath of Allegiance and the State Church. A minute of a letter⁴⁹ to the Lord Chancellor, 28 Dec., 1662, shows this. It encloses lists of the prisoners in Newgate and the Gatehouse—among others 289 Anabaptists taken at unlawful meetings, "Whom the King is willing to set free if they will take the oaths and give security".

The Anabaptists, however, refused for the most part to forsake their beliefs despite persecution and penalties. A letter⁵⁰ written during this period gives us a detailed account of the sufferings of those who would not conform in religious matters :

The gaols are so filled that many are stifed through thronging together : Anabaptists hold out long and Quakers to the last.

Seditious meetings had been held during the previous six months

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, LVII. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, LVII. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, LXI.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, LXV. A further list of 214 Anabaptists and Quakers is given in Vol. LXVII (1663).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1663, LXIX.

in Mugglesworth Park, Durham. The record (it is a State document⁵¹, not rumour) adds :

They have correspondence through the nation, and boast thousands of Independents and Anabaptists.

That the authorities were alarmed and on the alert is shown by a letter⁵² dated 30 Mar., which says :

An informer, an Anabaptist who was troubled in conscience, has revealed his knowledge of a plot to the Bishop of Durham. Many persons are apprehended but none of quality.

Later in the same year the Government record⁵³ their

Intelligence of designs tending to insurrection. . . Troops are preparing in Durham and Yorkshire, but disputes have arisen between the Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy men. They intend to take Newcastle and Skipton Castle. . . They have agents in most counties and also in the fleet.

On 15 Oct., Bernard Walker of Newcastle informed⁵⁴ the authorities that he

met 80 armed horsemen, Quakers and Anabaptists, near Carleton in Coversdale . . . and heard at Whitsuntide that there were 500 of them and the number daily increasing.

The scare continued, for we find the Duke of Buckingham filing a letter⁵⁵ on 7 Mar., 1664, saying,

the malcontents begin to revive in the West of England and have thoughts of setting the City on fire. . . The time will probably be the opening of Parliament . . . if the Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy men are cared for, all will be prevented, the other sects being but few.

On 10 Mar. the Earl of Derby wrote the Duke of Albemarle enclosing an anonymous letter, "of great concern if true, and if the writer will own it at the assizes". . . It contains the names of several Cheshire men as engaged in the late plot . . . and declares⁵⁶ :

There are 5,000 Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists in the two countries, and 500 about Manchester ready . . .

Some of the foregoing statements as to numbers are based on statements which have no further backing than the speaker who made them, but we are only seeking to show that Anabaptism was a real thing in England during the 17th century, and these official records go to prove it.

The original lists of records of early Nonconformity for the years

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 22 Mar., 1663, LXIX. ⁵² *Ibid.*, LXIX. ⁵³ *Ibid.*, LXIX.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, LXXXI. ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1664, XCIV. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, XCIV.

1665, 1669-1676 have been transcribed, edited and published by G. Lyon Turner. They give in detail the various parishes of England and show the different sects therein, giving their number and their quality, and the names of the "Principalls and Abettors". It is a most illuminating compilation as to the number and strength of the Anabaptists in England, showing that they were by no means a feeble folk⁵⁷.

After nearly two centuries of persecution the authorities apparently could think of no better method of dealing with Anabaptism than the old penalty—imprisonment. We shall only deal with this point in brief, taking incidents here and there.

On 28 Feb., 1665, Alexander Rigby wrote⁵⁸ from Chester to Sir Geoffrey Shakerley informing him that Mr. Dutton of Hatton had apprehended some Anabaptists.

On 13 Mar. there is a report⁵⁹ from Dorchester :

Some Anabaptists were surprized at their meeting at Fordington, a parish near, and carried before a justice.

On 13th June, 1670, John Carlile wrote⁶⁰ from Dover :

Yesterday being the Sabbath we sent out some officers, who found upwards of 200 persons at a conventicle of Anabaptists.

On 27 July he added⁶¹ :

Much troubled at Dover with an obstinate party of Anabaptists who persist in their old way, notwithstanding they are dispersed.

His last entry⁶² on 2 Feb., 1671, apparently despairs of stamping out this persistent sect :

On Friday last the mayor and jurates caused the Anabaptists' pulpit, forms and benches to be pulled down, and hung padlocks upon the doors, but upon Sunday morning betimes the staples and locks were broke off and the Anabaptists went to their old trade again.

So the tale goes on. Sometimes it is Yarmouth, where the State Papers record in 1676 that an informer betrayed a meeting of 80 or 90 Anabaptists⁶³. Sometimes it is Deal that sends a report that

⁵⁷ The writer has gone over these records and made excerpts in so far as they concern Anabaptists, but as the research there has been done by Lyon Turner, they have been omitted from this article. We only use the fact of the great number of Anabaptists recorded officially in detail during these years as additional evidence that the Anabaptist tradition was alive in England at that time.

⁵⁸ *Cal. S.P.D., Chas. II, CXIII.*

⁵⁹ *Cal. S.P.D., Chas. II, CIV.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid., CCLXXVI, No. 127.*

⁶¹ *Ibid., CCLXXVII, No. 112.*

⁶² *Ibid., CCLXXXVII, No. 171.*

⁶³ *Ibid., CCCLXXXIII, No. 54.*

Anabaptist heresy is still to be found in its midst⁶⁴.

Truly Anabaptism was a stubborn root!

The 17th century was essentially a "religious" age. Even the common folk of the time were interested in theology and talked theology. Church fellowship was to them an absorbing reality. They took as vivid an interest in doctrine and church government as do their descendants today in sporting events or the cinema.

This is evidenced by the number of religious "tournaments" or disputations which were held all over the country. The details of those between Fisher, a Jesuit, and Archbishop Laud occupy an entire folio. Another is said to have been held in Southwark between Dr. Featley, a learned divine, and some unknown Baptists. The Doctor published his argument under the title, *The Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears*. It is dedicated to Parliament, and the Doctor advises that the Anabaptists should be "severely punished, if not utterly exterminated".

Dr. Featley's book elicited from his opponents a work with an equally striking title, *Baby-baptism mere babyism*, but it is futile to follow out the arguments. The opponents only succeeded in convincing themselves the more firmly.

Another religious debate which was to have been held by Captain Hobson and Hanserd Knollys against Master Calamy and Master Crawford on the vexed subject of infant baptism, was prevented by the authority of the magistrates under the Commonwealth, probably because these disputes were attended with considerable disorder. In the disputation between Danson and Ives on final perseverance, both complained of the disorderly conduct of the auditors, and again the Anabaptists were declared to be the cause of the disturbance. Danson declares, "there is not a ruder sort of people (the Quakers not accepted) than Arminian Anabaptists". Poor Anabaptists! even the Quakers abused them, for Quaker William Penn referred to them as "these tumultuous, bloodthirsty, covenant-breaking, government-destroying Anabaptists".

Space forbids an exhaustive treatment of the publications of the 16th and 17th centuries, but a study of them substantiates our thesis that the Anabaptist historic tradition was alive in England during these years.

Ten years after the Fall of Münster in 1535, Kerssenbroick published a (biased) history against the Anabaptists (in Latin). This Roman Catholic work is the source of nearly all the accounts of the German Anabaptists which appeared for nearly three centuries in Dutch, German, French or English. The first history by an Anabaptist was issued in 1616 by Hans de Ries in Dutch. It was

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, CCCLXXXIV, No. 179.

recast in 1660 by Van Braght and reprinted in 1685 with illustrations⁶⁶. That the English Churches knew of Hans de Ries's writings is evident for they entered into correspondence with him, and between 1624 and 1630 letters passed between them. A record of these is given in Evans's *Early English Baptists*, and in the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*.

In 1565 Guy de Bres published *La racine, source et fondement des Anabaptistes*. An English translation of this by J. Scottow appeared in 1685 entitled *The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists*. In 1615 (the same year as Hans de Ries's book) Clouzier published his account of the story, *Histoire des Anabaptistes : ou Relation curieuse de leur Doctrine, Regne et Revolutions*. In 1616 Thomas Harrab issued his *Tesseradelphus*. The following year appeared *Historiae Anabaptisticae* by Arnold Meschovius, and in 1637 a similar book was written by Conrad Heresbach, *Historia Anabaptistica*⁶⁶.

In 1642 a Pamphlet was published entitled, *A Warning for England especially for London, in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists, their wild preachings and practises in Germany*. In the same year another history appeared—*A Short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany*. This was so much in demand that another edition was issued the following year. It was reprinted again in 1647, and several copies are still extant. There are also several copies in existence of a book published in 1645 entitled *Mock-Majesty : or the siege of Münster*.

In 1645 Ephraim Pagitt issued a very popular work, *Heresiography : or a description of the hereticks and sectaries of the latter times*. This was enlarged and issued again in the same year and ran through several editions. It was printed again in 1647, 1648, 1654, 1661, and 1662. As we should expect, the Anabaptists come in for severe bludgeonings. First on the list of Pagitt's

impure Families who blasphemously pretend to be Godified like God, whereas indeed they are divellified like their Father the Divell,

come the "illuminated Anabaptists". Pagitt devotes no fewer than 64 pages to pointing out their errors *beginning with the Münster sect*.

In 1645, also, a Continental Anabaptist, Friedrich Spanheim, published a book, *Diatriba historica de origine, progressu et sectis Anabaptistarum*. An English version of this appeared in 1646

⁶⁶ E. B. Underhill translated part of this edition for the Hanserd Knollys Society.

⁶⁶ These books are all found in English libraries.

under the title *England's warning by Germanies woe: or an historicall narration of the originall, progresse, tenets, names, and severall sects of the Anabaptists in Germany and the Low Countries*⁶⁷.

In 1647 the people of England were again reminded of Anabaptist history by Daniel Featley who issued *A Warning for England, especially London, in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists*⁶⁸. W. Hughes of Marlborough followed in his steps, publishing in 1656, *Münster and Abingdon, Or the open rebellion there, and the unhappy tumult here*, while in the same year a pamphlet appeared entitled, *A relation of severall heresies, discovering the original ringleaders, and the time when they began to spread*. (This account is chiefly drawn from Bullinger on the German Anabaptists.) It is published "according to order by a well wisher of truth and peace".

There is still further evidence that the history of the Münster Anabaptists was not forgotten. In 1660 someone who writes under the initials S. T. issued *Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereunto, humbly tendered to . . . parliament. Together with a brief touch of the German Anabaptists and the Münster tragedy*. In the same year George Pressick of Dublin published *A briefe relation of some of the most remarkable passages of the Anabaptists in High and Low Germany in 1521*. The rising of the Fifth Monarchists drew forth yet another publication on the subject in 1661, *Münster parallel in the late massacres committed by the Fifth Monarchists*.

APPENDIX.

The writer has searched the records to find if by chance any of the contemporary Captains at Newport Pagnell (where Bunyan served as a "Souldier") could be charged with Anabaptist heresies.

Captain Paul Hobson was actually arraigned at Newport Pagnell as an Anabaptist. One of his sermons even caused a riot in the town and the authorities had to resort to martial law to quell it. Later for "setting up a conventicle" and absenting himself from "the public thanksgiving service for the victory at Naseby", he was put in prison by the governor of the garrison, Sir Samuel Luke.

In Edwards's *Gangraena* we read:

Extract of a certain letter . . .

There is one Paul Hobson, a Taylor, who comes out of Buckinghamshire, and is now a Captain having been in the Armies, who hath been a Preacher a great while; This man while he was in the Army, wherever he came he would preach publickly in the Churches, where he could get Pulpits and

⁶⁷ A copy translation of Spanheim's work is in Regent's Park College Library, Oxford, entitled, *An historicall diatribe concerning the originall, progresse, sects and names of the Anabaptists*. It is dated 1653.

⁶⁸ A reiteration of the Pamphlet of 1642.

privately to the Souldiers: the subject matter of his sermons was much against Duties, and of Revelations, what God had revealed to him. . . . Preaching one time against Holy duties (as an understanding man who heard him, related it to me and other company), he spake thus: I was once as legal as any of you can be, I durst never a morning but pray, nor never a night before I went to Bed but pray; I durst not eat a bit of bread but I gave thanks; I daily prayed and wept for my sins, so that I had almost wept out my Eyes with sorrow for sin: But I am perswaded when I used all these duties, I had not one jot of God in me. This Paul Hobson is one of those whose hand is subscribed to the Confession of Faith of the Anabaptists, set forth last Winter (1644). This Paul Hobson Preached in Newport-Pagnel, and thereabouts, in contempt of the Ordinance of Parliament made last April; After he was once taken and questioned for it, and let go, he comes back again and does it the second time, in contempt of the Governor of Newport-Pagnel that then was. . . . The matter of Hobson and his Confederates preaching was against our Church, Ministry, Children's Baptisme. . . . Sir Samuel Luke sent him up here for a contempt against the expresse Ordinance of Parliament, but the busnesse was referred to a Committee, . . . but I know not how it came about, instead of some exemplary punishment, this Hobson was presently at liberty and preached the very next Lords Day in Moor Fields or thereabouts. . .

Another interesting point occurs at this time concerning Anabaptist doctrine. It greatly exercised the Baptist Churches (including Bedford). Matthew Caffin who was expelled from Oxford about 1645 for his doctrinal views joined the General Baptist Church near Horsham, under Samuel Lover. He was appointed coadjutor and displayed considerable evangelical zeal, many little churches in Sussex and Kent looking up to him as their founder. In 1655 he opposed the Quakers in speech and in print. In 1656 at an Assembly of Churches, someone started the question, "How is Jesus Christ David's root and offspring?". Caffin seems to have become fascinated with the question and in consequence of the conclusion he came to seems to have become a veritable storm centre, for he got hold of Hoffmann's Anabaptist books and adopted his opinion that the flesh of Jesus passed through Mary "as water through a pipe." Thomas Grantham found speculation on this point so ripe in General Baptist circles that he devoted many pages of his book (*Christianismus primitivus*, 1678) to a statement of the usual views with a catena of authorities, while the churches of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxford, and Bedfordshire united to publish a most elaborate confession against Hoffmann's views (Whitley, *History of British Baptists*, 172 f.).

DUNCAN B. HERIOT.

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England (May, 1937). The chief articles are "The Character of Presbytery" (Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson), "Richard Baxter, Catholic" (R. D. Whitehorn), "The 'Stranger' Churches" (R. S. Robson), "Bartholomew Day, 1662, in the Contemporary News-Sheets" (Dr. S. W. Carruthers), "The Rev. John Thorley's Book on Bees" (Dr. H. Malcolm Fraser). Mr. W. B. Shaw continues both his "Fasti' of English Presbyterian Theological Students" and his "Fasti' of the English Presbyterian Ministry, 1836-1876".

Roby's Academy, Manchester, 1803-08

Manchester has been, and still is, the home of academical institutions where great numbers of men have been equipped for ministerial service.

THIS comment, made by Benjamin Nightingale in 1893 in the fifth volume of his monumental work, *Lancashire Nonconformity*, can be even more fully endorsed to-day, when, in association with the Victoria University and its theological faculty, almost every denomination has a College for the training of ministerial candidates in or near the city.

Possibly the earliest attempt at the inauguration of a Dissenting Academy here was that of Henry Newcome, M.A., the first minister of Cross Street Chapel, who "united with the character of the pastor that of the teacher of academical literature"¹. After the death of Newcome in 1695, at all events, a recognized "Academy" was sustained (1699-1705) by his assistant and successor, John Chorlton, who was in turn assisted and succeeded in this educational work by James Coningham, M.A. (1700-09). This academical line, after several migrations—to Whitehaven, Bolton, Kendal, Warrington—and some interruptions, gave place to the foundation in 1786 of Manchester New College, which was transferred to York in 1803, back to Manchester in 1840, thence to London in 1853 and to Oxford in 1889, where the present premises of Manchester College were opened in 1893².

Just about the time when this Unitarian foundation was removed from Manchester to York the need for an institution which would provide trained evangelists with Congregational interests to meet the needs of Lancashire and Cheshire and supply candidates for the Itinerant Society in which he was so deeply interested, was being felt and advocated by the Rev. William Roby.

Roby, born at Haigh, near Wigan, on 23 Mar., 1766, the son of an orthodox Churchman, had been led into Nonconformity under the preaching of the Rev. John Johnson of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexional Church, Wigan. He was educated at Wigan Grammar School, and for a season held a post as classical master at the Endowed Grammar School at Bretherton. Thus early he gave evidence of the zeal and evangelical fervour which so marked his later career; he began to preach and teach in the

¹ Toulmin, *Hist. View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters*, 246.

² *Vide Manchester College, Oxford, Proceedings and Addresses* (1893).

village and surrounding district, but in consequence of the opposition which his activities aroused from the incumbent of the parish, he resigned his post and definitely turned his thoughts to the ministry. He was received into the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, but only remained there for a very brief period (six weeks, according to one biographer). For a period he supplied the C.H. Churches at Worcester, Reading, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and then returned to Wigan as coadjutor to the aforementioned John Johnson, succeeding him as sole pastor on his removal in 1789. From Wigan, Roby was called to Cannon Street Chapel, Manchester, in Sept., 1795, where he exercised a fruitful ministry until his death on 11 Jan., 1830³. During this period the church was removed to new premises in Grosvenor Street (1807), and to him perhaps more than any other single person was due the formation of the Lancashire Congregational Union (1806), in whose interests he laboured assiduously, as he did also in promoting itinerancy throughout the county. To improve the quality and increase the number of evangelists for this work he proposed to provide training for likely candidates, and in this design he was happy in finding one of like mind in Robert Spear, merchant, of Manchester, a generous supporter of the Itinerant Society, who financed the students received by Roby.

The work of Mr. Roby's Academy was begun in Jan., 1803, Roby giving his services as Tutor gratuitously and lecturing in the vestry of Mosley Street Chapel (then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Samuel Bradley). Mr. Spear, "at very considerable expenditure, contributed towards the board and lodging of the students in private families", and also furnished a large and useful library of books. Lectures "of a superior order" were given in Theology and Biblical knowledge, as well as in English Composition and the rudiments of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

They were made intimately acquainted with the grammatical construction of their own language, and particularly instructed in the formation and arrangement of its sentences. Every week they received a lecture on the composition of sermons, and were expected to produce specimens of their own abilities. Logic formed an eminent part of their studies, and they were required, not only to read and understand Watts, but to form an abstract of the whole work for themselves. Ecclesiastical history, geography, the use of the globes, and the first principles of natural and moral philosophy also claimed a due portion of their time and attention. A knowledge, likewise, of the Greek and the Hebrew, made a peculiar part of every

³ Memoir, *Evangel. Mag.*, 1830, 81.

day's acquirement. Such was the general course of studies which the pupils under Mr. Roby's care were directed to prosecute. But, perhaps, their greatest advantages were derived from a course of theological lectures in which both the leading features and the minor points of divinity were clearly and distinctly arranged⁴.

Whatever the extent of the scholastic acquirements of the students (and this would appear to have been adequate, judging from their later work⁵), Roby certainly seems to have fired his *protégés* with tremendous enthusiasm for their task and to have initiated them fully into the joy of hard work—as the notes of their careers will reveal.

Robert Spear, the "patron" of the institution, was the son of a deacon of the first Congregational Church in Manchester—that at Cannon Street—who appears as one of the seceders who formed the Mosley Street Chapel in 1788. Born at Hyde's Cross, Manchester, on 27 Nov., 1762, Robert was educated at the Manchester Grammar School^{5a} and at a private academy in Liverpool. Becoming one of the early cotton merchants of the city, "generally a large measure of prosperity attended his speculations". He was a princely giver to the churches in and around Manchester, as well as to missionary and home evangelization work. It was largely owing to his retirement from business and removal to Mill Bank, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, that the Academy was dissolved in 1808. Mr. Spear removed to Edinburgh in 1816, the better to forward the education of his large family, and there died on 31 Aug., 1817. He was the first Treasurer of the Lancashire Union (1806-07), and also a member of the Leaf Square Academy Committee, which attempted, somewhat abortively, to supply the need created by the closure of Roby's Academy, as well as a generous subscriber to this later venture.

His interest in the education of ministerial candidates would appear to have been retained to the end, for the minutes of the Blackburn Independent Academy (1816-43), which took up the work declined by Leaf Square, shew him to have presided at the early meetings of the committee which launched that venture.

Slate⁶ gives a copy of the "address" which candidates for admission to Roby's seminary were required to sign.

To Robert Spear, Esq.

We, the undersigned, who shall be educated for the Christian

⁴ *Evangel. Mag.*, 1830, 138.

⁵ See also Nightingale, *Centen. Lancs. Congl. Union* (1906), 54.

^{5a} Entered 18 Jan., 1773—*Admission Register Manchester School*, I. 184.

⁶ *History of the Lancs. Congl. Union* (1840), 18.

ministry at your expense, do declare that we devote the remainder of our lives to the service of God in the Gospel of His Son; resolving, through Grace, not to abandon the work of preaching the Gospel as we shall be enabled, on any account, except compelled by absolute necessity.

Having thus put our hands to the plough, we consider it our duty not to draw back; but to be ready to preach the Gospel wherever openings in Providence may occur; while, if need be, we minister to our necessities with our own hands, and thus prove, to our brethren and to the world, that when we entered as labourers into our Lord's vineyard, it was not with an intention to improve our worldly circumstances or to raise ourselves to stations in Society superior to those we formerly held.

We understand that we are admitted into the Seminary on trial; and that we are to be continued only while we give satisfaction as to character, abilities and behaviour.

During our continuance, we will readily submit to the general rules of the Institution, and to any other regulations which the further experience of the Patron and the Tutor may recommend to our attention.

With our allowance for support we declare ourselves satisfied; and, in order to prosecute our studies without interruption, we engage to follow no occupation for further subsistence till our present connexion with this seminary is dissolved.

There were annexed to this address the following "General Rules"—which Slate does not give: Nos. 4, 7, and 9 are particularly interesting:—

1. That each candidate for admission be required to send a written account of his doctrinal sentiments, his religious experience, and the circumstances which inclined him to the Christian Ministry.
2. That each candidate produce satisfactory testimonies respecting his religious character, and his natural abilities; and if he has not been previously accustomed to preach or to exhort, that he be required to do so before his admission, in the presence of competent judges, in order to determine his natural aptitude to teach.
3. That each student, on his admission, sign the inscribed address to Mr. Spear, with professed approbation.
4. That the Hours of Study—except in particular cases—be from six to eight in the morning; from nine to twelve in the forenoon; from two to five in the afternoon; and from six

to eight in the evening; and that these be employed according to direction.

5. That the general term of Education be two years; but that this be occasionally abridged or extended if the Patron and Tutor conceive that circumstances require it.
6. That the Students, during their continuance at the Seminary, consider themselves under obligation to preach when and where the Patron and Tutor may appoint.
7. That no Student, during the term of his studies, form any kind of connection, especially with a Female, which might retard his improvement, without giving immediate information thereof to the Patron or the Tutor.
8. That no Student be out of his Lodging after 10 o'clock at night; without assigning some very satisfactory reason.
9. That the Students watch over one another in Love, and after private admonition, if it fail, inform the Patron or Tutor of any inconsistency of conduct, or change of sentiment, discovered in any of their Brethren, and that neglect in this case be considered as subjecting the party to a proportional degree of guilt.
10. That the Students pledge themselves to give an ingenuous answer to all such questions as the Patron or Tutor may at any time propose to them respecting their sentiments, their conduct, or their studies.
11. That every Month, each Student renew his professed approbation both of the original address, and of the general rules of the institution.

No records are available concerning the actual working of the Academy (if any were, indeed, ever kept by either Roby or Spear) and the foregoing details are furnished by the Lancashire Congregational historians, Halley, Slate, and Nightingale, supplemented by some recently found papers of George Hadfield—later M.P., and Secretary for a time of both the Leaf Square and Blackburn Academies. Regarding the students trained by Roby, Slate (p. 19) says, "the first class was admitted in Jan., 1803; but when the rest entered cannot now be exactly ascertained". The venture was brought to a close in 1808, when Mr. Spear removed from Manchester and apparently withdrew his financial support. Without more definite information it can only be surmised that it was relinquished in view of the project mooted in the first annual report of the Lancashire Union (published Jan., 1808), which appealed for support of a County Seminary "on an extensive and liberal scale" and which bore fruit in the following September, when a

plan was outlined leading to the formation in 1810 of the short-lived Leaf Square Academy, Pendleton, and later, in 1816, to the foundation of the Blackburn Academy. Mr. Spear, at least, had not tired in his support or generosity, since the early minutes of Leaf Square reveal him as one of its earliest and most munificent supporters.

Slate's list of students contains 14 names, to which Nightingale⁷ adds one (questionably—*vide infra*) and from which he omits another. Details of 17 men are here given: whether there were others cannot now be determined.

James Turner.—Born at Stroud near Oldham, in Mar., 1782.

Bookseller's apprentice in Manchester and an attender at Cannon Street Chapel, where his attention was turned to the ministry by Roby. Entered the Academy for the two years' course and then proceeded to Rotherham. Completing his training there, he settled in 1808 at Knutsford over a church which had been regularly supplied since 1803 by the students from Roby's seminary. This was his only pastorate, held until his death on Friday, 22 May, 1863. He was for more than 20 years Secretary of the Cheshire Union. (Numerous references to him and his work in Powicke's *History of the Cheshire Union*.)

Joseph Gill.—Born at Eton in 1776, came to Manchester and became a member of Roby's Church; spent two years at the Academy and then, like Turner, went to Rotherham. Settled at Hinckley, Leicestershire, in 1806 and removed in 1816 to Egerton, near Bolton, where he remained until 1845, when he retired to live at Pendleton and there died, 30 Nov., 1847. (His son, also Joseph, born at Hinckley, subsequently entered the Blackburn Academy (1838-42), and sailed for Africa on 7 Jan., 1843, with Robert Moffat. After service at Graaf Reinet, Somerset, and Fort Beaufort until 1853, when his work was broken up by the Kaffir War, he returned to England and followed his father in the Egerton pastorate, 1854—4 Aug., 1856, when he died.) Obituary notice of Jos. Gill Senr., *1848 Year Book*, 223.

Thomas Jackson.—Born at Sowerby, Yorks, 17 Apr., 1770.

Became a member of Wycliffe Church, Warrington, under Rev. Jos. Sowden, and was commended by it to the Academy. Settled at Wharton, near Bolton (1805?), being at that time close on 40 years of age. Though he had a wife and three children and a salary which did not average £32 per annum, he was never known to complain. He seems to have earned

⁷ *Centenary, Lancs. Congl. Union*, 54-5.

his stipend, preaching regularly at Wharton and in the neighbouring villages and hamlets of Westhoughton, Chowbent, Astley, Stirrup Brook, Sale Lane, Mosley Common and Tyldesley. After 14 years' service at Wharton, Jackson removed to Bamford near Rochdale in 1819, where he remained until his death on 16 May, 1837. "A hard student and a searching preacher". (v. *Congregational Magazine*, Nov., 1837.)

James Mather. Born at Leigh, Lancs, in 1775. His family removed to Warrington after the death of his mother when he was about 16 years of age, and he was apprenticed to a butcher in that town. Having served his time, he removed to Bolton-le-Moors, where he took up again the trade of weaving to which he had been put earlier in life, and became a successful master-craftsman. Here he married a Miss Speakman, who died in child-birth of her tenth child. Of her family, one son became minister at Bilston, Staffs, and later at Shepherds Market, Mayfair, London, and another, Robert Cotton Mather, M.A., LL.D., a missionary at Mirzapur. Mather became a member of Duke's Alley Church, Bolton, and was elected a deacon some six months later, and by the church here was urged to devote himself to the ministry. He was accepted by Spear and Roby as a student, despite the fact of his having already a wife and four children, and, on completing his course, settled at New Windsor, Salford, early in 1805. He removed in 1808 to Howard Street Chapel, Sheffield, and about 1827 to Livery Street Chapel, Birmingham. From there, after about 15 months, he was called to Upper Clapton, where he ministered for about ten years. After resigning his charge he was resident in Islington and associated himself with Claremont Chapel until the time of his death—26 May, 1840. (*Evangelical Magazine*, 1842, 157ff and 209ff, where it is noted that he was the first to be interred in Abney Park Cemetery. His resignation from the pastorate at Upper Clapton, in 1839, followed a controversy with the church in which he maintained the right of a minister to *select* his deacons from those *elected* by the church, based on his exegesis of *Acts* 6⁵ and *I Tim.* 3¹⁰.)

Robert Matsell Miller.—Born at Lynn, Norfolk, 18 July, 1794, he became an assistant in a school in Manchester and there came under the influence of Roby, and was "one of the first six students" (*Evangelical Magazine*, 1845, 281f). Miller settled at Hollinshead Street, Chorley, in Mar., 1806, and resigned in Dec., 1808, to become Town Missioner to two Congregational and two Baptist Churches in Liverpool

for about a year. After four months as an agent of the Surrey Mission he settled at Earl Shilton, 1810-13, and at Atherstone, 1813-44. During his pastorate here a new chapel was built in North Street and opened in 1826. He died 24 Sept., 1844. He published :

- A Catechism on the Nature of a Christian Church.*
- The Christian Teacher.*
- A Catechism of Doctrines and Ordinances of Divine Revelation.*
- The Catechist or Religious Instructor.*
- A Collection of Hymns for Sunday Schools.*
- The Religious Instruction of Children and Youth.*
- Remarks on Religious Worship,*

as well as improved editions of Watts' 1st and 2nd Catechisms, and some memoirs.

He did not dazzle, but he enlightened. He did not surprise, but he informed. If he had little for the critic, he had always something for the Christian.

Peter Ramsay.—Born at Strathmartine, near Dundee, 27 Dec., 1772, was the son of a gardener. He was for some time a teacher in a private school and became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Dundee. When the Rev. William Innes settled in Dundee and formed a Congregational Church he joined it, and from Innes he received his early ministerial training, under the patronage of Mr. Haldane of Edinburgh. After a further course at Roby's Academy he settled at Dundee Church, Ramsbottom (1807 or 1808), whence he was apparently ejected in consequence of some disagreement in 1811. He settled nearby at Holcomb Brook, 1811-14, when he was almost simultaneously approached by the churches at Tintwistle, Bethel Chapel, Bury, and Haslingden. Responding to the invitation of the last, he settled at Haslingden and remained there from 1814 to 1846, when failing health compelled resignation. He died at Haslingden, 2 July, 1854. (*1855 Year Book*, 230-1.)

Among the more prominent members of Dundee Church (said to be the localized version of *Dom. dei*, the inscription over the lintel of the old door) were the brothers Grant—William, John, Daniel and James—who purchased the print works of Sir John Peel at Ramsbottom in the year of Ramsay's settlement. Two of the brothers, William and Daniel, were generally acknowledged to be the prototypes of Charles Dickens's Cheeryble Brothers, Ned and Charles, in *Nicholas Nickleby*.

Robert Maclean.—Settled at Lowther Street, Kendal, in 1810⁸, and after a few years resigned and went to North America. Subsequently returning to England, he became minister at Newington Chapel, Liverpool, in 1826, removed to Stone, Staffs, in 1830⁹, and to Nantwich, Cheshire, in Sept., 1835, where he remained until his death in June, 1840. "He was a very popular preacher and attracted great numbers to the chapel. During his time the chapel was pewed". (Powicke, *History of the Cheshire Cong. Union*, 160, gives as M'Clean.)

James Sheppard.—Settled at Glossop, Derbyshire (n.d.), and there died, 18 Feb., 1931, *aet.* 69. In 1811 he was one of the trustees to whom the church property was conveyed, but his name does not appear in later records of the ministers at Glossop, though the list is admittedly incomplete. In the baptismal registers are entries relating to his children in which he is described as a "Cordwainer"—quite possibly in addition to ministerial work, at least for a season. George Partington (*v. infra*) officiated at his funeral.

George Partington.—Place and date of birth not known. A member of Roby's Chapel in Manchester, he was one of those dismissed in Feb., 1804, to form a new church at Patricroft. He entered the Academy in 1805, and left in 1807 to settle at Oldham as an evangelist under the newly-formed Lancashire Union. He was removed from Oldham after a few months and settled at Burnley. Here, in a town then described as a "licentious place with many profligate characters", he became the first pastor of Bethesda Chapel, 1807 to 1810, and journeyed widely through North-East Lancashire, preaching at Colne, Whalley, and Great Harwood. He removed to Colne in 1810, although continuing to preach fortnightly at Burnley, and from this new centre itinerated at Mosshouses, Barrowford, Blacko, Fence, Rough Lee, Twiston, Newby, Gill, Martin Top (where the church was formed under his inspiration), in addition to regular preaching appointments at Thorney Holme, Barley, Clitheroe, and Grindleton. Leaving Colne in 1816, he settled at Park Chapel, Ramsbottom, 1816-26; then at Glossop, 1826-36, where he died on 29 Feb., 1838.

John Gray.—Date of birth unknown. By his own express wish, his grave-stone bore no name or details, being engraved merely "1818. A Sinner saved by grace". At the death of his wife

⁸ The writer suspects that this was the McClean who was minister at Burton-on-Trent (?1803-09), but has not been able to secure any proof of identity. (*vide* Matthews, *Congl. Churches of Staffordshire*, 251).

⁹ So Nightingale, but not Matthews, *op. cit.*, 262.

in 1864, however, his name was added with hers, and the fact that he was 42 years of age, which would make his birth *circa* 1776. From the Academy he proceeded to Bamford, settling as stated preacher on 16 May, 1810, although he had supplied on 11 June of the preceding year. He was not ordained until 23 Aug., 1815: resigned through failing health on the first Sunday of Nov., 1817, died 11 April, 1818, and was interred at Bamford.

Solomon Ashton.—Born at Bury, Lancs, 22 Oct., 1774. His early connexion was with the Methodists, for whom he itinerated in North Yorks, Lancs, and S. Westmorland for a couple of years. Then, inclining to Independency, he preached as a supply for three Sundays at Old Indept. Chapel, Stockport, in 1804, a cause then in a very low state. He was invited to become its pastor, and was formally set apart for that office on 19 June, 1806, having in the interval become a student under Roby, entering the Academy on 22 April, 1805. At the Academy he was able to support himself, and was not maintained by Mr. Spear. He went each Saturday to Stockport and returned to Manchester on the Monday morning—an early “Student Pastorate”. A new chapel (the Tabernacle) was opened 23 Aug., 1807. Here Ashton remained until his death—14 Sept., 1836. (*Evangelical Magazine*, 1838, 53ff.)

George Kilpatrick.—“A native of Ireland”. After a period at the Academy was invited to supply Old Independent Chapel, Farnworth (the forerunner of the present Market Street Church), in Oct., 1809, but after a year’s service there was not re-elected (Simeon Dyson, *Rural Congregationalism*, 20-1). Some time later—*circa* July, 1813—he assumed the pastoral oversight of the Bethesda (C.H.) Chapel, Tockholes, but died in Mar., 1815 (Nightingale, *Histy. Old Ind. Chapel, Tockholes*, 168). Slate (p. 21) says that Kilpatrick was never ordained: “Deservedly esteemed as a truly pious man, but on account of bodily affliction was incapable of much ministerial exertion”.

Robert Maurice* Griffiths.—Born “in Wales” 1779, and baptized at Llanfyllin, 26 May, in that year. Member of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. Came to Manchester when 20 to perfect his knowledge of English, attended Roby’s chapel and subsequently became one of his students. Settled at Flag Lane, Warrington, 1811-16, and then appointed to Kirkham, 1816-48, with an itinerancy in the Fylde. In 1848 he retired to Blackpool, where he gave much help in the early days of the present Victoria Street Church. He returned to Kirkham to live in 1854 and died there, 12 Aug., 1859, at

the age of 80. (*1860 Year Book*, 186f.: Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonc.*, I. 97-8; IV. 234.) (*Nightingale gives Morris.)

James Morrow, whose name is given by Slate, p. 20, but for some reason omitted from Nightingale's list, was appointed by the Lancashire Congregational Union, on leaving the Academy in 1807, as an itinerant evangelist in the Fylde District, with his centre at Poulton. He preached regularly at Poulton, Kirkham, Clifton, Thornton, and Marton. In 1812 a church was formed at Kirkham, as one had previously been at Poulton in 1809, and he transferred his home there. The Lancs. Union first annual Report (Jan., 1808), says :

Mr. Morrow has now preached at nine or ten different places in the *Filde* for the space of about nine months. At some of these places his hearers amount near to a hundred in number; at others, to many more As yet, he has not been able to get a suitable place to preach in at *Poulton*; he, therefore, speaks in his own house, which is but very small.

In 1813 he removed from Kirkham to Leek, Staffs, where he remained until his death in 1836.

The next two names are not included in the lists of students given by Slate or Nightingale, although the latter has a footnote (*Lancs. Nonc.*, IV. 12) to the effect that Adamson was one of Roby's Students.

John Adamson.—Born in Scotland, 12 July, 1774, and left an orphan early in life, came to Liverpool at the beginning of the century and was a member of Newington Chapel, Liverpool. He was at the Academy from 1805-07, and then settled as first pastor of the church at Patricroft, 1807-21, being ordained on 30 Aug., 1808. He preached regularly also at Eccles, Pendlebury, Folly Lane, Roe Green, and Boothstown. He removed to Charlesworth, Derbyshire, in 1821, resigned in 1847, and died 31 Oct., 1848. (*1848 Year Book*, 209.)

William Silvester.—Born at Stafford, 19 Nov., 1777, the son of James Silvester, an innkeeper. Apprenticed to a tailor in Stafford in 1795, he removed in due course to Woburn, where he married Mary Moore, returning with her to Stafford. Became a member of Vine Street Church, Stafford, and later of Roby's Church in Manchester, and then for about 15 months was a student in the Academy. He was appointed to Sandbach in April, 1807, as an itinerant evangelist, preaching in his own hired room. Four months later, however, a barn "36' x 21'

with a gallery at one end" was bought and "opened unencumbered of any debt". A new chapel (Hope) was built in 1837, and Silvester continued to serve here until his death on 1 Sept., 1846. He was "one of the first and one of the greatest evangelists ever connected with this Union", says the Report of the Cheshire Union for 1880. (*Evangelical Magazine, 1848*, 529ff.—and references in Powicke, *Hist. of Cheshire Congl. Union.*)

To his list of the students of Roby's Academy, Nightingale adds the name of

James Pridie.—Born at Oxford, 22 Sept., 1786, one of 12 children, brought up in connexion with the Church of England. He removed to London on business at the age of 20, and thence, after a few years, to Manchester, where he joined himself to Roby's Church. He became an assistant master at Leaf Square Academy from 1811-13. Nightingale, using mainly data from the obituary notice in the *1874 Year Book* (355-7), says that he did this "to prepare himself in some measure for the duties of the Christian ministry" and that after three years at Leaf Square "he placed himself under Mr. Roby for his theological course". If this order is correct, then he cannot be regarded as one of the Academy Students, since that was dissolved before the inception of Leaf Square. The above details, moreover, suggest that he could hardly have reached Manchester much before 1808 at earliest, and he did not become a member of Roby's Church until 1811 (Nightingale, V. 136), which would seem to preclude the possibility. His name is not given by Slate. Pridie resigned from Leaf Square, where he had been engaged to "attend to the instruction of the junior children", in July, 1813, after having made unsuccessful application for admission upon the foundation as a student. (*Leaf Square Academy Minutes*, 42, 99.) He settled in 1814 at Malpas, Cheshire, with the oversight of Boughton, and removed to New Windsor, Salford, in 1816. He remained here until 1829, during the last ten years also keeping a school to supplement his income. Called to Zion Church, Halifax, in 1829, he served there until 1858, during which period he became (2nd) Chairman of the West Riding Congregational Union, and was District Secretary of the West Riding Home Missionary Society, the Halifax Auxiliaries of the Bible Society and the R.T.S. He died, 25 Jan., 1873, aged 87. (*1874 Year Book*, 355-7.)

Although the Grosvenor Street Academy is "officially" regarded as having closed its work in 1808, Roby's tutorial labours did not end then. While not included by the county historians in the lists

of his students, mention can hardly be omitted of some other men who were trained by Roby for ministerial and missionary service, among them not the least distinguished of his pupils. They were: Robert Moffat, D.D. (See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXVIII. 97 and *Cong. Year Bk.* 1884, 311-314; in Moffat's *Missionary Labours & Scenes in S. Africa* (1846 edn., 72) he gives a passage from Roby's lectures on "Revealed Religion" which is of interest as shewing the type of theology taught); George Platt (outline career in Sibree, *L.M.S. Register of Missionaries*, No. 172); Samuel Sheridan Wilson (*ibid.*, No. 193); William Howe (*ibid.*, No. 392); John Cummins (*ibid.*, No. 255 and *Cong. Year Bk.* 1873, 321f); John Ince and John Hampson (*Sibree*, Nos. 187 and 190), who were both prepared by Roby for later study at Gosport; James Kitchingman (*ibid.*, No. 167), and David Dunkerley (*Cong. Year Bk.* 1874, 323f), all known to have been students under Roby after 1808.

CHARLES E. SURMAN.

(Continued from page 63)

wished to acquire the tongue, and instruction could be obtained in Church Music. In the last five classes Latin was also taught on request.

The students not only attended lectures, but also wrote essays upon prescribed subjects and delivered sermons in rotation for criticism by the tutors. One day in each week was given over to Scripture exposition. All were required to speak in turn upon passages chosen for that purpose, the tutor making concluding observations, explanations, and criticisms as occasion required.

It will be seen from all this that the course of training which the students received was of a high standard. Scottish Congregationalism owed much, almost its very existence, or rather persistence, to the interest and liberality of Robert Haldane. In no way did he serve the cause better than in his work for the seminary. It was his dream, and he abandoned himself to it. It was criticized, mostly on the ground that his influence and power over it were too strong. But there is no doubt that the life and work of the young denomination were enormously enriched by the steady flow of educated preachers which the seminary supplied. And their quality was largely due to the determination of Haldane that they should have the best that money could buy. His leaving the denomination was the most serious loss that it suffered, but his good work had already borne fruit in the churches.

R. F. CALDER.

The Ministers of Lion Walk Church, Colchester.

RECENTLY Lion Walk Church, Colchester, one of the oldest Congregational churches, has erected a "Name Board" of its ministers dating from 1642.

The earliest name recorded is that of *John Ward* (1642-1644). A great deal of research has been carried out to establish his identity and to disentangle him from several others of the same name and period. The only history of the church was compiled by J. A. Tabor in 1861, and he assumed him to be the son of John Ward (the elder), "Preacher of Haverhill". This was, however, almost certainly incorrect. It has also been established that Samuel Ward (a son of John of Haverhill) was not the colleague of Bridge at Rotterdam as the *Dictionary of National Biography* asserts, for he (Samuel) undoubtedly died and was buried as Rector of St. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich, in 1640.

What has been ascertained about the John Ward of Colchester is that he left Norwich with his friend William Bridge, M.A., fleeing with him to Holland from the persecutions of Bishop Wren. There is every right to assume that Ward also was a Puritan clergyman of the Norwich diocese, but of what church it has not yet been possible to ascertain. (There was a John Ward at St. Swithins, Norwich, 1608-1647, and another John Ward at St. Michael-at-Plea, Norwich, who died 28 June, 1634, neither of whom, it will be seen, can have been the Colchester Ward.)

There is a possibility that Ward was identical with one of that name who declined an invitation to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Utrecht in 1637. In any case he and Bridge came to Rotterdam at about that date and joined themselves as members to the English Independent Church there, which Hugh Peters had founded in 1623. Soon after their admission both Bridge and Ward were elected and ordained to the pastoral office. Within two years however it would appear that Ward was deposed by the Church after a dispute within it on church discipline, but later was recalled and reinstated in his office. In or about 1641, Bridge, Ward, and others returned to England, where in the following year, Bridge became the first minister of the Congregational or Independent Church at Great Yarmouth. The contemporary records of that Church state:

After they came into Holland, divers joined themselves to the Church at Rotterdam, and abode members five or six years; among whom were Master William Bridge and Master

John Ward, who also were chosen officers of the Church there. But after the glad tidings of a hopeful Parliament called and convened in England, divers of the Church—not without hope of liberty there—returned into England. Upon the return of divers at several times and sitting down in divers places at Norwich, Yarmouth, etc., they found many lets and impediments which hindered their present gathering. In the meantime, Master John Ward being called to Colchester, did there with others gather into church fellowship, and there continued.

The record of Ward's ministry at Colchester is confirmed by his will. The original has been perused and photographed at Somerset House. It is dated 7 Aug., 1644; in it he is described as "Pastor of a Church of Christ at Colchester" and he bequeaths certain property of his estate in Rotterdam, thus linking him with certainty with the John Ward of the church there. An entry of burial has also been found in the register of St. Botolph's, Colchester, of "Master John Ward 7th August, 1644" (not 12 May, 1644, as is erroneously stated in Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*). The entry is the only one for a long time preceded by the word "Master" and denotes possibly "Master of Arts" and certainly one of some social distinction and position. It will be noted that the date of the will is identical with that of the burial; is it fanciful to suppose that he died of the plague or some other virulent disease and made his will, died, and was buried on the same day?

The next name recorded is that of *John Ellis* (1645-), with the word "uncertain" against it. Tabor says his ministry began in 1646, but gives no authority for his statement. Of him it can be said that he was an Independent preacher of some note who was regularly preaching in Colchester in 1645 and engaging there in controversy with Presbyterians and others. He entered and paid for a nephew of the same name at the Colchester Royal Grammar School in May, 1645, whom he brought from Yorkshire "because of the war". He is described in the school admission register as "John Ellis, preacher (*concionator*) of St. Peter's, Colchester".

Then came a period of about 40 years of which research reveals nothing with certainty. But when it is remembered that these years include the Siege of Colchester (1648), the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1663), and the Five Mile Act (1665), it is not surprising that, with the secrecy necessary for the Church's continued existence, all records are lost, if indeed any were kept. Whatever original books were kept are stated by

Tabor to have been lost; the books in existence begin with the pastorate of John Crisp (1764).

It is possible, however, that the well-known *Owen Stockton, M.A.*, was one of its ministers. He was born in 1630 and became M.A. and a Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1653; after a roving ministry in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Essex, he was appointed "catechist" of his College and whilst still holding that position was invited to occupy the pulpit of St. Andrew's, Cambridge, in 1653. A few years afterwards he was invited by the Mayor and Corporation of Colchester to become Town Lecturer (their chaplain), a position which William Bridge had occupied in 1631. He accepted and was to preach each Lord's Day in the afternoon and every Wednesday in the forenoon, and on every Midsummer Day, Michaelmas Day, Dennis's Day, and fifth of November. He also offered to preach each Lord's Day morning at St. James's Church without reward. With the Act of Uniformity he was debarred from the exercise of his ministry and shortly afterwards was suspended from his Lectureship. He appears to have preached in his own house and was presented in 1663 by the Churchwardens of St. Botolph's for "holding a conventicle in his house" and "admonished to forbear". From his diaries it is evident he was similarly engaged in 1665 in Colchester and after an absence at Chatsham in Suffolk he returned to Essex and in 1669 was again reported "for having a conventicle with George Done". In the following year he was presented in the Ecclesiastical Court at Ipswich. At the Indulgence in 1672 Stockton took out a licence on 16 Mar. to be "a Presbyterian and Independent teacher" in Ipswich, and on 22 May a licence was taken out for "the house of Robert Howlett in St. Martin's Lane, Colchester, to be an Independent Meeting House" and on the same day Stockton took out a licence to be "an Independent teacher" in Colchester. He seems to have collaborated with Edward Warren, M.A., the ejected minister of St. Peter's, Colchester, who at the same time obtained a Presbyterian licence "at his own house or that of John Rayner". They seem with unusual interdenominational fellowship for that period to have preached alternately at each of those licensed houses, and their joint congregations, at one period, worshipped together in the Castle, then the property of Sir James Northfolk, Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons. Stockton died in 1680. Space has been left for the insertion of other names at this period on the board.

The next fixed date is 1691, for in that year *William Rawlinson* built and put in trust a meeting-house for the Church, of which he was the minister, in Moor Lane (now Priory Street). His original

will is also in existence, and in it he is described as "of Colchester, Minister of the Gospel", and reference is made to the Trust Deed. He died in 1692 or 1693 at the age of 33. It is worthy of comment that John Ward was buried in St. Botolph's parish, Owen Stockton was presented for holding a conventicle in his house by the churchwardens of St. Botolph's, Rawlinson built a meeting-house in the same parish, and in the probate of his will he is described as "late of St. Buttolph's parish".

Any information (or the means of acquiring it) more certainly linking Ellis or Stockton, or any others of that period, with Lion Walk Church, between Ward's death (1644) and the probable date of the commencement of Rawlinson's pastorate (say 1684), would be very welcome.

Rawlinson was followed by *John Gledhill*, who was pastor for 34 years (1693-1727). There is on record his funeral sermon, preached by the Rev. John Barker, at the Moor Lane Meeting House on 15 Dec., 1727, from which the following sentence sums up his ministry: "How faithfully he laboured in his Lord and Master's work, and how holily and unblameably he lived and walked amongst you, ye are witnesses, and God also;"

Next came *John Collins* (1728-1737), the grandson of Rev. John Collins, a graduate of Harvard (1649), who returned to England during the Civil War and became chaplain to General Monk. John Collins of Colchester completed his educational career at the University of Utrecht. He was the grandfather of the Tabor who wrote the history of the Church in 1861. Then followed *Benjamin Vowel* (1738-1744) who falling seriously ill was succeeded by his assistant, *Ebenezer Cornell* (1744-1763). It was during his pastorate that the church became possessed of the four silver communion cups, of beaker shape, which were used for over 150 years.

John Crisp (1764-1775) came next in the list, and after he had been minister but two years the Church took the important decision, owing to the dilapidated state of the Moor Lane building, to move to a more central position in the town, where a chapel, a perfect octagon in shape, which was always known as the "Round Meeting", was erected. Crisp subsequently held pastorates at Ringwood, Hertford, and Harleston.

Then followed the long ministry of *Giles Hobbs* (1775-1808). He died at the age of 71 and was interred in the graveyard at Lion Walk, the only pastor to be so buried. *John Savill* (1809-1828) after a ministry of nine years accepted a call to Halstead, but three years later retired and returned to Colchester to live, until his death in 1836.

Henry March (1829-1839) after a pastorate at Bungay and a

chaplaincy at Mill Hill came to Lion Walk in 1829, leaving ten years later for Newbury. He was succeeded by *Thomas William Davids* (1841-1874), the Church waiting for him to complete his college training at Homerton. After about two years of ministry some twenty to thirty members seceded from the fellowship and formed themselves into a separate Church and built a chapel now known as "Headgate". Davids was responsible for the establishment of the four Mission Churches which are still maintained by Lion Walk Church. He will be remembered chiefly, however, in the denomination and outside it, as the author of that volume of great research, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, or, to give it its full title, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex, from the time of Wycliffe to the Restoration; with Memorials of the Essex Ministers who were ejected or silenced in 1660-1662, and Brief Notes of the Essex Churches which originated with their Labours*. This book was published in 1863 by Jackson, Walford and Hodder of 27 Paternoster Row. The author says in its preface: "The volume was undertaken in consequence of a request made to me in the beginning of last year (1862) by the Committee of the Essex Congregational Union". His MSS. notes, bound in about thirty volumes, are in the Congregational library at the Memorial Hall, London, and must contain a vast quantity of information never used in his book. He was Secretary of the Essex Congregational Union (1858-1873). During his pastorate the present church was built in 1863 and was strongly criticized by some for its style of architecture with its steeple.

After him came *James Llewelyn* (1875-1883) who resigned owing to continued ill health, to be followed by *Thomas Robinson, B.A.* (1885-1900), members of whose family are still associated with the Church, notably his daughter (Mrs. C. B. Alderton, J.P., C.C.). He was Secretary of the Cheshire Union (1870-1885) and of the Essex Union (1894-1904).

The remaining five ministers are still living and hold honoured places and names in our denomination.

Frank Y. Leggatt, M.A. (1902-1907), at Aberdeen;

Ernest M. Drew, B.D. (1909-1912), Moderator of the East Midland Province of the Congregational Union;

Kenneth Ll. Parry, B.Sc. (1913-1921), at Bristol;

Douglas W. Langridge, M.A. (1922-1934), at Brighton;

and the present minister, *Leslie J. Tizard, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.*, who in 1935 was called to the pastorate after five years at Southampton.

E. ALEC BLAXILL.

Robert Haldane's Theological Seminary

THE Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home was instituted in Edinburgh towards the end of 1797. The deciding factor was the successful missionary tour of the Northern Counties of Scotland undertaken that summer by James Alexander Haldane and John Aikman. The conviction of a group of earnest people was confirmed by the travellers that there was an urgent need for the preaching of the Gospel in Scotland which was not being met by the Established Church. The Society was therefore formed to supply preachers and teachers and readers of the Scriptures at its own expense, and on a non-sectarian basis, wherever there was need. Dissenting ministers were obtained from England and sent on tours; but most of those engaged to read the Scriptures, to teach in the Sabbath Schools, and even to preach the Gospel, were laymen without any training whatever.

The Established Church immediately discredited and violently opposed this "lay-preaching", and further severely censured those, particularly ministers, who countenanced or encouraged it. The Society urged its converts to join themselves to the Church, but this opposition and the nature of their conversion and faith drove them to prefer private "fellowship meetings" among themselves. It was decided, therefore, to break with Establishment and to form a religious body on Congregational principles. It was in no sense an organized sect—the Congregational Union of Scotland was not formed till 1812: the Society simply became Congregational in thought and life.

This done, it became immediately necessary that regular places of worship should be set up in the big centres, and arrangements were started for the building of "Tabernacles" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and later in other places. Mr. Robert Haldane, who largely financed the Society, said of them:

The general idea affixed to the houses called Tabernacles is that of large places of worship, where as great a variety as possible is kept up in preaching by employing different ministers, in order to excite and maintain attention to the Gospel, especially in such as are living in open neglect of religion.

It was now urgently felt that efforts should be made to obtain a supply of trained men to meet the needs of these churches and to undertake itinerant and local work. So the Society set itself to consider the provision, as far as lay within its reach, of suitable

education for those who offered themselves for the work of the ministry. They felt that those who stood forward in public as teachers of divine truth should be persons "qualified by liberal studies and professional instruction, as well as by piety and natural talents".

Robert Haldane determined to be responsible for the provision of this education. His first plan was revealed in a letter to Mr. John Campbell and dated 6 Oct., 1798.

I intend to give one year's education to 10 or 12 persons of any age that may be fit for it, under Mr. Bogue, with a view to the ministry.

Dr. Bogue, with whom Haldane already had associations, conducted a seminary in Gosport, Hampshire. This plan, however, was abandoned on the advice of James Garie and Greville Ewing, prominent members of the Society, who feared the effects of the well-known liberal political leanings of Dr. Bogue. This did not prevent Haldane from giving some effect to his purpose by securing, partly by personal influence and partly by pecuniary aid, that ten young men were sent to Gosport to be educated for the ministry in England. One of these was John Angell James, to whom Dr. Bogue was wont to refer as one of "Mr. Haldane's students".

Haldane immediately determined to institute a seminary under his own personal superintendence. One of the keenest of his supporters had been a minister of the Established Church; but now, to be precise on 1 Dec., 1798, Greville Ewing resigned from the Church and associated himself wholly with the new movement. It was decided that he should take charge of the proposed Tabernacle in Glasgow, but as it was not to be ready for him till the middle of the following year he was offered the post of tutor in the seminary. He accepted, and the first class was opened in Edinburgh in Jan., 1799. It had been decided to accept twenty students, but of those who applied twenty-four could not be refused, and they became nearly thirty before the session ended. They resided with friends or in private lodgings and met Ewing in a room provided by him, whether in his own house or not was not known even by his daughter who wrote his memoirs. In May of that year Ewing moved to Glasgow to prepare for the ministry he commenced there in July. (This Church still exists as Hillhead Congregational Church.) The class moved with him and except for brief vacations in the two summers remained under him until it closed in Nov., 1800. One of the students (John Munro) afterwards wrote:

Our class was selected from the different bodies of Presbyterians, and when placed under Mr. Ewing's care I am not aware that there was a single individual amongst us that

could be called a Congregationalist in sentiment . . . Mr. Ewing's plan was to make the Bible its own interpreter, by comparing one part with another. In this way Congregational principles insinuated themselves, almost imperceptibly into our minds . . . We had an opportunity in the Circus Church of seeing Congregational principles embodied and exemplified; and comparing what we saw with the apostolic epistles our Presbyterian principles were shaken and ultimately became totally untenable. But with some of us the change was very gradual.

Meanwhile a class was started in Dundee as a preparatory to training under Ewing. It was placed under the charge of the Rev. William Innes, brother-in-law of the Haldanes, who had been minister of the Established Church in Stirling and chaplain of the garrison, but had resigned and was now in Dundee preparing to take charge of the Tabernacle to be opened there. In Dec., 1800, the class, almost forty in number, moved to Glasgow for a year under Ewing, the period of training, however, being extended to fifteen months. When this class was dispersed Ewing resigned his tutorship. He had for some time been impatient of the control exercised by Robert Haldane over both the Tabernacle and the seminary. As far as the latter was concerned he wished to have full control himself, or rather that the classes should be organized into an Academy instead of being a private seminary under a dictator. To this Haldane, who of course paid and employed Ewing, would not agree. Ewing wrote and printed a pamphlet of 206 pages setting forth his complaints, to which Haldane replied with a volume of 406 pages, offered for sale at a shilling! The resignation was accepted.

A third class of twenty-two students had been begun under Innes in Dundee in 1801. At the end of the first year, however, their studies were interrupted when they were sent out to meet the great demand for supplies at preaching stations rapidly springing up. They came back to Edinburgh and finished their studies in 1804.

In 1802 the fourth class was begun in Edinburgh under John Aikman (companion of J. A. Haldane in the Missionary Tour to the Northern Counties and minister of North College Street, now Augustine Chapel, Edinburgh, from 1802 to 1834) and Thomas Wemyss (author of *Job and his Times*, 1839, and *Clavis Symbolica*, 1840). For a year they had the assistance of John Campbell, associate of the Haldanes, organizer of the Edinburgh Tract Society and the Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society, later to be missionary-traveller in the unexplored interior of Africa. He resigned at the end of the first year, and his place

was taken in 1803 by the Rev. William Stephens, minister for the three preceding years of George Street (now Belmont Street), Aberdeen, and now to be for a few years assistant to J. A. Haldane at the Tabernacle in Edinburgh.

The fifth class was started in 1803 under Aikman, Wemyss, and Stephens, but at the end of that year Aikman resigned because of the pressure of his work as pastor of the Church in North College Street. His place was taken in 1804 by the Rev. George Cowie, another minister who resigned from the Established Church to join the new body, becoming minister of the Montrose Church from 1801 to 1804, assistant to Aikman to 1812, and again minister in Montrose to 1824. The fourth and fifth classes together numbered about sixty and met on a part of the ground floor of the Tabernacle.

Meanwhile two preparatory classes had been started by Haldane for students who wished to go to Edinburgh but would profit by preliminary training. One was at Armagh and under a Mr. Hamilton. The other was at Elgin and under the Rev. William Ballantyne, who had been minister of the Free Presbyterian Church in Elgin for three years before becoming minister of the Tabernacle built there in 1804. Quite a number of students were sent up to the seminary from these classes.

The sixth class was formed in 1804 under Wemyss, Stephens, and Cowie for the first year, but under Cowie alone for the second. The seventh was started in 1805 under Cowie and William Walker, student of the fifth class. The eighth, under the same tutors, started in Sept., 1806, but Cowie resigned in the spring of 1808. The ninth was formed at the end of 1807 under Walker alone and met till Dec., 1808, when the seminary ceased.

The cause of the cessation was the withdrawal of the financial support which made the classes possible. For some little time Robert Haldane had, with not a few others, been inclined to alter his views about the fundamentals of the body he had done so much to form, notably about "mutual exhortation", the "plurality of elders", and baptism. In 1808 the two Haldanes, Innes, and others became Baptists, and the source of liberal financial aid on which many of the Churches and the seminary depended dried up. The seminary had to be closed at once. It is not necessary to speak here of the Memorial for a Theological Academy drawn up in 1804 by Greville Ewing, of his renewal of the Memorial in 1808 when the classes ceased, and of the ultimate realization of his hopes in 1811 when the Glasgow Theological Academy was formed—now the Scottish Congregational College and situate in Edinburgh.

During the nine years of its existence nearly three hundred students passed through the seminary.

Among the three hundred . . . there were some choice spirits who, having got a start in learning, pushed on their private studies with vigour and obtained success¹.

Of these should be mentioned John Campbell, John Paterson, David Russell, and William Orme. Of the rest many entered the Congregational ministry in Scotland, some became itinerant preachers, some crossed the Border or went abroad, and not a few left the denomination. No records of the classes remain, and it is possible to name and place accurately into their class lists only some fifty. We are fortunate in possessing, however, in W. Lindsay Alexander's life of John Watson (Secretary of the Congregational Union of Scotland, 1813-44) an account of the conditions obtaining in the fifth class, of which he was a student.

The students were entirely maintained by Robert Haldane. He paid for their lodgings, medical attendance, education, books, and gave to each student £24 for the first year and £30 for the second. He provided a well-stocked library for their use. In the *Evangelical Magazine* for Feb., 1843, it is computed that the seminary cost him upwards of £20,000. His total expenditure in ten years on the spread of the Gospel must have been fully £80,000.

The students came from all parts of Scotland and Ireland, and were divided into three bodies, Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Irishmen. A student was appointed as censor over each body to watch over the sayings, doings, and opinions of all and report anything unusual to Haldane. There is no mention of any resentment being shown at this petty tyranny.

The course normally lasted two years with a vacation of six weeks in the summer of each year. During the vacations those students who were deemed competent for such work were sent out, sometimes alone, more frequently in couples, to itinerate in different parts of the country, preaching the Gospel as they had opportunity. Thus in the vacation of 1804 John Watson and William Walker toured Clackmannanshire, Fife, Kinross, Angus, Forfar, and Aberdeen, preaching as they went. On Sundays also in the session the senior students were often sent to assist ministers and supply vacant churches. Several preaching stations in Edinburgh and district were regularly maintained by them. Juniors were rarely sent out, but had to read history in their spare time on Sundays—Mosheim, Milner, Robertson, Rollin.

The course embraced English grammar, rhetoric, elements of Greek and Hebrew, and systematic theology. A full list of the books used and provided for each student by Haldane is given by Alexander. A teacher in French was also provided for those who

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¹ *History of the Relief Church*, 402.

