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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

Bunyan's Imprisonments.

A LEGAL STUDY.

THESE has long been confusion as to the number of times that Bunyan was imprisoned, the charges under which he was convicted, the jails in which he was confined. The following study presents a new authoritative document which settles how, why, and where he was originally imprisoned, and shows that he was not released in 1666. It analyses the various laws under which prosecution was possible, and shows that Bunyan was probably arrested twice in 1675 on two different charges. The policy and humanity of the laws are not expatiated on; the study is critical, not homiletic. Incidentally some mistaken interpretation of dates is rectified, and attention is drawn to a discrepancy as to the date of Bunyan's licence to preach in 1672. While for the second time material is thus offered for correcting future editions of Dr. Brown's great biography, it is with hearty appreciation of that work, which will remain the standard.

An Abortive Indictment, 1658.

The first time that Bunyan came into trouble with the law was in the Protectorate, when he was in his thirtieth year. On the 25th of February, 1657/8 the Bedford church decided to set aside the 3rd of March to seek God on five matters, two of which are related:—The affairs of the nation, What to do with respect to the indictment against brother Bunyan at the assizes for preaching at Eaton.

The affairs of the nation stood thus. Oliver Cromwell was now Protector, ruling under a written constitution which defined several rights, of the people, the parliament, the protector. But the second protectorate parliament which assembled on 20 January, had been dissolved on 4 February, as the Commons would do nothing but debate on the constitution, while the army was being stirred to mutiny, and men were being enlisted in the cause of Charles, the duke of Ormond being the focus in Drury Lane. During February the chief plotters were lodged in the Tower, and a High Court of Justice was appointed in April to try them; the leaders were executed in June.

Carlyle perpetually represents the "Frantic-Anabaptists" as contributing to these troubles by plotting insurrections. The germ of truth underlying his misrepresentations may be illustrated by an address preserved by Clarendon and reprinted by Crosby, i. 72, sent to Charles at Bruges in 1657/8 by Wildman the Leveller, the Hedworths of Durham, John Sturghion a life-guard, and others; not one of whom is known in an ordinary Baptist church. But it is conceivable that contemporaries were deceived by the accusations of Featley, and did attribute to the Baptists a spirit of unrest and mutiny; although it cannot be too clearly repeated that the men named by Carlyle were not Baptists.

How did Cromwell view the situation? He spoke

to his republican Commons about sects (whether upon a religious account or upon a civil) struggling to be uppermost and have the power to trample upon man's liberties in spiritual respects, while all the time a malignant episcopal party was waiting for an opportunity to destroy all. The first protectorate parliament had already done much to justify his charge. Its treatment of Biddle, of Naylor, its bill for compulsory catechizing which he vetoed, its amendment of the Instrument of Government into the Humble Petition and Advice—all show a bitter intolerance.

Therefore it may, with hesitation be suggested that some men who honestly thought that Bunyan's preaching tended to stir ill-will and even foment insurrection, had indicted him for sedition. The trouble may have been on another score, for as he acknowledged, "when I went first to preach the word abroad, the doctors and priests of the country did open wide against me." Now on 20 December 1647, Thomas Becke had been appointed by the Lords to Eaton Soccon, and all their appointees were strong Presbyterians, most averse to lay-preaching. Just as "priest Lampitt" of Ulverston sought to put down George Fox, so Becke may have tried to put down Bunyan, whether as violating the ordinance of June 1646, or as violating the eleventh clause of the Humble Petition and Advice. On any supposition whatever, the law was doubtful, and with the disappearance of the second parliament, Oliver's restoration of order, and his toleration of non-seditious preachers, the danger passed so effectually that we know nothing of the exact charge, or how Bunyan escaped the danger.

The Conventicle Act, 1593.

With the return of Charles II, several ancient laws were brought to mind again, including the First Conventicle Act, 35 Elizabeth cap. I., 'An Act to retain

the Queen's subjects in obedience; this had been continued four times, and had been made permanent since 1624. Any person absenting himself from his Parish church for a month might be committed to prison and could not be bailed out, until he made public submission in a book kept by the minister, and certified to the bishop. If he remained obstinate for three months he might be warned by the bishop or by any justice of the peace, and might be brought to quarter sessions to abjure the realm, i.e., to go straight to a specified port and proceed into permanent exile. If he refused to do this, he was to be adjudged a felon, and was to suffer death without benefit of clergy. This law had been no dead letter; Francis Johnson and his friends had been transported to the gulf of St. Lawrence under it, Copping and Thacker had been hanged. But for many years it had been forgotten, and England had lately seen a large measure of liberty as to conventicles.

Bunyan was one of the first to find that it was again in force; on 12 November 1660, a county justice committed him for trial. Paul Cobb, clerk of the peace, was then sent to him to explain what the next steps would be; he thus came to understand that after conviction he might be served with a formal citation, which must issue in conformity, exile, or death. When he was brought up at the Christmas Quarter Sessions and charged, he puzzled the court by declining to plead, either Guilty, or Not guilty. Until he uttered one or other of those formulas, the trial could not proceed, and though he does not seem to have intended a deadlock, his lengthy explanations were not reducible to either plea. In such a contingency, if the charge were for felony, the law provided that a man be stretched on his back, and heavy weights of stone or iron should be piled on him, more than he could bear, till he pleaded or

died. Within three years this had actually been done, and a Cavalier had been submitted to this torture; the bystanders could not endure it, and some of his friends had jumped on him to end his agony.¹ But this charge was not for felony, it was simply a statutory misdemeanour.

The chairman was Sir John Kelynge, newly created Serjeant at Law; he fell back upon a suggestion made in the thirteenth century by Bracton, and laid it down that if the prisoner would not condense his answer, would persist in a lengthy explanation, would not utter either concise formula, then this conduct should be regarded as tantamount to a confession. He ordered the clerk to record this, and sent Bunyan to prison as convicted under the first clause of the Conventicle Act. Here is an account of the matter, as given by that very Clerk of the Peace on 10 December 1670.

Imprisoned till Conformity, 1660.

“One Bonyon was indicted upon the Statute of 35 Elizabeth, for being at a Conventicle. He was in prison, and was brought into Court and the indictment read to him; and because he refused to plead to it, the Court ordered me to record his confession, and he hath lain in prison upon that conviction, ever since Christmas Sessions, 12 Chas. II. And my Lord Chief Justice Keeling was then upon the Bench, and gave the rule, and had the like, a year ago, against others. Bonyon hath petitioned all the Judges of Assize, as they came the Circuit, but could never be released. And truly, I think it but reasonable that if any one do appear, and afterwards will not plead, but that you should take judgment by *nihil dicit*, or confession.”

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXI. 58.

This document, whose later information will be considered in due course, was sent by Paul Cobb to Roger Kenyon, clerk of the peace for Lancashire, apparently as a guide to procedure, in 1670. It has lain unnoticed among the Kenyon family papers, it was transcribed and printed in 1894 for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Yet the transcriber and editor did not notice the interest of the letter, whether on the legal side, or on the personal: indeed he did not recognize the name, and confusing o with the antique form of e, he printed it Benyon.

It is not correct to say that Bunyan was kept a prisoner in defiance of Habeas Corpus. Nobody ever tried to obtain that writ on his behalf; and on the facts being stated no judge would have seen even a *prima facie* case to issue it. He had had an open trial, and was sentenced to exactly what the law provided—imprisonment till he conformed.

There was however a method of forcing the pace, and this was taken in perfectly legal form. If he did not conform within three months, "every such offender, being thereunto warned or required by any justice of the peace of the same county where such offender shall then be, shall upon his corporal oath before . . . quarter sessions . . . or at the assizes . . . abjure this realm . . . and if any such offender . . . shall refuse . . . [he] shall be adjudged a felon and shall suffer." Cobb therefore was sent, not in a semi-official capacity, but in full official capacity, to warn him on 13 April, and require him to appear at the next quarter-sessions.

But this plan was baulked by the coronation on 23 April, when by proclamation Charles offered pardon to many classes of prisoners, including those in Bunyan's case, if they would sue out their pardon within a year. So that there was a blocking of the abjuration proceedings till 23 April 1662, and we never

hear again of their being pursued. It is necessary to point out that Charles did not order the jail doors to be opened, he invited prisoners to apply for pardon. If we come to strict law, the justices had, as we have said, a perfect right to keep Bunyan in prison, having preferred a plain charge and given a fair trial, and passed the appropriate sentence.

Bunyan himself wrote an account of what followed, which was not printed till 1765. His wife went to London and consulted "lord Barkwood"—not an Oliverian lord—who did not give her the £30 to sue out pardon, but after consulting other lords, referred her to the judges of assize. The pathetic scenes at Bedford in August are well known, but we are intent on law, not pathos. Justice Hale, when he understood the state of affairs, lived up to the spirit of chief-justice Hyde:—"My brethren and myself are to see that you suffer nothing for your want of knowledge in matter of law." Hale showed her that there were three courses open; she might go straight to the king, she might sue out a pardon, she might apply for a writ of error. This third alternative has not been criticised; evidently it related to Kelynge's new ruling, which might prove to be bad law. Bunyan being but a layman in such matters, did not grasp the full meaning here, though fortunately he preserved the words.

The initiative rested with him during the year of grace, and he was even allowed out of prison by the jailor, so that not only did the church in September and October send him visiting, but he even went to London to consult on his best course. Hale had said that a Writ of Error would be the cheapest procedure, but Bunyan was not rich, and lawyers would hardly be eager to champion an obscure mechanic, even with such a novel point to argue. He did nothing, yet the Christmas Quarter Sessions of 1661-2 could not act as the year was not up.

Then Bunyan, probably in mere ignorance, complicated things more. He induced the jailor to put down his name on the calendar of people awaiting trial for felony at the Assize in March. His own story merely states the fact, and it is not easy to see whether even when he wrote he had realized the absurdity of this. Paul Cobb, Clerk of the Peace, when he found it out, was indignant. Bunyan was not awaiting trial, he had been tried and convicted; if he intended to challenge the legality of Kelynge's ruling, that was a matter to be argued out by lawyers at Westminster; if he intended to move for a *habeas corpus*, that also must be done at Westminster. So Cobb blotted his name out of the calendar, and there was no hearing before the judge. Bunyan seems to have anticipated Mr. Bumble in the immortal conclusion that the law was an ass, and he ended his detailed story with this fiasco. Meantime there were curious and rapid developments in procedure, which must be noted.

Kelynge had been rapidly waxing in importance.² As a lawyer he had been advising with the judges on the trials of the Regicides; he had been a counsel for the prosecution on the trial of Sir Henry Vane, and also on that of John James, the Baptist minister, for treason.³ On this latter occasion, James also declined at first to plead, but was frightened at length to comply by the vague threats of the judge that "worse things would follow." Kelynge was now member of parliament for Bedford, and was at this moment drafting the new Act of Uniformity; he was far too busy to attend to a petty prisoner in the country.

² Foss: *Judges of England* (1864), VII, 137.

³ *State Trials*, VI., 74.

The Proper Record when no Plea was Uttered, 1662.

Moreover, a new rule had already been laid down on the point he had decided. John Crook was a famous Quaker, most active not only in Bedfordshire, but in the counties adjoining. He had been a justice during the Protectorate, and was no novice in the law. In May 1662 he was brought up before Chief Justice Foster to take the Oaths,⁴ and he proved a most delightful pleader, leading the judge on to lay it down that the Oath ought not to be tendered repeatedly, and even that once would suffice; whereupon he offered evidence that he had taken it years before. The Judge fell back on the point that he was charged with not taking it now, and required him to plead Guilty or Not guilty. Crook was most elusive in delays and objections, but was held to this. And Foster laid it down repeatedly that if he declined to plead, the alternative was a Premunire, which involved that he was out of the king's protection, that his property was forfeit, that he should be imprisoned for life. This method was being now frequently employed.

Here then the ruling of a chairman of Quarter Sessions is set aside and a Chief Justice states the law differently. The point came up in a different connection, but the point was the same. Paul Cobb would soon learn this, for Crook was well known in Bedfordshire, and the scene in court was too amusing to escape notice even from laymen. Cobb knew now that if Bunyan moved for his Writ of Error, he would apparently get it; the upshot however would be imprisonment for life, so that he would only avert the contingencies of exile and death, remaining as he was.

⁴ *State Trials*, VI., 213-222.

Another change in the law soon followed. On 18 June 1663 Kelynge was raised to the bench. Here he may have pointed out to his brethren the possible advantage of his plan when no regular plea was entered. On 9 October 1664 Chief Justice Hyde laid it down, and curiously enough against another Baptist, Benjamin Keach, "If you refuse to plead Guilty, or Not guilty, I shall take it *pro confesso* and give judgment against you accordingly."⁵

Bunyan was petitioning the Judges at every assize, says Cobb; but there was nothing for them to do. He was convicted and in prison; at any moment he might make formal submission and come out; he declined, and the law was clear that he must stay in till he submitted.

At this time the draconic nature of the Elizabethan Conventicle Act was brought into prominence. Several Buckingham justices had arrested so many people that the Aylesbury jail was filled, and two houses were taken to accommodate the overflow. Ten men and two women, taken at Baptist worship in Aylesbury, were there exactly in Bunyan's plight. But whereas no Bedfordshire justice was now forcing the issue, one Farrow had the twelve brought up to abjure the realm at quarter sessions. As they declined, they were sentenced to death, quite legally, and all their property was at once seized, as convicted felons. The son of one of them, Thomas Monck, "Messenger" for the district, rode at once to London, and through Kiffin obtained an introduction to Chancellor Clarendon, cousin of chief justice Hyde. He promptly told Charles, who was surprised to hear that such a sentence was possible, and instantly issued a reprieve. On 20 July, 1663 a formal warrant was given to the judges

⁵ *State Trials*, VI., 705.

of assize to deliver to the sheriff, authorizing their release.⁶

A Temporary Conventicle Act, 1664-1668.

This made it clear that some alteration of the law was necessary, for public opinion would hardly tolerate the execution of conventiclers wholesale. But Clarendon and Sheldon desired penalties as severe as possible, for by this time there were thousands of men sympathising with the ejected ministers, and attending on their preaching. The Declaration of Indulgence issued on 26 December 1662 had been rendered futile by Clarendon in the spring, when he induced the Lords to drop a bill based on it. An impeachment of him in July, 1663 had failed, and in his triumph he carried a new temporary Conventicle Act on 17 May, 1664, to hold for three years from the end of the current session, and to the end of the session then existing.

Now the fifth section of this new Act incorporated Kelynge's method of dealing with a person who did not plead:—"If such offender shall refuse to plead the general issue, or to confess the indictment, . . . such offender shall be transported beyond the seas to any of his majesty's foreign plantations (Virginia and New England only, excepted) there to remain seven years." It would be a nice legal point, whether Bunyan, convicted under the Elizabethan Act, could be transported under the new Act. As on 21 November 1665 Kelynge succeeded Hyde as chief justice of the King's Bench, any application there for a Habeas Corpus or a Writ of Error was not likely to succeed.

⁶ *State Papers Domestic*; 77, 26. The story was told from the prisoners' side in 1715, and printed by Crosby, II., 181, with comment showing his ignorance of Bunyan's case.

It still was possible for the bishop or for any officious justice to serve Bunyan with a citation under Elizabeth's act; the possibility was kept before him, for he wrote in his *Prison Meditations* of 1665,

When they do talk of banishment,
Of death, or such-like things;
Then to me God sends heart's content,
That like a fountain springs.

Next year he published his *Grace Abounding*, at section 319 of which he mentioned his then condition. They "did sentence me to perpetual banishment because I refused to conform. So being again delivered up to the jailer's hands, I was had home to prison, and there have lain now above five year and a quarter." This makes it plain that he was not quite clear in his mind, or else not exact in expression: he was really in prison till he conformed, and banishment was only a future contingency, after another appearance in court.

No Release in 1666.

We now arrive at a second point; whether Bunyan was released at all in or before 1666, as was asserted by his biographer of 1692. "The act of indulgence to dissenters being allowed, he obtained his freedom by the intercession of some in trust and power, that took pity of his sufferings; but within six years afterwards he was again taken up, viz., in the year 1666, and was then confined for six years more." This statement contains an obvious error; there was no Act of Indulgence to dissenters whether in 1660 or 1666; not till 1689. Possibly the error arose out of confusion with the Declaration of 25 October 1660, conflated with the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, which this biographer does not mention, but which did coincide with his release that year. The state-

ment also raises a legal difficulty; if Bunyan were regularly taken up again in 1666, he must have been tried again before any fresh incarceration; and this would probably be under the temporary or second Conventicle Act of 1664. Now this provided far lighter penalties than Elizabeth's act, imprisonment in England could not exceed six months at once. But admittedly, Bunyan was in prison from 1666 to 1672; therefore he was not convicted under this Conventicle Act. The biographer of 1692 is not to be credited in contradiction of the Clerk of the Peace in 1670, who wrote on a point he thoroughly understood, both for fact and law:—"He hath lain in prison upon that conviction ever since Christmas Sessions, 12 Chas. II." If there is a word of truth in the story told twenty years later, it may be that in the general confusion caused by the plague which raged in Bedford during 1666, he was irregularly allowed to leave the prison for a brief space; but even this seems forbidden by Bunyan's words in his revised section 319, presently to be cited.

About the same time, Kelynge signalized himself again.⁷ Some people were brought before him charged with violating the second Conventicle Act; it was proved that they had Bibles, but there was no evidence which satisfied the jury that this was an "assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion"; and they acquitted the prisoners. In this they only followed Sir Matthew Hale, who at Exeter in September 1664 had laid it down that no indictment lay unless there were evidence that the conventicle was seditious.⁸ Kelynge fined each juror 100 marks, and committed them till they paid. Appeal was made to parliament, which appointed a committee to enquire into this and other

⁷ *State Trials*, VI., 993.

charges. Pepys tells how from 17 to 22 October, 1667, the charges were formulated against him, and how on 13 December his action was condemned, though he was let off without punishment.⁹ In that same year he had given another remarkable decision, in quite a different connection.¹⁰ Several apprentices had started a Social Purity campaign, and had pulled down some brothels. Kelynge and nine other judges ruled, Hale dissenting, that when all houses of one type were attacked, this was assuming the king's prerogative, and was treason. Some very unexpected corollaries might have been drawn: Bristol mobs were in the habit of sacking the meeting-houses there. It is a wonder that the Nonconformists there did not indict the ring-leaders for treason; they were not averse to suing out writs and defending themselves.¹¹

On 9 May, 1668 the houses adjourned, without renewing the Conventicle Act; despite the Elizabethan act, conventicles at once met again openly. The Bedford church resumed keeping minutes on 9 September, and we find that the jailers were again complaisant towards prisoners, for Bunyan was sent on visits in November 1668, September and November 1669, and that he attended meetings in January and April 1670.

March the First Month of the Year.

It is necessary here to digress as to the months concerned. Offor stated quite correctly, that the ecclesiastical year begins in March, though he oftentimes blundered in applying this rule. Dr. Brown however states on page 104, "April was the first month

⁸ *State Papers, Domestic*; 102, 137.

⁹ *Commons Journals*, VIII., 37.

¹⁰ *State Trials*, VI., 891-900.

¹¹ *Broadmead Records*, 237-240.

of the year," and consistently applies this false doctrine. The consequence is that he often misapprehends the connection of the action of the church in relation to public affairs, as from March to May 1657, December 1660 to August 1661. Especially noteworthy is it that the minutes in 1670 show the church meeting on the eighth day of the third month just before a ten months silence: he quotes on page 218 that on Lord's Day May 15 the church was raided, and terrorised for months. As the 24th of the 8th month 1671 is defined as the 4th day of the week, a reference to an almanac would have shown that the date in 1672, "the 31st of the 8th moneth" was quite correct, 31 October, and should not have been queried as 30th November.

The Permanent Conventicle Act, 1670-1813.

In the spring of 1670, a third Conventicle Act was passed, far milder than that of Elizabeth, or even than the recent one of 1664, therefore more likely to be enforced. It was to come into force on 10 May, and be permanent; it really did remain law till 1813. Imprisonment was no longer prescribed, but only fines: a preacher paid £20 the first time, £40 thereafter; the host paid £20; each worshipper five shillings the first time, ten thereafter; and the fines of worshippers could be pooled and collected from any at a total not exceeding £10 each. Informers were stimulated with one-third of the proceeds; parishes with another third; magistrates and officers were liable to heavy fines if they declined to act at the call of an informer.

Such was the new law when the Clerk of the Peace for Bedfordshire wrote to the Clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster as to procedure. Kelynge's rulings had been given in 1660 and 1669, when only Elizabeth's Act was in force; yet they would hold for a refusal to plead to a charge under the permanent

act, or indeed any other. Kelynge died on 9 May, 1671, exactly a year before the king licensed Bunyan to preach openly throughout the kingdom.

Sheldon indeed sent out a whip to his bishops to see that the act was enforced, and there was a severe outbreak of persecution. But after the bold robbery of the regalia and the great seal in May, 1671, colonel Blood convinced Charles that his crown, if not his life, was in danger. From August onwards, it was increasingly clear that Charles was preparing a scheme of indulgence. On 21 December the Bedford church in full meeting appointed Bunyan pastor, and he there and then accepted the office and was installed. Obviously the jailers were swimming with the tide and permitting him short excursions.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

On 15 March 1671/2 Charles issued his most famous Declaration of Indulgence, destined to be as futile as its predecessors. Within two months Bunyan, still technically a prisoner, possessed a licence to preach at Bedford and in any other of the thousands of places licenced. This document was by no means, as has often been stated, "one of the first," a mistake due to looking at Entry Book 38 B, an incomplete index, where the arrangement is alphabetical by counties, and Bedford therefore heads the list. In the original chronological Entry Book 38A, of which 289 pages are used, the entry is on page 93. There is a conflict of evidence as to the date of this licence, which has never received proper attention, and the facts deserve accurate statement.

The Date of Bunyan's Licence.

Application was made at the end of April for a large group of licences, including "John Bunyon for Josias Roughead's house in his orchard in Bedford."

The licence was granted, and entry was made, "Licence to John Bunyon to be a Congr. Teacher in the howse of Josias Roughed 9 May, Bedford." On some day unknown, to be investigated, Thomas Taylor gave a receipt for five licences including this for "John Bynion." No further reference to it can be found in the Entry Books. But the Leicester borough records have a minute relating to the 6 October, that "John Bunyon's license bears date the 15th of May 1672, to teach . . . in the house of Josias Roughed, Bedford, or in any other place, room, or house licensed by his Majestie."

Three explanations of the discrepancy of date are conceivable. First, Thomas Taylor may have delayed taking away the licence till 15 May, and it may have been dated when it was handed to him. In favour of this is Mr. Lyon Turner's supposition that this was the usual method; but the existence of a licence signed and dated yet left in the office negatives the supposition; see 321 (165) dated 16 May. The receipt is not dated, but is bound up in such an order as to show that the binder considered it either 9 May or 10 May: his practice however is bad, for a document dated 26 April in the office is bound between two dated 9 May. It is therefore quite unsafe to assume, on Mr. Turner's grounds, that the receipt was on 10 May: but inasmuch as 321 (83) shows Taylor really was at the office that day, putting in a second application for some of Bunyan's friends, we may reasonably think that he would not forget to take away Bunyan's licence passed on the ninth. Therefore we test a second explanation, that he brought back the licence on the fifteenth and had it exchanged for another. Against this is the lack of any evidence that he was at the office that Wednesday, or indeed between 14 and 22 May, on which latter date he took away more of the same group. And

we know no reason why an exchange should be sought, unless it were that the original would conform to Taylor's description and style Bunyan a Congregational; whereas it was a peculiarity of his to decline any denominational title; there is a case of this kind, involving Francis Bampfield. The point in favour of the idea of an exchange is that on 15 May another request was put in for two licences to be altered, and the duke of Lauderdale, the Secretary, did intervene and actually alter them, a procedure so unusual that it was entered in book 38 B. But the very fact that this was noted specially in these other cases on that very day, militates against the idea that Bunyan's licence was altered or exchanged without any record being made. A third explanation seems on the whole the most probable, that the Leicester authorities conflated the printed date of the Declaration, 15 March, with the written date of the licence, 9 May, and blundered into 15 May.

The Quaker Pardon of September 1672.

We turn now to this other matter, his release from prison. In January, 1669-70, the fisherman who after the battle of Worcester had set Charles ashore in Normandy, got access to him, and began pleading for freedom to his friends, of whom he produced a list of 110. Other Quakers joined in pressing the matter, and soon after the Declaration of 15 March, Whitehead had a regular hearing at the Council Board. As a result, letters were sent out on 29 March 1672 requiring the sheriffs to return the names of all Quakers in prison. On 8 May these were produced, sorted into four classes; enquiry was directed to make sure that no private person would be wronged by releasing any, and an order was given to prepare a pardon freeing "all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence Committed, relating

only to his Ma^{tie} and not to the prejudice of any other person," of whom 471 were scheduled.¹²

The same day a petition was put in by Bunyan and six others, professing to be imprisoned for "being at Conventicles and Non-conformity." It was referred to the sheriffs for report, and on 17 May, it was minuted that the sheriffs certified the truth of the petition, and that therefore these names might be added to the Quaker Pardon. In June a warrant issued to prepare the pardon, and in September a further order was given that the fees should not be charged to each person (in which case Bunyan would be no further on than in 1661) but that the whole pardon should pass for one set of fees. It was dated 13 September 1672, and the Quakers had duplicates prepared to show at all Assizes and Quarter Sessions, so that prisoners might be freed at the first opportunity in each county. A letter of Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox on 1 October implies that none were yet freed; on 6 October Bunyan produced his licence to the Mayor of Leicester, and preached there that Sunday. Subsequent editions of *Grace Abounding* were altered in section 319 to say that he had lain in prison "complete twelve years," which is nearly accurate, as he had been committed 12 November 1660; it corroborates Cobb's letter and quite disproves the allegation that he had been released formally in 1666.

In February, 1672-3 a Bill for Indulgence was introduced, and the Commons told the king that he could not suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical but by Act of Parliament. The trial of strength ended by Charles cancelling the Declaration, breaking the seal to it with his own hand in March, and by the Bill being lost by disagreement between the two

¹² Register of the Privy Council, in Offor, *Works of John Bunyan*, I. xciv. ff.

Houses. No new licences were granted after 3 February, and the question soon arose as to the value of those already issued; were they mere waste paper, as given under the authority of a cancelled Declaration, or had the holders acquired vested interests? The pardon was on a sure foundation, and Bunyan could not be sent back to prison on the conviction of 1660, but how about the Act of 1670?

Informers were eager for their share of fines, so they threatened constables and magistrates with the £100 fine if they would not swoop on conventicles; the justices of Oxford notified in Quarter Sessions that the Act was in full force, the king having no power to suspend it. To this the Council responded on 13 June with an order to those justices to leave matters of state alone.¹³ And parliament, having compelled Charles to recede from his position that he as Governor of the Church was competent to deal with all matters ecclesiastical by his sole authority, was contemplating some measure of Indulgence, or even of Comprehension. For a year or two things were in a very uncertain condition. Oliver Heywood tells how two bailiffs turned informers, but were baffled and were indicted for perjury, having true bills found against them at Leeds and York in August 1674.¹⁴ But in October the king consulted the bishops as to his course, and on 3 February, 1674-5 he put out a proclamation ordering the execution of the penal laws, expressly disclaiming that conventicles were tolerated, and even asserting that "His Licences were long since Recalled."¹⁵ This last word seems used loosely to mean Rendered valueless, for some were

¹³ S. P. Dom.

¹⁴ Heywood's *Diaries*, III., 162.

¹⁵ *Gazette*, No. 962.

never returned, and may still be seen in museums and private hands and borough archives.

Arrested under the Conventicle Act, 1675.

After this, Bunyan had short shrift. On 4 March 1674-5 thirteen county magistrates signed a warrant to the constables of Bedford to arrest "John Bunnyon of your said towne" and bring him before any county justice to answer for preaching repeatedly during the last month at a conventicle.¹⁶ Since the rediscovery of this warrant in 1887, it has been highly valued, and part of its interest is due to the supposition that it was the instrument responsible for the imprisonment during which he wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. This is quite untenable. The warrant is simply to arrest him and bring him up to some county justice to answer for preaching, and to do and receive as law and justice should appertain. Perhaps the less said about justice the better; but the law enjoined only £40 fine, and no prison. If it be thought that he might refuse to pay, & might be committed for contempt, the answer is that whether or no he refused, the law provided that the fine might be levied on his goods and chattels; if it be said that these were in the borough and not in the county, the law provided that the county magistrates need only certify the conviction to the borough magistrates, & they must levy. If it be said that by some shortage in the chattels the levy would not fetch £40, and then he were sued for the debt (and he knew this process, for he puts it into the mouth of Hopeful) and cast into prison till he paid, then the reply is that the county magistrates would commit him to his old home, the county jail; whereas the tradition is constant that he wrote his great book in the town jail. Bunyan was

¹⁶ Brown: *John Bunyan*, edition 1900, page x.

thoroughly alive to areas of jurisdiction, as appears from his statement that when Christian and Hopeful had reached the King's high way, they were safe, "because they were out of his Jurisdiction."

Under these circumstances we must look further for some other law under which Bunyan could be sent to prison. Five years later an ingenious device was practised in Lancashire on those who held conventicles; they were indicted for a riot and unlawful assembly. And this very idea had been mooted in parliament in November 1670. It is tempting to think that Bunyan once again provided a leading case told by Paul Cobb to Roger Kenyon. But another solution is more probable, the route through excommunication, which is indeed mentioned by Asty on the authority of Sir John Hartopp, though he blunders doubly as to the date:—"Mr John Bunyan had been confined to a gaol for twelve years upon an excommunication for Nonconformity, . . . soon after the discovery of the Popish Plot."

Imprisoned as Excommunicate, 1676?

Imprisonment on excommunication was no novelty in Bedford. In the latter part of 1669 this church ordered Bunyan to write a letter of sympathy to Harrington, who had gone away to avoid being taken in this way. That same year a return had been made to Sheldon that Richard Laundry senior was (or rather, ought to have been) in Bedford jail on the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*.¹⁷ Now this writ would issue from Chancery if the bishop certified that forty days had elapsed since the excommunication had been published in the church, and specified the offence, such as refusing to have a child baptized, declining to receive the communion or to come to public divine

¹⁷ Tenison, MS. 639, fol. 203.

service. All these three alternatives could truthfully be certified, for the present writer has shown that there is no evidence Bunyan had any child christened after 1654.¹⁸ Bishop Fuller, who had acted in the case of Laundry, was dead by April 1675; if he acted in imprisoning Bunyan, it would be one of his latest official deeds. His successor Thomas Barlow was elected 14 May, but not consecrated till 27 June, and anything done meanwhile would be by subordinates. Dr. Brown has pointed out that the town jail was unused since 1671, and that on 13 May the corporation ordered it to be rebuilt. It seems to follow that Bunyan was not in prison then; and it follows further that Barlow was responsible for at least one of the steps which led him thither. If Barlow was ordered by the Chancellor to take steps towards the release, it would be on the terms that two men would give bonds for Bunyan's conforming within six months. Of course no one in his senses would expect Bunyan to do within half a year what he had declined to do for twelve years; but Bunyan had friends well accustomed to have their shops raided, and to have bonds estreated would hardly be worse. So Asty says this course was actually adopted, "but little thanks to the bishop."

It is to be regretted that no document is discoverable to verify the statement. The Act Books of the Consistory Court of Lincoln are missing for the years 1675 and 1676, and a search through the Controlment Rolls at the Record Office is no more fruitful.

The six months which were the traditional period of this imprisonment, had been used not only in writing "Instruction for the Ignorant," and the "Strait Gate," but also in beginning a sort of religious novel, a new species of literature. Completed after release, it was handed about for criticism, as the prefixed

¹⁸ *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, II., 255.

Apology narrates; and despite advice to suppress it, after much delay, he decided to issue it, the publisher registering the *Pilgrim's Progress* in December 1677. Three editions in a year settled the question of its popularity, and henceforth Bunyan was no local tinker, but one of the most favourite writers and preachers in the land. For the rest of his life, no one cared to incur the odium of putting him in prison again; and it was even surmised that King James thought of offering him some public trust, when he was displacing Paul Cobb from being alderman.

The result of this examination is then to revise the accepted story of the long imprisonment in two respects. First, his conviction in 1660 depended on a new rule as to pleading, which was laid down to meet his case, was very doubtful law, was not agreed with by the judges till its originator was on the King's Bench, and remained so dubious that a statute was passed deciding the point. Second, he was not released in 1666 by any legal method, if at all. It also seems likely that whatever was the immediate issue of the county warrant in 1675 for preaching at a conventicle, his imprisonment that year was due to excommunication by the bishop of Lincoln.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Lancashire Memoranda, by O. Knott.

The Alum Works on the Hoghton estate at Pleasington, near Blackburn, closed in 1650, had been promoted by Manchester men, including John Wigan, clergyman, Baptist, officer.

His friend, John Leeds, was Baptist by 1661, when he refused to listen to Newcome and have his son christened. John Leeds junior was entered at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1680. Correct page 168 in last volume.

Bishop Gastrell in 1714 found a Baptist cause not only at Walton on the Hill, or Everton, close to Liverpool, but also at Walton in the dale close to Preston, in possession of a meeting-house, probably taken over from the Presbyterians when they entered the Hoghton premises. There is no evidence yet to connect this with the Preston church of 1783.

Great Warford Baptist Chapel.

By O. KNOTT.

WITHIN half a mile of the favourite Manchester suburban railway station of Alderley Edge, stands a quaint homestead widely known as Chorley Old Hall. Almost surrounded by a stone-bridged moat the half of the structure has pointed Gothic doorway and mullioned windows. At right angles to it the other half of the house is of timber and daub adorned with quatre foils. Within is an oak panelled room with grotesque carvings and the usual aroma of tradition that the great Protector once entered therein. Forty years ago a society of Manchester Antiquarians heard its legends and story of 300 years from a local historian, Mr. Wm. Norbury, who continued, "another place of importance to the antiquary, is the old Baptist Chapel in Warford about a mile and a half distant from this Hall, and its history, remotely, connected therewith. It is one of the oldest Nonconformist places of worship in England. From a document which I have in my possession written by a late minister compiled from the old church books there, we learn this congregation originated with a portion of the parliamentary army, under Sir George Booth for the time, at least, of Chorley Hall. The officers preached and gathered a small church which remained after the army had left. The first place in which they established regular worship was at Norbury Houses in Warford and here they buried their dead in the orchard."

Mr. Norbury followed with a full description of the chapel, its present burial ground and that at Mottram St. Andrew.

The date when this ancient society was then formed has uniformly been given as 1642 without apparently other evidence than tradition.

That there were Baptists in the immediate locality may be inferred from several sources. For instance, that staunch royalist Sir Thomas Aston was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1635. When the Cheshire petition against Episcopacy was circulated a remonstrance followed. This was attributed to Sir Thomas, and he was severely criticised in "An Answer" which he thereupon declared to be "the work of some brain sick Anabaptist."

In the end the Baronet wrote "A Remonstrance" published in a quarto vol. with a title which is far too long to quote. The copy in the British Museum bears imprint "Printed for John Aston 1641."

In 1647 the Presbyterians of Manchester petitioned the House of Lords to penalise all schismatics including Anabaptists and Brownists.

A few years afterwards we find the record of a local political squib circulated by royalists and entitled "The New Litany." Two verses of the doggerel are:

From the Anabaptists & shivering Quakers
 From such as rule us like bowlegged bakers
 From those that undo us yet are good law makers
 Libera nos Domine!

From being taken in disguise
 From Sir George Booth & his Cheshire lyes
 From such as brought hither that devil excize
 Libera nos Domine!

George Fox commenced his preaching in Manchester in 1847, and in the next few years itinerancy in

the north-west counties gathered recruits largely from Baptists.

Sir George Booth, created Lord Delamere at the Restoration, plotted for the return of Charles II in 1659. In that year, Mr. Brooke, a parliamentary candidate for Cheshire, give as one reason for his petition against the return of Judge Bradshaw, that the Quakers had been allowed to vote for him at Congleton without having taken the oath" (see Lady Newton's "House of Lyme" pp. 199-200). Both Baptists and Friends must therefore have possessed considerable influence prior to 1659 in the district in which Warford is situated.

Thus the church looks to the farmstead of Norbury Houses, now rebuilt and occupied by the Manchester Corporation, as its primal home.

Mr. Alfred Fryer writing an account of the chapel in his very instructive "Wilmslow Graves" published at Stockport in 1885 describes the ancient timber house and the farm buildings and what remained of an extensive orchard with the old burial ground. Some of the gravestones existed within the memory of living members, and when the present building was erected coffins were found by the excavators.

Relating to the meeting at Norbury Houses is an interesting tradition. A persistent belief handed down from father to son is that one of Cromwell's generals with his soldiers knelt in prayer within that early meeting house.

Mr. Fryer gives good reason for believing that on Sunday the 17th August 1645 either General David Leslie, or an officer in command of his Scottish horse did find time to turn aside to worship while on their march from Congleton to Stockport to intercept King Charles on his flight northwards after his defeat at Naseby.

The reasons for fixing the date of the occupation

of the present site in Merriman Lane (as it is now called) as 1668 is the fact that in 1669 the Bishop of Chester's report chronicled a meeting of 60 Anabaptists in Alderley parish, which church is a mile and a half to the west of Warford, and that the oldest gravestone now existing is inscribed "H.B. 1671," while a valuable oak screen in an end gallery has carved upon it the letters I.W., with the date 1673.

Both doors of the chapel have iron plates to which knockers were once attached and each bears the curious inscription:

"NO THE 4
1712"

The local explanation is that such refers to the fact that this was the fourth Baptist meeting house in the district rather than to the month.

In the meantime Mr. Thomas Eaton of Mottram St. Andrews, a hamlet four miles from Warford on the road between Wilmslow and Macclesfield, had by deed dated 26 November 1691 conveyed a small plot in that place to John Preston of Mottram and William Hanmer of Baguley, yeoman (among others) as trustees for use as a burial ground.

In this deed the plot is conveyed as "a certain close called the Sandfield 32 yards long & 20 yards wide at one end & two & a half yards wide at the other end besides the ditch, reserving a rent of one peppercorn annually, at the feast of St. John the Baptist, if demanded *Upon trust* that the said parcel of land shall be used employed & disposed of for the burial place of the bodies of all or every or any person or persons whoever that shall depart this mortal life & in their lifetime desire to be buried there."

William Hanmer represented the Baptists of Baguley, who were soon to possess a meeting house of their own. The earliest date on any stone remain-

ing appears to be that of Dorothy Preston who was buried 8 August 1701.

In 1702 Eaton licensed his house at Mottram for services, and in the same year lost his wife, whose gravestone reads: "Here lyeth Margret wife of Thomas Eaton interred Sep^r the 30th 1702." His stone is dated 1710.

Another early member buried there was Mary . . . Wood who was interred July 6 1705, and may have been one of the family referred to later as at Warford.

Mr. Fryer expresses surprise that burials took place at Warford before any conveyance of the land had been effected. But it is quite exceptional to find at that period a trust deed of a burial ground, except where a chapel was in contemplation or already erected. Although the Chapel at Bramhall (a branch of Warford) was erected in 1856 and put in trust in 1858 the adjacent burial ground added soon after was not included in the trust until 1889 when the son of the former trustee executed a declaration of trust, and within the last few years only the action of the Charity Commission caused such a deed to be executed in respect of other land purchased.

Small Baptist burial grounds in Manchester and other places contemporary with Mottram were never put in trust and were built over generations ago.

The site of the Warford chapel was part of a field called the Intack in the possession of Thomas Roylance, a member of the Baptist church at Hill Cliff. After his death his son, John Roylance of Ashley, yeoman by lease dated 29 July 1712, assigned the plot to four members resident in the hamlet, John Henshall, yeoman, Peter Blackshaw, yeoman, Hugh Finlow, blacksmith, and Enoch Upton, yeoman, "for a term of 1000 years paying two shillings at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin." Such

being the usual form of the Leycester estate deeds. Immediately afterwards a deed was entered into between the above four trustees and Thomas Legh of High Legh, gentleman, John Chisworth of Chorley, miller, John Johnson of Mobberly, yeoman, and Robert Cheadle junior of Edgeley, yeoman, whereby a trust was declared respecting the land and the meeting house. The eight trustees' signatures were witnessed by Rowland Hall, John Turner and James Massie, which testify of Hill Cliff. In April 1747 the surviving trustees appointed six others to act conjointly, viz., William Leigh, James Leiney, John Livesley, Samuel Hunter, Joseph Bealey, and Humphrey Lyon, whom we recognise as prominent Baptists there and in Manchester and Liverpool.

The erection of the chapel in 1712 did not necessitate the complete demolition of the original building. The chapel thus completed and as now seen from the high road, is of brick roofed with flag stones and with projecting eaves, the home for nesting swallows.

But the other side reveals the antiquity of the original barn-building. It remains a framework of oak beams, the panels of which were originally filled up with clay held on a wattling of wickerwork, a style of erection known locally as "post and pan."

When the clay has fallen out bricks have been inserted in place thereof.

The small windows on that side are of leaded lattice work placed in a most curious order. The glass is of the yellowish green used in the 17th century.

Many years ago when the congregation which formerly filled the building had considerably decreased, a partition was erected to divide the chapel, the pulpit being removed from the centre of the far side and placed against the division wall facing the little organ gallery. The gallery at the other end

was entirely removed and that portion being boarded across provides two floors now forming the chapel keeper's house.

At right angles to the chapel and overlooking the front burial ground is a small black and white timbered cottage which thirty years ago possessed an antiquity equal to that of the oldest portion of the main structure. It was then described as a gem of the magpie style of erection for which the district is noted.

The thatched roof has now disappeared and the appearance not improved by the raising of the roof at the back storey. It is now occupied by Mr. Jos. Barber the grandson of the pastor of 1839-71.

The first minister to take charge at Warford was Francis Turner said to have been a University scholar who had been educated for the ministry. He resided in the important town of Knutsford, four miles away, and conducted services there as well. Some of his sermons dated from 1673 onwards are extant. On his accepting the pastorate at Hill Cliffe, his son succeeded. In 1732 John Turner received a call to Byrom St. Chapel, Liverpool, and his place was taken by one named Heyes from the last named church.

Henceforward the register is fairly complete being preserved in an old vellum bound church book securely held by leathern thongs.

Thus we learn that on 18 July 1757 the church invited John Taylor of Hill Cliffe to the pastorate who was ordained by Joseph Piccop of Bacup, Thomas Thomason of the old cause at Millington (Rostherne), and Thomas Wainwright (Hill Cliff).

Palmy days for the village cause followed, for the chapel seating about 200 with the galleries was all occupied. The record of baptisms within only a few months of 1757 includes, William Leigh, Hannah Dane, John Walton, Peter Dane, Randle Walton,

Martha Webb, Ann Royle baptized by Mr. Piccop, and Mary Goulding, Martha Walton, Mary Walton, Joseph Hulme, Sarah Bower and Martha Booth, by the new minister. From a list of 27 active members of the church at that time we find the Wood family prominent and their graves are more numerous than any other. Close to the door of the chapel and in excellent preservation is the earliest one.

Here lieth the Body of
Joshua Wood who
Departed this life February
the 5th Anno Domini 1729
aged 54

Here also lieth
the body of Elizabeth
his wife - Departed this
life May the 28th
Anno Domini 1736
aged 58

Adjacent are the graves of the second Joshua Wood of Marthall 1790 aged 79, of Hannah his wife 1798 aged 83, of a son Joshua 1821 aged 65 and Mary Wood 1821 aged 33, of Mary, wife of James Wood 1850 aged 37, and of three sons who all died as children in 1841. Recently one of the family left a small sum for repairs to the chapel.

In 1789 Mr. Thomas Leigh a descendant of the family who removed from Norbury Houses to Pownall Brow Farm left a sum of money to produce an annual endowment of £14 towards the ministers salary.

The pastorate of J. Taylor proved disastrous and before his death the congregation had been much reduced.

He was followed by the eccentric Thomas Holt a man of mechanical knowledge though of "little erudition."

It is stated that he built a loom capable of weaving two webs at a time, but declined to patent or use it in fear of the consequent effect upon the labour market. He ordered his coffin well in advance and made it useful in the cottage for many years.

Holt died in 1831 aged 82 after 42 years ministry and is buried with his wife, who had predeceased him in 1829 also aged 82. The sun dial on a stone pedestal in front of the chapel was of his erecting.

A son followed him and after an interval Mr. Joseph Barber was set apart for the ministry. Soon the church membership increased to over 40.

The branch meeting at Mottram had been long discontinued, but in 1856 it was decided to erect a small chapel in Bramhall and for many years Mr. Barber conducted the services at both places (eight miles apart), there being no evening assembly at the old place.

In 1844 the church paid £20 to a descendant of a trustee before he would restore to the rightful owners the deeds of the Mottram Burial Ground.

Mr. Barber's gravestone records his death 10 March 1871 aged 78 years, after a ministry of over thirty years. There followed Enoch Shard who upheld the cause until his death in 1892, James Davenport having become co-pastor in 1879.

The church has never possessed a baptistery on the premises. About a mile away, in Fowden Lane not far from Chorley Old Hall is the interesting open stone built baptistery, in use a hundred years ago and still in excellent preservation. It is found within the precincts of Orrell's Well Farm now in the occupation of Adam Dawson, a Wesleyan class leader.

A few yards away on higher ground is the Well and on the lower side Mobberly Brook winds its way. Five lofty trees give a picturesque setting to the rural fount. No service has been held here within memory.

of the present members, but Robert Hallworth, whose tombstone is prominent in the foreground of the chapel and who died in 1914 aged 91 remembered several baptisms there.

After its disuse baptisms were administered at Sandlebridge near the original Norbury Houses on the Knutsford road, and for 60 years the few who have joined the church have gone to chapels in Macclesfield or to Bramhall.

Of the modern headstones, passers by, note that of one named Lowe on which is the verse,

In union with my Lord
From condemnation free
The saints from everlasting were
And shall for ever be.

While another records in bold letters,

“Who shall lay anything to the charge of
God’s elect?”

But the one which causes far more attention is the neat upright stone near the gate shaded by a yew tree of well over 200 years growth. It is that over the only sons of the Rt. Hon. Jacob Bright, and is lettered,



Two
Little Brothers
Paul Bright
aged 4 years and
Sydney Mellor Bright
aged 7 months
lie side by side in this grave
July 1861

Its existence so far from Rochdale is explained by the fact that John Bright's younger brother was then entering upon his political career as candidate for Manchester and for a time resident at the Queen's Hotel, Alderley Edge. There his infant son died of diphtheria. Being refused a grave at the church where he first applied, he wrote to the Baptist minister. Mr. Barber replied that there was only one space at Warford which had not been appropriated, and that should be his. The burial took place, and the little fellow Paul who stood beside the new grave followed his baby brother within a fortnight.

It is satisfactory to record that the three burial grounds of Warford, Mottram and Bramhall are kept in excellent order. At Mottram an adjoining owner has planted fruit trees around the graves and pays a nominal rent therefor to the Trustees. It is however much to be regretted that a few years ago the farmer tenant of the Mottram Hall estate was allowed to enclose some yards of the burial ground together with a valuable tree which had marked the boundary. Services have been held annually by Warford members on the ground, and in case of rain the Wesleyans have lent their excellent chapel a short distance away. A thatched cottage was once used for funeral services and is still known as Graveyard Cottage, but no burial has taken place at Mottram for 70 years. The last gravestones to be erected are those of "Joseph Burgess died July the 10th 1745" and that of the Falkener family. The latter is a large slab raised a few inches above the ground and the inscription reads:

"Here was interred the body of Thomas Falkener of Mottram who departed this life January the 16th 1757 aged 55 years. Also Samuel his son departed this life February the 9th 1757 aged 24 years Likewise the wife of his son

departed this life March the 9th 1757 aged 24 years Also Elizabeth wife of the said Thomas Falkener died October 1757."

Locally the 4 deaths within 10 months is accounted for by the fact that the family had eaten potatoes grown in the burial ground and it is said that calves put there to feed also met the same fate!

Nearly all the twenty gravestones are now neatly covered with grass and it would be well to place a notice board to commemorate the work of Thomas Eaton the Baptist stalwart of 230 years ago.

Eythorne and the Kent General Baptist Association.

AN informing and exhaustive article in a previous number of these *Transactions* on "Early Days at Eythorne" by Dr. Whitley, while it pricked some traditional bubbles, set before us in the light of truth the figures of James and John Knott and consequently made them more human and interesting. I have recently come across some references to James Knott and his friends which give us another glimpse of the Eythorne General Baptist Church in the old days, and it may not be out of place to refer to them as supplementing Dr. Whitley's article.

On 16 May 1717 "at the Meeting of the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in & about East Kent (Professing the principles of y^e Doctrine of Christ mentioned Hebrews y^e 6th 1: 2 & y^e Doctrine of General Redemption) . . . Holden at the House of our Bro: Will^m Tucker called Soulton" arrangements were made for conducting the business of regular Association meetings. The churches mentioned are Canterbury, Dover, "Hyth and Folkston," Eythorne, Deal, and Bardon. From Eythorne there came to the meeting,

James Knott,	Elder	
John Russel	}	Representatives
John Crump		

Arrangements were made for a regular interchange of ministers and it was resolved to meet twice a year in May and October. The next meeting was to be held 'at the meeting house at Deal.' "It was agreed y^t our Bro' Knott should preach a Sermon at y^e same time or on his failure our Bro [David] Simpson" [elder of Dover].

The Eythorne church met at this time in three divisions or, as the minute book of the East Kent Association puts it, in "three meetings Holden at Eythorn Wingham-well, & in the Isle of Thannet." At the next Association meeting John Russel and Will^m Tucker appeared as representatives of Eythorne but Knott did not turn up. Accordingly, "It was agreed y^t our Bro^r Simpson taking with him our Bro^r Will^m Tucker or some other Bro^r shall inquire of our Bro^r Knott his reasons of not coming to this meeting to preach a Sermon as agreed nor yet give our Bro^r David Simpson timely Notice thereof and to render y^e same to our next meeting of this kind."

James Knott appeared with Tucker and John Bush at the next meeting, which was held in the meeting house at Hythe, 8 May 1718, and "gave y^e reason of his not coming to y^e last meeting (*viz*) that about 2 Days before y^e time when as y^e said meeting was to be holden he was taken lame of one Side, by which Suddain Seizure he was prevented from coming to Deal to preach a Sermon and of giving Notice to our Bro^r David Simpson—which reason is by this meeting accepted." It was arranged that Knott should preach at the next meeting, at Canterbury, "or if he possible cannot to give timely notice to our Bro^r William Kennett." Neither elder nor representatives turned up from Eythorne however at the next meeting and an entry concerning one of the Eythorne members seems to betray a lack of sympathy between some of

that Church and the Association with its Messengers. Here is the record:—

“The Letters that have been sent from Thomas Norwood to Bro^r [Samuel] Ongley and Bro^r Jarman and from Bro^r Jarman to Thomas Norwood were read before this meeting and also Bro^r John Hobbs and Bro^r John Bush brought the following report from Thomas Norwood as he spake it to them at Sandwich the twelveth day if this instant October [1718] (viz) Bro^r John Hobbs discoursing with him about the nature and authority of y^e Office of messengers He made light of it and said that Bro^r James Knott did the like.

And it was agreed that Bro^r David Simpson and Bro^r William Kennett shall go to Bro^r James Knott and carry him Copies of the Letters that Thomas Norwood hath sent to Bro^r Ongley and Jarman and let him know that this meeting thinks them very scandalous and notoriously dishonourable to religion, and y^t they think that Thomas Norwood is worthy of being publickly disowned from being a member of the Church of Eythorn at the several meetings holden by the said Church and that y^e s^d Letters be publickly read at y^e doing of y^e same and that in order hereunto he be forthwith admonished if they think fitt and also that these two Brethren shall inquire the reasons that Bro^r James Knott nor no representatives came to this meeting from Eythorn and to exhort him to stir up himself and the church he belongs to to make their appearance at the next meeting.”

When the Association met next, on 7 May 1719, at Monkton “at the house of our Bro^r John Bush in the Isle of Thanet” Knott with John Crump and John Bush appeared for Eythorne. “Stephen Lasey” Elder of Deal was appointed “moderator” of the meeting. It was “agreed that our Bro^r James Knott With our

Brethren David Simpson and William Kennett shall go to Thomas Norwood and admonish Him in the name & fear of the Lord to acknowledge those evils he hath been guilty of in Reflecting upon our Brethren Samuel Ongly, Searles Jarman and others and give Gospel Satisfaction which if he do the Church will accept of him but if he continue obstinate that they shall & will proceed against him according to Gospel Rule (*viz*) to Declare him out of the Communion of the Congregation."

Another agreement of this meeting in which Knott was concerned dealt with the supply of the Isle of Thanet the ministers of Deal were to take it once in eight weeks "Bro^r Knott once in Eight weeks. The ministers of Hyth & Folkstone once in Eight weeks. They of Canterbury five times in Eight weeks and to begin on the 17th day of May next" [1719].

The autumn meeting in this year was held at Dover, 20 October, Knott turned up with Tucker and John Towns representing Eythorne and its branches. It was "agreed (all means having been used with Thomas Norwood to bring him to give Gospel Satisfaction as agreed and proving still unsuccessful) that Bro^r James Knott shall publicly declare Him out of communion of Eythorn congregation the next time He goes to the Isle of Thannet to Break Bread." Fresh arrangements had to be made for the supply of the meeting in the Isle of Thanet owing to the deaths of Samuel Ongly the Messenger, "Bro^r Parramour" one of the preachers, and William Kennet of Hythe since the spring. James Knott, the ministers of Deal and of Canterbury, were each to supply there once in eight weeks and it was resolved "that Bro^r David Rutter and Bro^r Robert Willson be Earnestly desired and requested to Supply that meeting at other times as formerly."

The next Association meeting was held at Deal

26 May 1720. James Knott turned up with Thomas Manser and John Bush from his church.

“It was certified that Bro^r James Knott had proceeded against Thomas Norwood as agreed the last meeting.”

At this time the East Kent Association dropped its autumn meeting and when it next met 18 May 1721, at Hythe, there was no representative from Eythorne. The meeting deputed Searles Jarman and David Simpson “to visit Bro^r James Knott and to enquire the reason.” Next year at Canterbury [3 May 1722] John Bush and John Kingsford represented the Eythorne church. It was reported that Knott in reply to the question as to non-attendance “answered that they were occasionally prevented but [did] not design to leave of sending Representatives to our future meetings.” On 23 May 1723 the Association met at Eythorne. James Knott is entered in the minutes at Elder and John Crump and John Bush appear again as representatives. In 1724 May, 14 at Dover, Knott appeared with Bush and John Hatton representing his church; these two represented Eythorne again at the Association meeting at Deal, 6 May 1725, but Knott was not present. Bush had the confidence of the churches as this minute testifies:

“It is agreed that Brother Edward Morris [Elder of the Hythe & Folkestone Church] and Bro^r John Bush shall represent these five Churches at the general Assembly to be holden at Glasshouse Yard Goswell Street London on wednesday in Whitsun-week next.”

James Knott now disappears from the minutes. At the meeting in Canterbury, 11 May 1727, Rich^d Chilton appears as a representative of Eythorne, I think he came from the Isle of Thanet branch. At

Wingham, 15 May 1729, there was still no elder of Eythorne but John Hatton, Will^m Kingsford, and John Bush came as representatives. At this meeting it was resolved "that the *Ministers* belonging to the Churches shall meet together at Ramsgate in the Isle of Thanet to consider how the several Churches may be Supplied in the Ministry, on Tuesday the tenth day of June next." There is no record of this meeting, in fact a break now occurs in the Association Minutes probably owing to the death or removal of Bro^r Thos Mercer, who, since 1717, had kept the minutes and did "ingross y^e Same in a book to be kept for that purpose."

Dr. Whitley shows why Knott's name disappears at this period. He was disowned by these churches for 'immorality,' at a meeting at Wingham, in 1725.

The next entry in the Association book of the General Baptist Churches in East Kent is dated 11 October 1734. Meanwhile in 1732 the Eythorne church had been divided into regularly constituted churches for the several places of meeting at which groups of its members had worshipped. This step was long overdue. We consequently have a fresh arrangement and the meeting is described as "holden at Canterbury . . . 1734 by the Messengers Elders and Representatives of the said Churches *viz*

	Rich ^d Drinkwater	}	Messengers		
	Rob ^t Mercer				
	and from				
Canterbury	{	Will ^m Browning	}	Represent ^{vs}	
	{	Step ⁿ Philpot			
Dover	{	Rob ^t Pyall . . .	}	Elder	
	{	John Prescott		}	Represent ^{vs}
	{	John Sanders			
Hyth and Folkston	{				

Isle of Thanett	{ John Bush Rich ^d Chilton }	Represent ^{vs}
Winghaven als Wingham	{ John Kingsford John Ladd }	Elder Represent ^{vs}
Stelling	{ George Ash Will ^m Mackney }	Elder Represent ^{vs}
Eythorn	James Knott	Repr ^{ve}
Deal	{ Stephen Lacy Stephen Broadley }	Elder Represent ^{vs}
Tong	John Pantry	Represent ^{ve}

Dr. Whitley, quoting from the old Eythorne Church Book, tells us that James Knott on expressing repentance was "restored" in 1732. I do not think he was restored to the Eldership. He was restored to communion but not to office. He is here described not as elder but only as "representative" and this meeting took steps to supply at Eythorne without mentioning Knott.

"It is agreed that Bro^r Rich^d Chilton and Bro^r John Bush shall one Lords Day, in six Supply Ministerially, the Church at Wingham and Bro^r John Kingsford and Bro^r John Sanders shall do the same to the Church at Eythorn."

Unfortunately there now comes a gap of 34 years in this Association Book during which time the proceedings were no doubt entered elsewhere. The next entry is headed:—

"Aug. 9 1768 An Association of the Gen^l Baptist[s] held in their meeting house at Canterbury."

And the record is for all the General Baptist Churches in Kent, eighteen in number, not all of which

44 Eythorne and the Kent General Baptist Association

were however represented at the meeting. Eythorne sent

Mr Jn ^o Knott,	Elder	} repr ^r
Mr Tho ^s Harvey		
Mr Step ⁿ Bradley		

This must be the John Knott jun. who was ordained as "elder" of the Eythorne church 18 September 1758. From the report on the state of the churches we can see how those which sprang from Eythorne were faring. Let us look at the record, taking the mother church first. The scribe sets it down thus:—

"Aythorne nothing in perticuler as from y^e Church. Mr Knott demands the ministers constantly changing and a fund to be rais'd to discharge the expense thereof."

The Isle of Thanet sent

Mr Tho ^s Piety,	} repres ^{ts}
Mr John Griggs	
Mr W ^m Foord	

"Mr Piety relates they are in want of a Minister & aply hear for asistance and they are redy to assist any pe[r]son that shall setle with them; [they have] but one Deacon & him aged & lives 6 miles of and Recomend their choosing one officer if not two."

Wingham sent.

Mr Jn ^o Kingsford	} repres ^{ts}
Mr Rob ^t Quested	
Mr Tho ^s Chapman	
Mr Edw ^d Kingsford	

"Mr Kingsford Represents They have no Elder, they have one Deacon & proposes to choose two more & Recomends Singing as a likely means to revive a spirit of religion, and Mr Kingsford is of opinion it would be useful to Revive their former Conferances."

Stelling was represented by

Mr Stepⁿ Philpott Elder

Mr Phill Griggs

“ Nothing in perticuler to them related.” The Association requested John Knott, and Mr [John] Geere of Hythe church, to assist Dover in finding a suitable minister and choosing officers. Messrs Kingsford, Philpot and Chapman were “ desired to persuade ” Isle of Thanet “ to choose Officers in their church.” Knott’s suggestion of exchanges was met by the following resolution.

“ It is recomended to Mr Knott & Mr [William] Ashdowne for East K^t and Mr [Daniel] Dobel [of Cranbrook] & Mr [John] Boorman [of Headcorn] for West Kent to make an estimate to lay before the next Association of the expenses that will attend the Ministers changing their places of meeting in order to diversifie the ministry.”

The following minute is of interest: “ The Elders & representatives are desired to enquire of their several Churches if they approve of Mr Wm Ashdowne & Mr Knott for the Office of Messengers.” John Knott signs these minutes of 1768 with twenty-three others. He did not attend the Association meeting at Headcorn, 9 May 1769, but he is referred to in the minutes as “ John Knott of Baisou.”

We also find the minute “ In relation to the Choice of Messengers it is the opinion of this Association that as it consists of Kentt onely that they are not properly authorised to choose Messengers for the whole Body of Baptist[s].” No objection of this sort was raised in earlier times so far as I know, and it may be the churches felt there were special reasons for proceeding cautiously in regard to ordaining Knott and Ashdowne to that office.

At the meeting at Canterbury 3 Oct 1769 John Knott attended as elder of Eythorne. There is no indication of any difference with his old brethren. It is recorded that "with relation to a supply of ministry in the Island Broth^r Knott and his Assistance [assistants] propose to Suply there once a month and Bro^r John Kingsford once a month."

But at this meeting the case of Bessels Green came up. John Stanger who had gone there as assistant to the respected and venerable elder, Samuel Bengé, had caused difficulty by forming a party-following, getting himself appointed Elder and endeavouring to oust the majority from the old meeting-house. John Colgate brought the "case" up as representative of the church. The record runs "The Case of Bessells Green too difficult to determine for want of being more perticularly acquainted with the whole affair. But we think a Minority have no right to Chuse an Elder. With relation to the affair of Messengers visiting or writing without being called to it in Answer to which we think a Messenger have a right by advize or Council any where or any when to give advice and counsell in any religious affairs." John Knott signed the minutes but the name of James Fenn of Deal is not there though he attended as representative, not as elder of that church.

The next Association meeting was held at Headcorn, 8 May 1770, Knott turned up with three companions Tho^s Harvey, Vincent Ladd and Stephen Broadley. From Bessels Green came Samuel Bengé the elder with John Igglesden and John Colgate. They again brought a "case" for consideration. In regard to the Messengers the minute for this year runs "Our Messenger M^r Dan^l Dobell is desired to inform the Sussex Churches that it is the desire of this Association to meet them in Association at Tunbridge

Wells¹ in order for the Choice of Messengers." Any hope of electing John Knott to that office was passing. John Boorman of Headcorn was eventually chosen as Messenger. He appears in that capacity in 1772. As to the Bessels Green affair the decision was as follows:—

“Whereas a Charge by Mr Stanger and others have been brought against Brother Daniel Dobell for sowing discord among the people at Bessells Green and in his office being over-bearing as a Messenger it is the opinion of this Association that the Charge is not supported.”

I judge that the sympathies of Knott went with Stanger and his party for neither he nor the three representatives of Eythorne sign this minute.

At the next meeting of the Association at Canterbury, 14 May 1771, Eythorne church was not represented and its name is dropped from the list. The reason being that Knott, as well as Stanger, had severed his connection with the old General Baptists and joined the New Connexion of General Baptists. In 1785 Eythorne took the further step under Thomas Ranger of entering into fellowship with the Particular Baptists. The church at Deal which had withdrawn from the Kentish General Baptists did not follow Eythorne in this step. It went back to its old love before this date and was represented by James Fenn, now classed as Elder, and Stephen Carter at the Association held on 2 May 1780 at Headcorn. Curiously enough “Vincent Lad” and “Step^h. Bradly” two former Eythorne representatives sign the minutes of the preceding year at Canterbury. It looks as though they were not content with the trend of events at Eythorne and had come amongst their old friends once

¹ This joint meeting was held July 24, 1770.

again to see how things were moving. Fenn was even nominated in 1780 as a possible man for the Messenger's office. He continued in fellowship with the old General Baptists, and in 1794 we hear of "Bro^r James Fenn intending to go shortly" to America. His name then drops out.

There is one more glimpse of Eythorne in this Association Book which we may note. It occurs in connection with the old meeting house in Sandwich. The Deal friends reported at the Association meeting at Headcorn, 3 May, 1803, that in accordance with the recommendation of the Association they had re-opened the "Sandwich Meetinghouse . . . but that after they had preached there a short time, the place was much damaged, by some evil-disposed persons, since which, there has been no preaching there." Accordingly the Association "request that our Friends who were appointed to attend to this business last Association, would endeavour to prevail with the Church at Eythorn, to unite with us, in repairing this place as soon as possible; & to adopt such measures relative to the carrying on of the worship of God there in future as shall appear to them most proper. We also think it necessary that means should be used to bring those persons who committed the Depredations to Justice."

Next year, 24 April 1804, the Kentish Churches associated at Chatham where a "New Meeting House" had lately been built at a cost of £884 6s. 6d on land leased for 99 years. "A Sermon was preach'd by Bro^r W. Vidler from the Epistle to the Ephesians 3 Chap 3 & 4 verse[s]" This was William Vidler the universalist-unitarian Baptist formerly of Battle in Sussex.² Among the minutes of this meeting the following occurs.

² See the article by Butt Thompson on Vidler, in Vol. I. of these TRANSACTIONS.

“ We observe that our Friends of Deal have had an interview with some of the acting Members of Eythorn Church, who seem dispos'd to unite with them in putting the Meeting House at Sandwich in a state of repair, but as yet nothing decisive has been done—but we hope it will be determin'd on in a short time, as to the offenders by whom the place was much damag'd they are not yet brought to Justice.”

In 1805 it was reported at Canterbury that “ The state of Sandwich Meeting House is in the hands of friends to whose immediate exertions we leave the Business.” Presumably these friends were members of Eythorne church and no further reference to the matter occurs. A movement in the direction of Calvinistic doctrine was making itself felt among the Baptists of Kent at this period. It presented itself to the minds of the old General Baptists in the light of a reaction and threatened their control of some of the old Meeting Houses; yet they faced the position with admirable Christian temper and no word of bitterness on the subject mars the record of their Association Meetings. When it was reported in 1813, at Cranbrook “ with respect to the Case of Yalding Meeting House . . . that the Trustees have permitted the Calvinist Baptists in that Neighbourhood to occupy it for their public services ” they did indeed advise the Trustees to reconsider the subject and arrange for the payment of a yearly rental to be made. Next year at Smarden it was recommended that the “ Yalding friends . . deposit their Church book in the hands of Mr [Robert] Pyall [messenger of Headcorn] he being the senior Trustee,” but they did not proceed further in the matter. They had learned to respect sincere religious conviction though it might be of a different complexion from their own.

WALTER H. BURGESS.

Benjamin Cox.

A NOTE in the last number of the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society adds to our knowledge of one of the few clergy who in the Civil Wars became Baptist, and honourably retired from their parishes. A few inadequate notes were made by Benjamin Stinton and printed by Crosby, whence others have copied them with further deterioration. The following facts are drawn from contemporary sources.

Benjamin Cox was educated at Oxford, and in 1617 was at Broadgates Hall, according to Anthony Wood. This quite disposes of the legend that he was son of Bishop Cox, famous in Elizabeth's reign, for the bishop's five children were all born before 1568, and he died in 1581. It is possible that Benjamin was related in some way to Bishop Richard, but no evidence as to his parentage is available.

He became rector of Sampford Peverel, a village five miles north-east of Tiverton. In 1646 he was twitted by Thomas Edwards for having been zealous concerning Laud's innovations. This probably means that he did not fall in with the prevalent Puritan notions, and did appreciate an orderly service; for we find him stickling for such points afterwards. It is worth remembering that John Wesley earned his name of Methodist for similar punctilious observance of the prayer-book, insisting in Georgia on immersing instead of sprinkling. Edwards lived at Hertford and

had no special means of knowing the facts, while his *Gangræna* shows that he was concerned in raking together everything he could twist to the discredit of those he attacked.

As soon as Laud's power was broken, Cox took the lead locally in promoting a reformation. What troubled many conscientious clergy was the custom of admitting to communion all parishioners indiscriminately; on this point he wrote a long letter of fourteen quarto pages and sent it to Martin Blake, vicar of Barnstaple, in 1642. The letter was penned in that town, and this may indicate how widely his influence spread.

Once a man sets to work in earnest to limit communion to real believers, he is likely to be challenged with questions about confirmation and infant baptism. At Sampford Peverel, Cox was within easy reach of Tiverton, where the Baptists had been decidedly in evidence since 1626. It would seem that, even as Paul learned from the humble Ananias of Damascus, he got in touch with this church. For Baxter in 1650 said plainly that Cox forfeited his chance of preferment and influence among the Puritans by his adoption of Baptist tenets. And when the ordinance for forming the Westminster Assembly was passed on 12 June 1643, Cox was not on the list. Also a scrutiny of the Journals of the Lords and Commons, showing the numerous cases where they promoted and paid Presbyterian clergy, shows that they never favoured him in any way.

In the course of this year, he vanished from Sampford Peverel and never returned. He may have been helped to this departure by the victories of the Royalists under Sir Ralph Hopton; the west country was not comfortable for any clergyman who was not a staunch Episcopalian. In May 1656, John Hopkins was the minister, joining in the General Association

formed October 1655. Calamy obtained the name of Stephen Coven as ejected, and has no mention of Cox in any way.

Coventry was a stronghold of the Puritans in 1643, and Cox bent his steps thither. Doubtless he was helped in his choice by the fact that the Baptist churches at Coventry, and at Tiverton had been in touch since 1626. His arrival disconcerted the ordinary reforming clergy who teemed in this city of refuge; and Baxter tells how he challenged Cox to a debate on infant baptism, first oral, then in writing. This appears to have been about the close of 1643. The military committee in charge of the city did not appreciate the division of opinion, and as Cox would not keep silent, they imprisoned him. He was not released till 1644, and then without any intervention of Baxter, who was morally responsible.

One detail in Baxter's statement is curious; he says that Cox was present by invitation to assist at the formation of a Baptist church. Now the General Baptist church there had existed at least seventeen years; perhaps there were now some Calvinists who had arrived at the Baptist position, and desired to be embodied in a separate church.

The next light on Cox is from Captain Deane, in his well-known letter to Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. It relates to the period after the use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden. This tyrannical order was issued on 4 January 1644/5, but as no penalty was specified, it remained a dead letter till it was re-issued with stringent penalties on Bartholomew's Eve, 1645. The Presbyterians afterwards had bitter cause to rue that date, which was evidently chosen in 1662 as a deliberate retaliation for their bigotry now.

Some time therefore after January 1645, Benjamin Cox ministered at Bedford, according to Deane. It

seems implied that he had the use of a parish church. Gyles Thorne of St. Cuthberts had been reported to the Lords in 1642, and in February, 1642/3 had been ordered to pay Mr. Holden £20 yearly. Possibly for a short time Cox held this or a similar lectureship.

Baxter indeed says that Cox was sent for to Coventry from Bedford; but Deane's reference to the order of 1645 conflicts with this, and his sequence of events appears more natural.

In December 1645 he was in London, where Baptists were now stirring very vigorously, and it was advertised that he and Hanserd Knollys, another clergyman, assisted by William Kiffin, a young merchant, would hold a public discussion in the parish church of Aldermanbury, on infant baptism. Public interest had been challenged, first by a confession published for the London Baptists in 1644, then by a publication of Daniel Featley, a former official of the High Commission. In 1642 Featley had had a debate with Kiffin, of which he had kept notes; being now imprisoned by the Presbyterians, he had time to work these up, to compile some slanders about the Munster Anabaptists and insinuate that English Baptists were of the same kidney, to criticise the 1644 confession, and to send the whole undigested mixture to the press. He was promptly answered by others, and never returned to the charge, though his farrago was often reprinted. The excitement was such that the Lord Mayor forbade the debate contemplated by Cox, who thereupon issued a pamphlet explaining. Meanwhile Martin Blake of Barnstaple thought the time opportune to publish the letters of 1642, with further thoughts of his own; so that Cox found himself suddenly famous.

Now the confession of 1644 had been drawn up and signed by men who had had no theological training, all laymen from the former standpoint. Featley

had dedicated his book to parliament, asking that there be no tolerance of such opinions as he opposed, and no preaching by laymen. Therefore the confession was revised in the light of his criticisms, without retracting anything important, and was republished in January, 1645/6 with a dedication to parliament claiming religious liberty. This time it was signed also by Cox and Knollys, and it is probable they both helped in the revision.

Parliament was too busy to attend to the matter, for there was a three-cornered quarrel between the king (now a prisoner in the Scots army), the Scotch parliament, and the English army. Cox therefore was free in May to edit one of the works of a new friend, John Spilsbury. Some country brethren who had read Featley's slanders, sent some queries chiefly as to the mortality of the soul and anti-nomianism. To these he replied in several articles which he published in November as an appendix to the confession. He also deigned to take notice of the personal attack by Thomas Edwards, and issued a reply. And because the new Calvinistic Baptists were being charged with holding the medieval views of the Continental Anabaptists, he further put out a criticism of Pelagian errors, which called into the field the redoubtable Thomas Lamb, leader of the General Baptists.

Then he suddenly subsided, and is not heard of for nearly twelve years. The blank is perplexing. Of course he was still the legal rector of Sampford Peverell, and once the intolerance of the Long Parliament was rendered harmless by Pride's Purge, he might have returned and resumed his duties, until the intolerance of Cromwell towards Baptists manifested itself in 1654. That would account for Stephen Coven being inducted there in 1655. But it would not account for a silence as to him on the part of the Baptists in Devon and the west, and the fact that

the only dissent known even in 1672 at Sampford was Congregational.

There is another possibility, that his work at Bedford lay between 1646 and 1658, and was far more than a brief sojourn. This would account for his son Nehemiah being domiciled in the county soon after the latter date. But it does not appear that the Bedford open church founded by Gifford, which did enjoy the ministry of Nehemiah, has any tradition of Benjamin. Nor has his name yet been published as having used a parish church in Bedford; and he did not sign the nomination on 13 May 1653 of members to the Nominated Parliament for the county. It would be very curious should it turn out that Cox was steadily preaching Baptist principles there while Bunyan was still in garrison at Newport Pagnel.

The Midland Association organized in 1655, and at the ninth meeting, held at Moreton in the Marsh on 2 September 1658, he was the first of five men commissioned to sign the conclusions. It is not clear in what capacity he attended; comparison of the names of churches and delegates leaves it possible that he was representing Leominster-Hereford or Gloucester or Bewdley; but no tradition survives of any connection with these places. It is more probable that he was acting as the Messenger of the whole Association; such a post was filled at this period for the Western Association by Thomas Collier; such superintendence was disjoined from the care of one local church then, as it now is again in the very similar case of a General Superintendent.

With Cromwell's death, the obstacle was removed to his work in London, and we now have welcome evidence of his having resumed work there. John Hartopp succeeded to a baronetcy in 1658, when he was just of age, and he proved a powerful patron of Free Church ministers. He married Elizabeth, the

daughter of General Charles Fleetwood, son-in-law of Cromwell, supporter of the Irish Baptists, commander-in-chief in 1659; and in 1660 the pair procured a foolscap blank book, into which Sir John wrote out carefully 28 sermons he took down in short-hand for a year. They are not in chronological order, but are all dated. Every Sunday sermon, from April 22 to Dec. 30, is by "Mr. Cox," and there are fifteen of these. Evidently Sir John was a regular attendant on Cox's ministry, though there is no clue as to the place where it was exercised. No sermon in January 1661 is reported; in February the Hartopps began attending regularly on "Mr. Jenkyn," apparently William Jenkyn, vicar of Christchurch and lecturer at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. The book breaks off abruptly in the midst of a sermon by him.

These facts are new to this generation, and when we see that Cox's last sermon was on the words, "Exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God," then we note the date 30 December 1660, and observe that on the previous day the Convention Parliament had been dissolved, without having passed any measure for toleration, thanks to the bigotry of Baxter. Cox clearly had no illusion as to what next year had in store, but he could not have foreseen the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchists in January, with the prompt proclamation forbidding all conventicles.

As the Hartopps ceased reporting his sermons, we may perhaps infer that he did not have the use of a parish church; and this is confirmed by the silence of Calamy, who could hardly have been ignorant of London affairs, and would not lightly have missed a gibe at a Baptist.

The Hartopps did not say where Cox was preaching; but in 1646 he signed as joint-pastor of one of

the original 1642 churches; and although this was soon led by Edward Harrison, vicar of Kensworth, who provided it with a home in Petty France, yet we find that on 28 January, 1660/1, when eight London Baptist churches joined in disclaiming all connection with Venner, Harrison was associated with Cox. True that the Christian name is given as John, but there are other mistakes, and no John Cox is known at this time. It would seem certain therefore that Benjamin came back to his old church.

This was a leading church in town, which had sent messengers to Wales and to Ireland, and had joined in the call of 1653 to all Baptist churches. It met in a building which the Hartopps would not be ashamed of frequenting, though it was private and not a parish church.

On 15 June 1662, the soldiers raided this place, wounded a boy with a sword, and carried off the preacher to prison; a fortnight later they repeated their visit, wrecked the place, and wounded several. This has nothing to do with the new Uniformity Act, which came into force two months later; it was a rather illegal action to execute the Conventicle Act of Elizabeth, reinforced by recent proclamations.

Under these circumstances the church, so rich in ministers, instituted three meetings in place of one. The spies of 1664 reported [S.P. Dom. Miscell. 26] "Mr Harson, Mr Toll, Mr Cox, pastors, joyne together. Hars meetes att his owne house & in Bunhill feilds. Cox in thames streete soper-brig. Mr Toll chepeside seaven starres."

This disposes of the statement made by Stinton fifty years later, that he conformed after 1662, repented, and died a non-conforming Baptist. The statement was inherently improbable, and could barely be reconciled with these contemporary notices; no evidence was stated by Stinton or Crosby, none is known.

Indeed, Cox, an "antient minister" in 1650, disappears in 1664.

In 1665 Seth Ward, bishop of Exeter, required returns to be made from all his clergy as to any non-conforming ministers, physicians, schoolmasters, midwives &c in their parishes. It was certified that Stephen Coven, "a wandering seditious seminary," was living at Halberton, three miles east of Tiverton; but there is no word of Cox, whether in his old diocese or in any other whence reports are preserved. Nor is he heard of again in 1669 or 1672.

Instead of the fathers come up the sons, both with Harrison and Cox. It may be added that his son Nehemiah was reported in 1669 from Maulden as a prominent dissenter, that in 1671 he was called to the ministry by the same Bedford church which then chose Bunyan as pastor, that in 1674 he was censured by the church for words and practices tending to make a division. This Bedfordshire sojourn may well have been facilitated by the father's brief stay at the county town. Then in 1675 Nehemiah was called to be joint-pastor with William Collins over the great London church of Petty France, where Harrison the late pastor had died before April 1674, and where Benjamin's name was still fragrant. Nehemiah was ordained on 21 September, this being apparently the first public dissenting ordination in London. Two years later his church adopted a Baptist revision of the Westminster Confession, which in 1689 became rather famous, and is still standard in the southern United States. This throws a light on Nehemiah's departure from Bedford, for that church was then trying to walk on the narrow path of open membership, forbidding all discussion of baptism. Neither Nehemiah nor Benjamin believed in hiding that light under a bushel. Nehemiah worthily upheld the great traditions of his father, blossomed out as M.D., and is heard of

as going about on his medical rounds with a gold-headed cane.

He had the opportunity of heaping coals of fire on the aged head of Richard Baxter, who was being dragged off to prison in 1683 when Cox met the party and certified that Baxter was too ill to endure a jail: Calamy and his copyists ignore the fact that the popular physician was also a Baptist pastor, and that he risked his own liberty by intervening. He received the dedication of Needham's Institutiones Medicæ, whence we learn that he was also an honorary F.R.C.P. He died in the year of the revolution, and was honoured with a handsome tomb in Bunhill Fields.

A Certificate of 1689.

NORTHTONSH. MEMORAND. that at the Genall Quarter Sessions of the Peace holden by Adjournment at Northampton in and for the said County of Northton this twelfth day of October in the first year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England & Anno Dni 1689 It was certified to their Ma^{ties} Justices of the Peace in the said County then and there assembled according to the forme of the Statute in such Case made and provided That the dwelling house of Joseph Goodman at Braden in the County aforesaid is intended and appointed for a Place of meeting for Protestant Dissenters for the exercise of their Religious worshipp or service of God. As by the Records of the said Court doth Appear. Given under my hand and the seale of my office the day and year above written

p me Joseph Duckett
clicum pacis

N.B. The original document hangs on the wall of the house thus certified, still owned by a lineal descendant. The church "of Slapton" fitted up a second house at Towcester in 1723, and a third at Middleton Cheney in 1740; it built the present meeting-house at Weston by Weedon in 1794, whose registered number is now 11026.

Through Presbyterian Spectacles, 1691.

A REVIEW of the Pedobaptist Dissenting Interest was compiled about 1690-1692, and on its recent discovery, was entrusted by the ancient Presbyterian Board to the Rev. Alex. Gordon. He has made a most careful study of all the people and places, and has drawn up an index which is really an elaborate series of biographies for all the leaders named, several hundreds.

In his introduction to this valuable volume, "Freedom after Ejection," he says that there was a mutual antipathy between the Baptists & the Pedobaptists, a fact we have often emphasized, as at page 172 of our last volume. He calls attention however to a few allusions made to our people, which we extract and annotate. The original manuscript is reproduced by him with meticulous accuracy; here we take only the information, and make no attempt to reproduce the spelling.

In Buckinghamshire there was Richard Young. He had been reported from Edlesborough in 1669 to the bishop; in 1677 had seceded from the Chesham church and was connected with Berkhamstead; in 1679 signed the Orthodox Confession; in 1690 was reported to the Presbyterians from Wycombe.

In Essex, at Tiptree or Messing, was one Crab, a Baptist, an ignorant fellow. It is possible this was the hat-maker who in 1646 had excited the wrath of Edwards at Hertford for baptizing Samuel Fulcher the egg-man. It is far more likely to be the Thomas

Crab reported to the bishop in 1669 from Downham, or the Moses Crab at Wilbraham. Sible Hedingham was reported to the Presbyterians as much pestered with Quakers and Arminian Anabaptists.

In Gloucester there had been a Pedobaptist congregation at Tewkesbury; in 1691 there were only Anabaptists. It may be added that this church, known from 1655, in 1695 called Joseph Price to be pastor; he died 1721.

In 1672 Owen Davies had put in a number of applications for licenses to Gloucestershire Congregationalists. Among them were Henry Collett and Thomas Skey jointly for their own houses in Tewkesbury, Joshua Steed of Cleeve at his own house, Will Davison of Tewkesbury at his own house.

In Gloucestershire it was also reported in 1691 that Joshua Head, together with Collett, served Bourton on the Water, Cleeve, with other hamlets disguised as "Bigby, Cos and Pason." We know from other sources that in 1685 Edward Strode of Tewkesbury paid £50 fine on behalf of Joshua Head of Slaughter, Thomas Collett of Bourton and six other conventiclers; and that in 1698 John Venfield a minister was buried on 1 April.

In Hampshire we find that at Kingsclere some gifted men of the Anabaptists preached occasionally, but had promised to desist when a Minister was settled there. Probably this was an outpost of Whitchurch, or of Newbury.

In Hertfordshire, John Wilson was reported from Hitchin, receiving not above £10. He was really pastor 1677-1717, and his children became noted ministers. Watford and Rickmansworth were sadly recorded as having only a meeting of Antipædobaptists.

Across the borders of Hertford and Middlesex, Joseph Maisters was active. At Theobalds he co-

operated with Hamilton the Presbyterian; at Enfield with Obadiah Hughes. It is added by Mr. Gordon that when he was invited to London he kept up monthly visits to Theobalds.

From the county of Lancaster comes the interesting news that Colonel Roger Sawrey of Broughton Tower, wrote on behalf of the church at Tottlebank in Furness Fells, to say that there was no minister, though there were several legacies & some land, and the people guaranteed £20 more every year; they were calling out to the Pedobaptists for one man at least. We know that the call was unheeded, and that in 1696 David Crosley the Baptist went instead, giving the church a tinge which it has retained ever since, though it is still open-communion, as at its foundation in 1669.

From Northumberland, James Jaffray reported that Hexham was still leavened with Anabaptists. This was due to Thomas Tillam; the early documents are well known and valuable.

From Wiltshire the report came that the Martlock congregation paid eight shillings a sabbath, and that Edward Gatchell took turns there. In 1672 he had taken a licence for his house at Pitminster.

Abergavenny in Monmouthshire was reported, via Hereford, as having a great auditory, but most of them Anabaptists, and their preachers of the same persuasion, possessed of the meeting-house. This was to be expected, considering the early discussions there and the interest of the Association. To-day the centre of gravity is Llanwenarth.

Montgomery had had Henry Williams, a Baptist, pastor at Newtown; but Hugh Owen his successor was Pedobaptist. One of his Baptist members, Reynold Wilson, an itinerant, had before 1669 opened a school at Aberhafesp. There he was afterwards helped by Francis Turner, who went on to Hill Cliff.

A Public Library and Baptistery in the Barbican, 1694.

FIFTEEN interesting manuscripts have been deposited in Doctor Williams' Library, by authority of the General Assembly of General Baptists.

(1) One of them is the minute-book of the General Association of General Baptists, 1696-1704, with an alphabetical list of 440 members at White's Alley in 1695. This has been described, and the Association minutes printed, for our Society in 1909. Nine other volumes relate to Kent, Surrey, and Sussex General Baptists, and five to the premises at Paul's Alley, Barbican. These deserve a short account.

(2) In 1711, James Richardson of the Ax-and-Bottle Yard, Southwark, member of the Fair Street church in Horselydown, entered up minutes of the Kent General Baptist Association from 1708, and presented the book to the Association, of which he, a layman, was Messenger—an office revived now as General Superintendent. The book was used at intervals till 1760, and some of its information has afforded material for notes in our 1909 edition of the Assembly minutes.

(3) In 1717 the churches in East Kent began a similar folio minute-book, of which the following account is given by the Rev. Walter H. Burgess. The entries of the East Kent Association in this book

extend to 11 October 1734, and then for some reason the book was unused for 34 years. In 1768 the Association for the whole county of Kent began to make use of the blank pages of this volume, and entered its proceedings therein down to the meeting held at Canterbury, on 11 May 1819, when Brother G. Smallfield was chairman and Brothers Samuel Love and William Burgess, were moderators. The book being then nearly full and somewhat the worse for wear it was resolved:—

“The Old Association Book to be deposited in the hands of Bro^r John Farren, and a new Book to be provided against the ensuing Association.”

This old volume is in a dilapidated condition lacking covers and with many pages loose, but the contents are intact and perfectly legible. It contains the autograph signatures of many leading Kentish General Baptists. Much information is available as to Hythe, Dover, Deal, Sandwich, Thanet and Canterbury. So much is available as to Eythorne that a separate article has been written by Mr. Burgess.

(4) Further information about the East Kent Association may be gathered from another volume with entries from July 1780 till April 1787.

(5) Yet another volume contains records of these East Kent churches from 1798 till 1809. This last is of interest in that in 1842 it was in the possession of a deacon at Dover, William Peirce, whose ancestors had figured at the Association and Assembly since 1700. His daughter Priscilla, Mrs. Fordham, a great benefactress of the Assembly, bequeathed this volume to that body in 1857.

Sampson Peirce spelt his name thus when signing in 1783, though the secretary entered it Pearce.

The same spelling was used by the Assembly in 1865 for Priscilla, but while the secretary long continued this form, the treasurer in 1869 introduced the spelling Pierce, which has since been adopted in the official title of her charity.

(6) Association life was resumed in 1832, when London grouped with the Kentish and Southern churches. A book was then started which contains minutes of the London and Southern General Baptist Association till 1845.

(7) A seventh volume is of more local interest, dealing with the very ancient church at Canterbury, which in 1653 sent a letter to Cromwell, was visited by Caton and Stubs next year, and also by Henry Denne from Fenstanton. Their Elder, Samuel Ongly who died between May and October 1719, Messenger of the Association, bequeathed money with which they bought and fitted up the refectory of the Black Friars, dating from 1236. During the Eldership of Samuel Ongly and Searles Jarman they began, on Nov 11 1711, the minute-book in question, which continued in use ten years. When on 3 February 1837, the then minister, F. B. Barton, B.A., forwarded to Somerset House the original registers of births 1780-1836, and of burials 1785-1836, a transcript of them was made into this volume.

(8) Another volume also belongs to this church, but is in such extremely bad condition that it has not been closely examined. It may be added that worship having been discontinued, the premises were sold a few years ago, for far less than Ongley bequeathed; the quaint place with its abundant memorials of famous Baptists, is no longer in Baptist custody. Fortunately, we have transcripts of many of the tombstones.

(9) A further volume is the cash-book of the deacons at Tunbridge Wells, 1679-1744. It should

be compared with the church minutes 1671-1802, now in the British Museum, Add. 36709.

The Rev. Walter H. Burgess supplies the following description and illustrative extracts from the account book.

“A small octavo vellum-covered pocket book, which cost one shilling. It has a flap and brass clasp. On the fly-leaf is a pencil note in the handwriting of W. H. Black, F.S.A. thus:—

‘The Deacons Book
of the Tunbridge Wells
G. B. Congregation
See Church Book of’

The book has been used from both ends. It is neatly lettered on the back:—

‘Tunbridge Wells Deacons Book 1697-1744.’

The earlier entries I take to be in the handwriting of George Borer, then William Ashdowne kept the book and after him Matthias Copper and David Chapman alternately for ten years. These two were ordained ‘deacons’ on ‘June ye 26 1734.’

The book opens thus:—

‘Here follows an account of ye Deacons distribution of ye Contrebuton monny by them Colected in ye Church from ye first day of ye 4th month 1697.’ [June 1st 1697]

Turning to the other end of the book we have the heading:—

‘Of ye colections & Contrabutions of ye Church gathered by ye Deacons from the 2 day of ye 4th Month in ye year 1697.’

The entries of collections run on with great regularity to 1744. Here is an example:—

1697. Colected at our meeting at Bro. Bluger
ye 22nd of 6 mon. I 13 2

A Public Library and Baptistry in the Barbican, 1694 67

It is unusual to state the place of meeting. Most of the entries give only date and amount noting also the sum given at 'Breaking of Bread.' The notes of payment are full of interest. They are mainly small sums to the sick and needy, but there are payments for horse hire, for making graves and coffins, for entertainment of Messengers, for postage and on at least one 'Brief,' and for licensing the houses where meetings were held. *e.g.*

1699	for a letter from Smarden	o	o	6
Jn ^r 9	[Jan 9 1699-1700] in answer to Bro. [Matthew] Caffyns charge for charges in entertaining him and to Bro Benge	o	11	o
1701	Ap. Rb: ffrancks for making a grave for Sister Jeffery	o	1	o
1704	to Broth. Benge for Loss of tyme in vissitting	o	o	7
1717.	Decemb. 29 pd about the Licences for Bror Chapmans & Bro ^r John Martens houses	o	3	6
1720	pd Wm Ashdownes horse hier to seven oks	o	2	6
1722	May 27 - Bro ^r Stones Coffen	o	7	o

These accounts together with the Church Book of this congregation, now in the British Museum, give a clear picture of the life and activities of an old General Baptist Church."—Walter H. Burgess.

(10) Mr. Burgess has also studied a tenth volume, the minutes of Turner's Hill, from 1727 for more than a century. An article on this will appear in the next *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society, of which Mr. Burgess is Hon. Secretary.

(11) The other series of books relates to the extensive premises between Paul's Alley, and Barbican. There was a very strong Baptist church headed in 1656 by John Gosnold, reported in 1669 as preaching

at the Musick house in Gun Alley, in Little Moorfields, who in 1672 took out a licence to preach in Little Moorfields at Richard Horton's house. In 1678 he was succeeded by Thomas Plant, who in 1683 was reported as preaching at the Old Play House near Red Cross Street. This is the first time we come clearly on the track of the premises in question, though Taylor's rather indefinite language might imply to hasty readers that the Barbican block had from the beginning been the home of Gosnold's church. Plant's death in 1693 closed that chapter, and the books now in Gordon Square supply first-hand material for the next.

Now that liberty seemed secured, the Assembly of Particular Baptists had put it on record that ministers and students for the ministry ought to study Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. An obvious means to this end was a library, and as the Barbican premises were very large, this was housed here. A list of books, donors, borrowers, accounts, from 1694 to 1715, is in the eleventh volume. In 1709 the use of this library was granted to the Society for Encouraging the Ministry, which met at the Norwich Coffee-house. Eight years later, that Society largely augmented the library, and it was then made available for all members of subscribing churches. It deserves attention that this Baptist Library was at work before Doctor Williams even made his will in 1711, bequeathing his own library for public uses. His trustees began their meetings in 1716, and only in 1729 did they actually open in Red Cross Street. In 1737 the Baptist church at Trowbridge founded a library for training young Baptist ministers, and the library at Barbican was thereupon sorted so that suitable books could be sent to Thomas Lucas the Trowbridge tutor. After that, no more is heard of this earliest venture at a public theological library for dissenters. Possibly some of

its volumes might yet be identified at the Conigre Chapel, Trowbridge, or in Gordon Square, London.

(12) A twelfth volume deals with another co-operative institution on the same large premises, a Baptistery. Baptisms had been administered at first in the river Lea near the Old Ford. In 1705 a special building was erected in Fair Street, Horsleydown, towards which the church at Barbican sent a subscription; but two years later the church voted to use the place in Goodman's Fields. With the death of queen Anne, dissenters felt it opportune to make many advances. Thomas and John Hollis of the great Pinners' Hall church, who took the lead in so many enterprises, made a generous offer to the Barbican church, which was accepted. The immediate landlord sold the remainder of his lease, and the church resumed possession of some part of the premises which had been let off. A stone tank was then placed in front of the pulpit, with a marble kerb and ornamental iron rail; a stairway led up under the pulpit through folding doors to three large wainscotted vestries; a spring on the premises with well and pump provided the water necessary, and a very elaborate outfit of clothes and other necessaries was provided. The Hollis brothers, who had found £363 out of the £500 expended, were appointed trustees and managers; they issued certificates to approved ministers to use the place, at a fee of two shillings per candidate. A book was provided to record everything connected with the Baptistery, and readers may now see a series of entries down to 1789. At first the name of every candidate was entered, and Mary Page, daughter of Sir Gregory Page, heads the list as baptized on 19 October 1716 by Joseph Maisters of "Joyners Hall," the Pinners' Hall afternoon church. The last name of a candidate was number 171, recorded 1 September 1720; after that only, the numbers of them and the names

of the ministers are entered. Inventory and accounts are in other parts of the book. Some extracts were printed by George Eyre Evans in his *Antiquarian Notes*.

We turn now to the church itself which met at Barbican. After the death of Plant in 1693 there had been a reorganization when his church was strengthened by absorbing the Turners' Hall church with its minister Richard Allen. On 18 March 1705-6 he joined the Particular Baptist Association with the consent of the church, which hitherto had carefully kept the balance between Calvinists and Arminians; this balance was redressed by calling John Gale to be his helper on 21 April. In 1712 Isaac Lamb's Particular Baptist church quitted Virginia Street (which was re-let to a General Baptist church), and amalgamated with the Barbican church. In 1717 Joseph Burroughs, son of one of the deacons from Virginia Street, was ordained co-pastor with Gale, Allen having died in February. A new church roll was then drawn up. Two years later came the great debates at Salters' Hall, when both Gale and Burroughs voted not to sign any declaration as to the Trinity. Therefore when the church offered that year to join the Particular Baptist Fund, founded 1717, it was refused. This led to trouble also with a lessee who wished to leave and join a P.B. church but would not hand over the lease of the premises. Gale died in 1724, and two years later Burroughs baptized and associated with himself James Foster from Trowbridge, in whose time the church reached the zenith of its reputation. With 1726 he drafted the plan of an Education Fund, open to all; in practice it has become known as the General Baptist Fund, and still does good work. Isaac Kimber was soon associated as a third minister. This chapter of history closed with the death of Burroughs in 1737, the filling

of the second minute-book by 16 September 1739, and the prospect of the lease expiring in February, 1740-1.

(13) A new list of members was therefore prepared, and this is the thirteenth volume now before us: it was kept up to date for some years.

(14) Alongside it should be studied the fourteenth, which is the minute-book. It shows how Foster went in 1748 to the great Pinners' Hall church where the Hollis family worshipped, and how Burroughs took no associate, but let one service drop. Only in 1757 did Francis Webb come to help, and Burroughs died in 1761. Webb resigned in 1766 and went to Poole, being succeeded by Daniel Noble the Seventh-Day pastor at Mill Yard. With 1768 the once great church disbanded, and the minute-book ends with the record of 5 June in that year.

(15) But Daniel Noble had on 8 May accepted the pastorate of the Glass-house church, and this church took over the remainder of the Barbican lease with the members of the late church. This was not an unusual way of preserving endowments, as can be exemplified in many cases. The Glass-house church had a remnant of a lease of the premises in Glass-house yard, which was an asset carefully guarded. It needed a new minute-book in 1772, and this is the fifteenth volume now accessible. As the current lease of Barbican was running out, Glass-house united with three other churches to build a new place on Worship Street, which was put in trust during 1784. The owners of Barbican evidently allowed it to be still used for baptisms till 1789, and then all Baptist associations with it ended.

1660, May 2.

"The rabble in London demolished the Anabaptists' church."—*Diary of John Townsend, Worcester.*

The Baptist Board Minutes.

Continued, with notes on page 118.

Sept^r ye 11th 1750 M^r Brine presented ye Case of people at Leicester for ye building a meeting house Agreed the said case be consider'd Next the above mentioned⁶³

Octo ye 2^d 1750 Doctr Gill presented ye case of the church at Bromsgrove for ye building of a meeting house Agreed ye said case be considered next the above mentioned

Nov 26. 1750 M^r Brine presented the case of the Church at Warwick for the enlarging a Meeting House building a Baptistry, &c Agreed the said case be considered next to the above mention^d

[Stennett's hand].

Jan. 1751 M^r W^m Lawrence & M^r Richard Strange presented the case of the church at Stratton, Wilts for building a meeting house. Agreed that the said case be recommended next to the above mention'd.⁶⁴

April 30. 1751

A motion being made and seconded the M^r Sam^l Stennet be chosen Secretary to this Board in the room of the late M^r Wilson deceased the Question was put and it was unanimously agreed he be chosen into the said office and he was chosen accordingly.⁶⁵

April 23. 1751

Mr Lawrence reported that Mr Abraham Blunt was call'd into the ministry by the Church at Limehouse, late under the care of Mr Spurrier and accordingly propos'd him to be a member of this Board, which was unanimously agreed to.

May 21st 1751. Mr Trivett presented the case of the church at Worsted for the enlarging of their meeting house Agreed the said case be recommended next to the above mentioned⁶⁶ [*Margin* Withdrawn]

Feb. 25. 1752. Mr Stennett Sen^r presented the case of the Church at Guilford for building a meeting house Agreed the said case be recommended next to that of Warwick.

April 14 1752. Agreed that the weekly evening meetings of prayer be drop'd for the Summer season, and be reviv'd again the last Friday in September next

Augt 18. 1752. Dr Gill presented the case of the church at Hill Cliff for the building a meeting house at Warrington. Agreed the said case be recommended next to that of Guilford.⁶⁷

Jan. 2^d. 1753. Mr Davis acquainted the Board that the Church under the care of Dr Gill having several Times tried the Gifts of Mr James Fall for the Work of the Ministry, and given him a Call to that Work, were desirous that he might be admitted a Member of this Board. This Recommendation not coming immediately thro' the Hands of Dr Gill, he was desir'd to signify whether he had any Objection to it; which he answer'd in the negative: and therefore, tho' such a Recommendation is always desirable,

and our usual Method of Admission, we agreed to receive him, determining at the same Time it shall be no precedent.⁶⁸

Jan. 22. 1754. Mr. Moneypenny and Mr. Edwards reported that Mr. Abraham Clarke had been called into the ministry by the church lately under the care of Mr. Wilson, and accordingly propos'd him to be rec^d a member of this Board, which was unanimously agreed to.

March 12. 1754. Capⁿ Best and two other persons came with a Request, as they said, from a part of the church lately under the care of the Rev^d Mr Sam^l Wilson, to this Board, to assist at the ordination of Mr James Fall. It was unanimously agreed that we cou'd by no means comply with their request, or be concern'd at the said ordination.⁶⁹

The following ministers were present

Dr Gill	Mr Thompson	Mr Cartwright
Dr Stennett	Mr Joseph Stennett	Mr Sam: Stennett
Mr Dewe	Mr Clark	
Mr Stevens	Mr Tolley	

Mar. 12. 1754. Mr Cartwright presented the case of the church at Netherton, in the county of Worcester, under his care, for building a meeting house. Agreed that the said case be recommended next to that of Warrington.⁷⁰

March 19. 1754. Mr Jonathan Brown presented the case of the church at Hull, under his care, for building a meeting-house. Agreed that the said case be recommended next to that of Netherton.⁷¹

May 7. 1754. Mr David Ferney presented the case of the church meeting at Marton in Yorkshire &

at the Juniper Dye House in Northumberland under his care, for building two meeting-houses, one at each of these places. Agreed that the said case be recommended next to that of Hull.⁷⁸

June 25th 1754. Present. Dr Gill in the chair Mr Dewe Dr Stennett Mr Townsend Mr Brine Mr Stevens Mr Wallin Mr Thompson Mr Llewelin Mr James Mr Ryland Mr Stennett

Dr Gill having inform'd the Board that Mr James Fall had rent himself from the Church under his care, and that he is discharg'd from their communion; it was agreed that he shou'd no longer be consider'd a member of this Society.

Dr Gill presented the case of the church meeting at White Haven on Cumberland under the care of Mr Christopher Hall for building a meeting house at that place. Agreed that the said case be rec^d, and recommended next to that of Mr Ferney's.

June 30th 1754. Messrs Edwards and Fisher reported that the Church late under the care of the Rev^d Mr Sam^l Wilson hath called Mr Moses Davis into the Ministry: and accordingly propos'd him to be a member of this Board, which was unanimously agreed to.

Aug^t 27th 1754. Mr Chesterton presented the case of the church meeting at Colnbrook for building a house for public worship there. Agreed that the said case be receiv'd, and recommended next to that of White-haven in Cumberland.

Oct. 22. 1754. Dr Stennett presented the case of the church meeting at Trowbridge under the care of Mr Wiggindon for building a place for public worship. Agreed that the said case be rec^d, and recommended next to that of Colnbrook.⁷⁸

Mr Brine propos'd the case of the church meeting at Rye in Sussex under the care of Mr Rodgers for building a house for public worship. Agreed that this case also be rec'd and that it be recommended next to that of Trowbridge

Augt. 22th. 1755. Mess^{rs} Manypenny, Morse, Lawrence and Fisher deliver'd a Message to the Board from the Church late under the care of Mr Saml Wilson desiring the Ministers to assist at the ordination of Mr Saml Burford at the meeting at Goodman's fields Sept. 4th. next.

March 30. 1756. Mr Nottage presented the case of the church now meeting at Harlow Common under his care for building a house for public worship in Potter's Street. Agreed that the said case be receiv'd, and recommended next to that of Rye. Agreed that a weekly meeting of prayer, on occasion of the present situation of public affairs, be observ'd on every Friday evening, beginning at six o'clock & ending at seven

Jan. 18. 1757. Dr Gill presented the case of the church at Yarmouth Norfolk for building a meeting house. Agreed that it be rec'd and recommended next to that of Harlow Common.⁷⁴

Augt. 9th. 1757. Present Dr Stennett Mr Brine Mr Dewe Mr Townsend Mr Wallin Mr Anderson Mr Thompson Mr Stennett Mess^{rs} Wood, Mann, Lawson, & Gregory Messengers from the church at Limehouse reported that there had been a difference for some time subsisting between them and Mr Blunt their late Pastor occasion'd by sundry reports spread to the prejudice of his moral character, and that it was their unanimous request to

the ministers to advise them what steps they shou'd take in this affair. Mr Blunt also appear'd and declar'd his concurrence with them in this request.

Upon hearing the matters in dispute, it was agreed to give them the following advice viz^t. That a regular Church-meeting be held, at which Mr Blunt be present; that time shou'd be spent in prayer, and that he, being under censure, shou'd be call'd upon to give satisfaction for his conduct; and that, minutes being taken at the close of that meeting, a report be made of the same to this Board, to enable them to complete their advice

[Interpolated]

Feb. 1758. About this time Mr Jas. Larwill was admitted a member; but his admission was not then enter'd, the Secretary being absent.⁷⁵

May 2. 1758. Mr Fletcher presented the case of the church at Nottingham for purchasing a meeting-house. Agreed to recommend the said case in its course to y^e charitable regard of friends.

May 23. 1758. Messrs Palmer and Pewtress deliver'd a message to the Board from the church late under the care of Dr Stennett, desiring the ministers to assist at y^e ordination of Mr Sam^l Stennett, at Little Wild street June 1st next.

May 30th. 1758. Mr Wallin reported that the church under his care had called Mr James Newton into the ministry, and accordingly propos'd him to be a member of this Board, w^{ch} was unanimously agreed to

Jan 30th. 1759. Mr Thompson Jun^r propos'd Mr Caleb Evans to be admitted a member of this board, which was unanimously agreed to.⁷⁶

Mr Anderson likewise propos'd Mr James Larwell to be admitted a member, which was accordingly unanimously agreed to.

At the same time it was unanimously agreed, that Mr Charles Miles, in consideration of his immoral behavior, shou'd no longer be continued a member of this Board, and his name was accordingly struck off.

Feb. 6th. 1760. It was unanimously agreed that no more cases relating to the building or repairing of meeting houses be receiv'd and recommended by this Board.⁷⁷

March 3. 1761. Certain things having been reported by Mr Butler, to the prejudice of Mr Stevens's moral character, it was agreed that Mr Wallin and Mr Anderson be desir'd to converse with the said Mr Butler on those things, and report their conversation at our next meeting.

Present Dr Gill Mr Flowers Mr Edwards Mr Brine Thompson Walker Wallin Larwell Stennett Dewe Rist Anderson

March 10. 1761. Mr Wallin and Mr Anderson reported the conversation they had had with Mr Butler. Upon which it was agreed, that Mr Wallin and Mr Stennett be desir'd to acquaint Mr Stevens, that it is the desire of this Board that he attend here Tuesday next, at four in the afternoon, to answer to the charges laid ag't him

Present Dr Gill Mr Wallin Mr Larwell Mr Brine Thompson Stennett Dewe Burford

March 24. 1761. Present Dr Gill in the chair Mr Wallin Mr Burford Mr Brine Mr Anderson Mr Larwell Mr Dewe Mr Thompson Mr Stennett

Having convers'd with Mr Stevens, and several other Gentlemen, concerning certain criminal charges exhibited ag^t him; it appear'd on the whole that he was addicted to impure discourse and filthy actions with divers persons. It was therefore unanimously agreed, that he be no longer consider'd a member of this society.⁷⁸

March 31. 1761. Mr Stennett reported that the church under his care had call'd Mr William Clarke into the ministry, and accordingly propos'd him to be admitted a member of this Board, which was unanimously agreed to.

June 23. 1761. A letter was read from a new gather'd people at Woolwich in Kent, giving an acct of their church state, and their having chose Mr Robt McGregory to be their Pastor, with an earnest intreaty to be consider'd with their Pastor in union with the ministers and churches of the particular Baptist persuasion. Agreed that Brother Wallin & Bro^r Larwill inquire into y^e character of the said Mr McGregory in order to consider of the matter.⁷⁹

Augt. 25th. 1761. Agreed that Mr McGregory be admitted a member of this society.

Mar. 23. 1762. Agreed that Mr Crayner be admitted a member of this society.⁸⁰

Augt. 17. 1762. Agreed that no person shall be introduc'd into the meetings of this society, who is known to be disagreeable to any one member of it.

Feb. 12th 1765. Present Mr Wallin Mr Larwell Mr Macgregory Anderson Burford S. Stennett Thompson Clarke

Agreed that each member of this society, contribute two shillings and sixpence, every quarter, towards the expences of it: and that one guinea be paid the landlord every quarter for the use of the room, commencing from Christmas last.⁸¹

Feb. 19th 1765. Present Mr Wallin Mr Larwell
S. Stennett Thompson Crayner
Agreed that M^r Messer be admitted a member of
this society,

[March 12, 19, April 16, accounts omitted]

April 16. 1765. S. Stennett reported that the church under his care had called M^r Josiah Lewis into the ministry, and accordingly mov'd that he might be admitted a member of this board, which was unanimously agreed to.

July 1. 1766. S. Stennett acquainted the Board that the church under his care had called M^r Joseph Jenkins into the ministry, and propos'd that he might be admitted a member, which was unanimously agreed to.

Oct. 14. 1766. M^r Larwell reported that M^r John Reynolds was settled with the church at Cripplegate late under the care of M^r Brine, & mov'd that he might be admitted a member of this board, which was unanimously agreed to.

Oct. 21. 1766. M^r Anderson mov'd that he might be heard at some convenient time on a complaint he had to bring ag^t a member of this society. Agreed that he be at liberty, to make his complaint this day three weeks.

Nov. 25. 1766. Mr Anderson having brought a complaint ag^t Mr Messer viz. That Mr Messer had at a church meeting at Grafton Street said that he Mr Anderson owed him Mr Messer twenty pounds.—Mr Messer replied, and the Board came to the following resolution.

It unanimously appears to the Gentlemen that the evidence given upon this question does not amount to a proof that there was an actual personal agreement between Mr Anderson & Mr Messer that Mr Anderson wou^d pay Mr Messer one half of his stipend fm Oct. 1763 to Oct. 1764; but that it was his Mr Anderson's [intention? *or* duty?] to do so provided Mr Messer was appointed his assistant by the church; and that therefore they have neither of them told a wilful untruth in reference to this matter.

Jany. 27th. 1767. Messengers having attended this day sev'nnight fm the people at Grafton Street to request the assistance of the Ministers at the ordination of Mr Messer, their message was this day reported, and it was unanimously agreed—That the consideration of the affairs of the people at Grafton Street be defer'd to this day five weeks.

It was likewise unanimously agreed that a committee be appointed to make inquiry into their difference, & that they be desir'd to make their report this day month.

It was likewise agreed that Mr Wallin, Mr Reynolds & Dr Stennett do make this committee.

Feby. 3. 1767. Messengers from the people at Grafton Street attended, and were acquainted that the Board [*replacing* Gentlemen] w^d be ready to give them an answer March 3^d. next.

Jamaica Coffee House Mar. 3. 1767. The Brethren having taken into consideration the report of

the committee for enquiring into the affair relating to Mr Anderson and the people at Grafton Street, & the messengers waiting for an answer to their request of assisting them in the ordination of Mr Messer

It was unanimously agreed to give them the following answer, namely,

That the Brethren cannot in their present view of the affair comply with their request, and it was further agreed to advise them to procure a reconciliation at least so far as that both parties reunite or agree to separate.

Resolv'd that the following cases be recommended in their order⁸³

Mr Blackshaw's meeting at Bewdley, Worcestershire

Mr Bligh's meeting at Sevenoaks, Kent

Kingstanley, Gloucestershire

Mr Brigg's meeting at Sutton Ashfield Nottingham

Mr Hoppin's meeting at Nottingham

Oakham, Rutlandshire

Mr Sparkhall, Ingham, Norfolk

Mr Lee, Irthingborough, Northamptonshire

[added subsequently]

Mr Hann, Upottery, Devonshire

Mr Clayton Cloughfold Lancashire

Church at Spalding Lincolnshire

Ryland Colledge Lane Northampton [1774]

Jenkins a Wrexham

Francis Horsely

Gillard, Yeoville [transposed from below next]

Gould Harlow [Jan. 1775; the other three later]

March 26. 1771 At the Board Present B. Wallin in the chair J Reynolds J Craner W. Clarke

It was moved and agreed that Mr John MacGowan Mr Abram Booth & Mr Robt Baskerville be received members of this Board and they were admitted accordingly⁸³

Jan^y 5. 1773 Present B. Wallin in the Chair J. Reynolds W. Clarke A. Booth R. Baskerville Dr Stennett It was moved and agreed that Mr Jonathan Chandler be admitted a member of this Board and he was admitted accordingly⁸⁴.

Feb. 8th 1774 It was moved and agreed that Mr Sam^l Gill be admitted a member of this Board, and he was admitted accordingly. Present Mr Wallin in the chair Baskerville Booth Reynolds Clarke Stennett

March 16th 1774 It was moved and agreed that Mr John Rippon be admitted a member of this Board, and he was admitted accordingly. Present Mr Wallin in the chair Reynolds Booth Chandler Stennett

At a meeting at the Jamaica Coffee House Sept 20th 1774. Present Mr Benj: Wallin in the chair W^m Clarke Ab^{rm} Booth Sam^l Gill John Reynolds It was moved and agreed that Mr William Button be received a member of this Board, and he was admitted accordingly. It was likewise moved and agreed that Mr John Martin be rec^d a member of this Board, and he was admitted accordingly.

At a meeting at the Jam. Coffee house Nov. 8. 1774. Present Mr Benj: Wallin Ab^{rm} Booth John Reynolds John McGowan Sam^l Gill Mr Booth presented the case of a meeting house built by some Christian Brethren of the church under the care of Mr Brindley of Chatham. The consideration of it postpon'd till further intelligence is obtained⁸⁵

Agreed that the case of the church in College Lane Northampton under the care of Mr Ryland sen^r be recommended in course.

Dec. 27th. 1774. Agreed, upon the report of Mr Booth, that the case of the people at Sheerness be rejected.

Certain persons who profess themselves Baptists & who have lately detach'd themselves from the congregation in Jewin Street, having applied to the Board for their advice and assistance; their case was taken into consideration, and it was agreed to preach to them for two months at their meeting at Mr Reynolds's on the Sunday evening. Present Mr Wallin in the chair [Mr. Thompson *erased*] Mr Clarke Mr Reynolds Mr MacGowan Mr Martin Mr Booth Stennett.⁸⁶

Jan^y 31. 1775. Present Mr Wallin in the chair Clarke Booth Reynolds MacGowan Rippon Martin Stennett. Mr Gould's case of Harlow, for the discharging a debt on their meeting was rec^{d.}, and agreed to be recommended in its turn.

Agreed that Mr Jenkins's and Mr Francis's cases on account of their meeting houses, take place of Mr Gould's, if they apply in due form.

The case of Yeoville rec^{d.}, and to take place of Mr Gould's.

Agreed that no further case be rec^{d.} on the list for this year.

Jan^y. 30th 1776 It was agreed to recommend the following cases in their turn. Mr Greenwood's of Rochdale Mr Jas Hartley of Haworth Folkstone Mr Blaine's of Tring [This entry was also made on an earlier page before the minutes of 1771, where it was followed by:—] Resolv'd that if any persons apply for contributions in London out of the order in which their cases have been agreed to be consider'd by this Board, their cases be not recommended by this Board.

Feb^y 11. 1777. Mr Sam^l Rowles was admitted a member of this Society.⁸⁷ Agreed that Mr Tompson and Mr Rowles be of the committee to the Gen^l Body

for the year 1777. Agreed to recommend the following cases in their turn. Mr Hague's of Scarborough. Mr Gillard's of Cullumpton.

Augt. 5th. 1777. Agreed that Mr Booker's case of Wivelsfield Sussex be recommended in its turn. Agreed that the case of the church at Tenterden be further enquir'd into, and if it be found to be a good one, that it take its turn after that of Mr Booker⁸⁸

Jamaica Coffee House Apr: 2. 1782. Mess^{rs} Booth, Rippon and Rowles were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body.

Mar. 25. 1783. Mess^{rs} Reynolds, Martin, and Button, were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body for the current year.

Apr. 6. 1784. Dr Stennett, Mess^{rs} Clarke, and Thomas, were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body.

May, 11. 1784. Present, Mess^{rs} Reynolds, Martin, and Booth. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Tho^s Powel, and Mr James Dore be received into this Society, and that it be reported to the Committee of the General Body.⁹⁰

Feby. 22. 1785. Mr Joseph Stennett was received as a member of this society⁹¹

Apr. 5. 1785. Mess^{rs} Booth, Rippon, and Mabbatt, were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body.

Mar. 28. 1786. Mess^{rs} Reynolds, Button, and Dore, were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body.

Apr. 4. 1786. Mess^{rs} Hopkins, and Arnold were received as Members of this society.⁹²

Coles Coffee house. Apr. 11. 1786. Mess Booth, Rippon, and Mabbott, reported to the Committee of the General Body, that M^r W^m Clarke, late of Unicorn Yard was removed into the country; Mess^{rs} Hopkins, and Arnold were received into our denomination; and that Mess^{rs} Reynolds, Button and Dore, were chosen to be on the Committee for the ensuing year.⁹³

Jamaica Coffee house. Apr. 1787. Mess^{rs} Booth, Martin, and Stennett, were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body for the present year

July. 3. 1787. M^r Reynolds reported, that he had received a letter from M^r W^m Augustus Clarke, in which he requested to be struck off our denomination as belonging to the General Body. Upon which it was unanimously agreed, that he should be no longer considered as a member of this society, and that M^r Reynolds be desired to inform him of it.

Mar. 18. 1788. M^r Daniel Williams was received as a member of this society.⁹⁴ Mess^{rs} Button, Dore and Arnold were chosen to be on the committee of the General Body for the current year.

Jamaica Coffee house. Apr. 1. 1788. M^r John Penny, was received as a member of this Society.

Apr. 8. 1788. At a meeting of the Committee of the General Body reported, that M^r Hopkins is dead—that M^r W. Augustus Clarke is no longer on our Denomination—that Messrs Daniel Williams and John Penny are received on our Denomination—and that Messrs Button, Dore, and Arnold, Bulkeley and Taylor are chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body for the current year.⁹⁵

Mar. 31. 1789. Mess^{rs} Martin, Mabbott, and Powell, were chosen to be on the committee of the General Body for the current year.

Dec. 22 1789. Mr William Smith of Eagle Street was received in our Denomination.⁹⁶

Feb'y 23. 1790. Mr Tho^s Thomas of Mill Yard, was received on our Denomination⁹⁷

Mar. 29. 1791. Mess^{rs} Reynolds, Timothy Thomas, and Smith were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body for the present year. No alteration to be reported at the next meeting

Jamaica Coffee house Mar. 13. 1792. Mess^{rs} Tho^s Thomas, Button, and Jos. Stennett, were chosen to be on the committee of the General Body for the ensuing year.

Jan'y. 22. 1793. Mr Joseph Swaine, pastor of the newly formed church at Walworth, was received on our denomination.

Mar. 26. 1793. Mess^{rs} Booth, Williams, and Penny were chosen to be on the committee of the General Body for the current year.⁹⁸

Apr. 9. 1793. Agreed to receive Mr Thomas Sowerby on our denomination. Present Mess^{rs} Booth Martin, Button, Williams, Smith, Timothy Thomas, Tho^s Thomas, Stennett, Powell & Penny⁹⁹

Agreed that no minister, resident in London, be permitted to associate with us, for more than three months, if not a member of this society.

May. 14. 1793 Agreed unanimously, that Mr Tho^s Oliver's company, at the Coffee house is not desirable, & that Mr Booth be requested to inform him of it.

Jamaica Coffee House Dec. 17 1793 Mr Booth read the following letter sent to him by Mr Martin.

Dear Sir, I think it right to inform you that I went last week to Hammersmith merely to enquire into the present state of the friends of our denomination in that village. I dined at Mr Munday's, after dinner, he and other friends informed me, that since Mr Oliver had preached at Hammersmith, the hearers had very increased; that Believers had been revived, and others alarmed, and convinced: that some had been baptized, and that thirteen persons of good character, had solemnly given themselves up to the Lord, and to each other, to walk together as a church of Christ. I was further informed, that they wished to have Mr Oliver settled amongst them. But two difficulties must first be surmounted. One in reference to the Meeting-house; of which I can say nothing now, the other relates to the moral character of Mr Oliver. They had heard he was forbid to meet with you at the Coffee house, and wish to know whether it was on such a ground as ought to prevent their being connected with him as their Pastor. I suppose, with your permission, they will endeavour to obtain satisfaction. If you wish to see me before they wait on you, and the Brethren at the Coffee house, I shall think it my duty to give you and them the best information on this subject I am able to impart. I am, &c, John Martin

Dec. 10. 1793

Agreed, that Mr Booth be requested to answer Mr Martin's letter, and to send him a copy of the note sent to Mr Oliver on the resolution of the Brethren on May. 14.

The following answer was accordingly forwarded to Mr Martin.

Dear Sir, On Thursday last Mr Oliver put your letter into my hand. Having perused it, I told him

that I could not return an answer, till after the Brethren at the Jamaica Coffee house had been consulted on the subject. On the evening of yesterday, your letter was laid before them, and after deliberating upon its contents, they agreed in requesting me, to send you a copy of the note which by their direction I wrote to Mr Oliver, relative to his associating with them at the Jamaica Coffee house. That note, they were of opinion, if laid before the Christian friends at Hammersmith, would entirely supersede the necessity of those friends applying to them at the Coffee house, respecting Mr Oliver: because they concluded, *That as a Society they have nothing more to say on that subject.* I remain, &c. A Booth. Dec. 18. 1793

(Copy)

Sir, I here return the Testimonials given you by the Church under the care of Mr Garniss. Am glad to find you acknowledge your disorderly conduct toward that church in leaving it as you did; and that the members of it bear such a testimony in your favour. I laid your papers, on Tuesday last before the Brethren at the Coffee house; and after some conversation respecting those papers, the ministers present unanimously agreed in requesting me to inform you, *That your company at the Coffee house is not desirable to them.* I most sincerely pray for your happiness, & remain, Sir, Your cordial wellwisher

A. Booth

To Mr. Oliver May. 18. 1793

Jamaica Coffee House Jan'y 17. 1794 Present, Messrs Booth, Timothy Thomas, Dore, Thos Thomas, Smith, Joseph Stennett, Powell, Sowerby, Swaine, and Button. Agreed that Mr Button be the Secretary of this Society. The following members of this society paid 5^s each for the use of the Room for the year 1793

Dr Stennett Mr Timy Thomas Mr Smith Mr Booth
 Mr Dore Mr Sowerby Mr Martin Mr Tho^s Thomas
 Mr Swaine Dr Rippon Mr Burnside Mr Macgregor
 Mr Button Mr Penny Mr Arnold Mr Stennett Mr
 Powell

Jamaica Coffee house. Mar. 11. 1794. Dr.
 Rippon, Mr Dore and Mr Burnside were chosen to
 be on the committee of the general Body, for the
 ensuing year, and [sic]

April. 1. The committee of the General Body, was
 desired to report that Mr Daniel Williams was
 removed into the country¹⁰⁰

Aug^t. 19. 1794. Agreed to receive Mr Ovington
 on our denomination. Present Mess^{rs} Booth, Timy
 Thomas, Tho^s Thomas, Dore, and Smith

Jany. 27. 1795. Present Mess^{rs} Booth, Tho^s
 Thomas, Smith, Sowerby, Penny, and Button. Mr
 Booth paid the annual Rent for the room which is
 four guineas.

Mar. 31. 1795 Mess^{rs} Timothy, Thomas, Smith
 & Powell were chosen to be on the committee of the
 General Body for the ensuing year. The following
 Brethren paid 5^s each towards defraying the Rent
 of the Room which is 4.4.0 Dr Stennett Mr Booth
 Dr Rippon Mr Thompson Mr Button Mr Macgregor
 Mr Powell Mr Penny Mr Swaine Mr Timy Thomas
 Mr Tho^s Thomas Mr Sowerby, Mr Smith Mr Dore
 Mr Burnside Mr Stennett Mr Martin.

Sep. 29. 1795 The Death of Dr Stennett was
 reported to have taken place on the 24th Aug^t. Mr
 Tho^s Hutchings was proposed & unanimously received
 on our denomination.

Dec. 8. 1795. Present. Mr Booth, Mr Timothy, Thomas, Mr Dore, Mr Tho^s Thomas, Mr Smith, Mr Stennett, Mr Hutchings, Mr Button. Mr William Newman of Bow was proposed, and unanimously received on our denomination.

Jan. 19. 1796. Present Mr Booth, Mr Timothy Thomas, Mr Tho^s Thomas, Mr Dore, Mr Smith, Mr Sowerby. This evening four guineas was paid for one years Rent for the Room. Agreed that the sum of 5/3 be paid by the following Brethren to make up the sum paid for the rent. Mr Booth, Mr Martin, Mr MacGregor, Mr Timothy, Thomas, Mr Dore, Mr Tho^s Thomas, Mr Smith, Mr Stennett, Mr Powell, Mr Swaine, Mr Sowerby, Mr Burnside, Mr Penney, Mr Ovington, Dr Rippon, Mr Button.

Tuesday. Apr. 5. 1796 Present Mess^{rs} Booth, Timothy, Thomas, Dore, Smith, Stennett, Hutchings, & Button. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Tho^s Thomas, Stennett, & Button were chosen to be on the Committee of the General Body for the ensuing year. Resolved that M^r Josiah Thompson be considered no longer a member of this Body, on account of his having refused to pay his quota towards the expense of the rent of the room in which we meet. Resolved that it be reported to the General Body, that M^r Thompson is no longer a member of this Society.

Jan. 17. 1797. The Rent of the Room was apid this afternoon, which is 4 guineas, & the following Brethren it was agreed were to pay 5/3 each. Mess^{rs} Booth, Martin, MacGregor, Timy Thomas, Dore, Tho^s Thomas, Smith, Stennett, Powel, Sowerby, Burnside, Penny, Ovington, Rippon, Hutchings, Button.

Mar. 27. 1797. Present. Mess^{rs} Booth, Rippon, Martin, Tho^s Thomas, Penny, Button. M^r Josph

Hughes late of Bristol, now of Battersea, was proposed & unanimously received on our denomination. Agreed that the Committee be desired to report that Mr Hughes is received on our denomination, that Mr Swaine is removed by death. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Rippon, Penny, and Hutchings be on the Committee of the General Body, for the ensuing year.

Jamaica Coffee house. Jan^y 16 1798 Present Mess^{rs} Booth, Smith, Penny, Sowerby, Button. The rent of the room was paid by Bro^r Booth. The sum was 4 guineas. Agreed the following persons should should pay 5/3 each to defray it. Mess^{rs} Booth, Martin, Tim^y Thomas, Tho^s Thomas, Smith, M^cGregor, Powell, Sowerby, Burnside, Penny, Rippon, Ovington, Hutchings, Dore, Newman, Button.

Jamaica Coffee house. Jan^y 31. 1798. Present, Mess^{rs} Booth, Dore, Rippon, Tho^s Thomas, Burnside, Hutchings, M^cGregor, Penny, Hutchings, Newman, Button. It having been reported, that M^r Martin a member of this Society had expressed in a Lecture he preached at Broad Street on the 14th Inst. that he believed that if the French were to invade this country, many of the Dissenters, both Baptists & Pædobaptists would join them, it was considered whether such a declaration should not come under our notice. Agreed that as it was understood the Managers of the Lecture had appointed a committee to wait on him upon that business, to defer any further consideration of it till we had heard the result of their visit.¹⁰¹

Jamaica Coffee house. Feb^y 6. Present, Mess^{rs} Booth, Rippon, Dore, Smith, M^cGregor, Tho^s Thomas, Newman, Penny, Hutchings, Burnside & Button. Resolved, that Mess^{rs} Booth, Burnside & Button be appointed a committee to wait on M^r Martin to converse with him respecting the unwarrantable expres-

sions he made use of at the Broad Street Lecture relative to the Protestant Dissenters being disposed to join the French on their invading this Country.

Jamaica Coffee house, Feby 13. Present, Messrs Booth, Rippon, Dore, Smith, McGregor, Tho^s Thomas, Newman, Penny, Hutchings, Sowerby & Button. Messrs Booth & Button reported that they had waited on Mr Martin agreeably to the appointment of the Brethren (Mr Burnside did not attend) but had obtained no satisfaction, as Mr Martin could not be prevailed on to make any concession nor was in the least disposed to acknowledge he had done wrong. Agreed, that as Mr M. had intimated that the Sermon would be printed in a short time, that it would be best to postpone any further discussion of the business till we had seen it.

Jamaica Coffee house. Mar. 13. 1798. Present, Messrs Booth, Rippon, Dore, Smith, Tho^s Thomas, Timy Thomas, Newman, Penny, Hutchings, Sowerby & Button. A printed copy of a sermon preached by Mr Martin at the Lord's day evening Lecture in New Broad Street, Jan^y 14. 1798. being laid before us, and the contents of the Advertisement prefixed being taken into consideration; it appeared that a Committee appointed by the Managers of that Lecture to wait on Mr Martin, relative to certain expressions in his Sermon, reported, that he used the following :

“ Perhaps some of you may say, I fear the French will come. Well, what if they do? What then? If Christ is your life, what have you to fear? You will say, Some of your Denomination will join them. I believe they will. *Baptized infidels, worse for mending, &c.* Perhaps you will say, Some of the Pædobaptists will join them. I believe they will.”

And it appearing from Mr Martin's own Declara-

tion in the printed address to the managers, that they had not *overcharged* his meaning; the following Resolutions were moved and seconded:

That, to the best of our knowledge & belief, the Representation Mr Martin has given of the Dissenters, does not apply to any Individual in any of our Protestant Dissenting Churches. Resolved unanimously.

That, Mr Martin's Representation, not appearing to be founded in fact, is considered by us as highly calumnious. Resolved nem.con. One only of the Brethren being neuter.

That, Mr Martin be therefore no longer a member of this Society. Resolved Nem.con. One only of the Brethren being neuter.

Jamaica Coffee house. Mar. 20. 1798. Present, Messrs Booth, Rippon, Dore, Smith, Thos Thomas, Timy Thomas, Newman Penny, Hutchings, Sowerby, Ovington, and Button. The Minutes of the last Meeting were confirmed, nem. con. One only of the Brethren being neuter.

Jamaica Coffee house. April. 3. 1798. Present Messrs Booth, Smith, Rippon, Newman, Penny, Thos Thomas & Button. Agreed, that the Committee appointed report to the General Boday, That, Messrs Arnold & Stennett are removed into the Country. That Mr Martin is no longer a Member of this Society.

Jamaica Coffee house Janv 15. 1799. The Rent of the Room was paid by Mr Booth which is 4.4.0—agreed to pay 16/ more in consideration of the rise of Tobacco. The following Brethren composing this Society were therefore appointed to pay 6/6 each. Mr Booth, Dr Rippon, Mr Dore, Mr Tim Thomas, Mr Thos Thomas, Mr Hutchings, Mr Sowerby, Mr Hughs, Mr Powell, Mr Burnside, Mr Newman, Mr

Macgregor, Mr Ovington, Mr Penny, Mr Smith, Mr Button.

Jamaica Coffee house. Mar. 26: 1799 Present Mess^{rs} Tim. Thomas, Dore, Sowerby, Hutchings, Newman & Button. The Brethren from their great respect to their worthy President Mr Booth and sympathizing with him under his present indisposition, Resolved unanimously, to afford him, in rotation, any Assistance in their power, which he may find convenient. Resolved, that our Secretary transmits a copy of this resolution to Mr Taylor one of the Deacons of Mr Booth's church.¹⁰²

[The next two minutes were entered on later pages, with the apology, "This & the minute of Apr. 8. 1799 should have been inserted pa 153" instead of pages 154, 155, which are in disorder. Erasures and blots abound at this period.]

Jamaica Coffee house Apr. 6. 1799 Mr Jos. Gutteridge reported that Mr Josiah Thompson is concerned that his conduct should have given offence to his Brethren in the ministry; it was unintentional on his part, and he assures them that it would afford him pleasure & satisfaction to [feel that the] harmony that subsisted between them [were] restored and perpetuated.

Jamaica Coffee house. Apr. 8. 1799

1. It was agreed that the report communicated by Mr Gutteridge be received as Mr Thompsons acknowledgment
2. That all circumstances considered this acknowledgment be deemed satisfactory, & that he be restored as an approved minister of this denomination, & be reported as such to the General Body
3. That the thanks of this society be given to Mr

James Smith & Mr Jos. Gutteridge for the active part they have taken in this affair.

Febv. 11. 1800 Paid 5 pounds for the rent of the Room—the follow^g Brethren were appointed to pay 6/3 each Mr Booth, Dr Rippon, Mr Ovington, Mr Newman, Mr Sowerby, Mr Hutchings, Mr Timy Thomas, Mr Tho^s Thomas, Mr Thompson, Mr Smith, Mr Macgregor, Mr Powell, Mr Burnside, Mr Penny, Mr Dore. ["Mr Hughes" added later.]

Jamaica Coffee house. Mar. 18. 1800 It was agreed that the following Brethren be on the committee of the General Body for the year ensuing. [Nothing more.]

Jamaica Coffee house Apr. 1. 1800 Present, Mess^{rs} Booth, Dore, Tho^s Thomas, Hutchings, & Button. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Dore, Tho^s Thomas, & Button be on the Committe[e] of the general body for the year ensuing.

Jamaica Coffee house Mar. 1. 1801. Agreed to report to the general body, that Mr John Rance of Hackney and Mr W. Coxhead were considered by us as approved ministers. Also that Dr Rippon, Mr Dore & Mr Button were chosen on the committee of the General Body.¹⁰³

Febv 26. 1802. Paid the Rent of the Room 5£ Agreed to collect of the Brethren for the above purpose 5/11 each. Mr Booth Newman Powell Rippon Hutchings Burnside Dore Ovington Penny Ty Thomas Thompson Rance Hughes Smith Coxhead Sowerby McGregor Button

Jamaica Coffee house. 23 Mar. 1802. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Booth, Tho^s Thomas, & Coxhead be on the Committee of the General Body for the Year ensuing

Jamaica Coffee house. Feby 8. 1803 Mess^{rs} James Smith, M^m Lepard, Gutteridge, Ashlin, Pritt, & Norton attended & signified that they had a wish that a reconciliation might take place between M^r Martin & the Society of Ministers who meet here, & that they had waited on M^r Martin & conversed with him on the subject, who indicated, he had no desire to unite in our monthly meetings, in assisting the particular baptist fund or with this Society, but should have no objection to a friendly intercourse with us as Individuals.¹⁰⁴

Agreed as M^r Booth is not present with us, If it appear M^r Martin is willing to make such concession as we think should be satisfactory, to M^r Booth, whom we consider he has grossly insulted both in conversation & in print, we as Individuals have no objection to a friendly christian Intercourse with M^r Martin.

Present Mess^{rs} Rippon, Ty Thomas, Dore, Hutchings, Tho^s Thomas, Powell, Sowerby, Penny, Button

Mar. 8. 1803. Jamaica Coffee house Present Brethren, Ty Thomas, Tho^s Thomas, Newman, Sowerby, Coxhead, Button. Agreed to report to the General Body that M^r Gray was considered by us as an approved minister, & had been received on our denomination. Agreed to appoint Messrs [Booth, Tho^s Thomas & Coxhead *erased*] W. Penny [minute unfinished. A date completely erased, a blot, and a space left.]

Mar. 15. 1803. The following letter from M^r Booth to the Secretary was laid before the Brethren.

Dear Sir, I ought, ere now, to have informed you, as being our Secretary at the Jamaica Coffee house, that Messrs James Smith & Pritt waited on me with

Mr Martin's conclusion, relative to further steps toward a reconciliation; which, with regard to myself, *as an individual*, was far from being agreeable; of which I expressly informed them.

I said, as *an individual*: for though, as such, my own mind is made up on the disagreeable subject, yet, each of my ministering Brethren belonging to the Society, which meet at the Jamaica Coffee house, having an equal right to judge for himself, I must entreat them to exercise that right, independently of my opinion on the case. If they therefore, or a majority of them, obtain satisfaction from Mr Martin so as to think it right that he should be restored to membership in the Society at the Coffee house, and in the General Body of protestant Dissenting ministers, let him by all means be restored: for I am *utterly averse* from the thought of his being kept out of that connection, merely, because I think he is undeserving of being restored. My reason is, it cannot be more clear to me that Mr Martin has forfeited all claim to Membership in the General Body; than it is that my ministering Brithren have a right to judge for themselves, & to act accordingly. Nay, so far as I can conceive, the consideration of his exclusion from that Body being continued, merely, or principally, because I disapproved of his restoration, would be more painful to me than his reinstatement in it. If not under a great mistake, I receive the rights of society, & detest a spirit of domination in any of its members. I therefore deprecate its being hereafter said, *Mr Martin would have been long ago restored to his connection with the General Body had it not been for the prejudice, the pride, and the obstinacy of A. Booth.*

You, my worthy Friend, will be so kind as to lay this before my Brethren at the Coffee house the first opportunity, & in so doing you will much oblige, Dear Sir, Your Friend & Brother A. Booth.

9 Mar. 1803

Jamaica Coffee house April. 26. 1803. A deputation from the Board of Directors and Medical Council of the Royal Jennerian Society, having waited upon us to give information respecting the success of vaccine Inoculation & to solicit our recommendation of the object of the Society, in their respective congregations

It was resolved unanimously that in our opinion the vaccine inoculation may be of great public utility; and that in our individual capacity, as opportunities may occur, we will endeavour to communicate the important information which has been so clearly, so fully, and so candidly imparted to us by the committee

Jamaica Coffeehouse. Mar. 27. 1804. Agreed to appoint Brethren Rippon, Gray, and Dore to be on the Committee of the General Body for the year ensuing.

Feb. 26. 1805. Dr Jenkins and Mr Arnold were proposed to be received into our Society, which was unanimously agreed to. It was moved, seconded & agreed to, that our brethren Timy Thomas, Rance and Button, be on the Committee of the General Body for the ensuing year. Agreed that Mr Jonathan Cihandler having resigned the ministry, for several years, cannot with propriety be considered any longer a member of this association.

Apr. 3. 1805. Agreed to receive Mr Joseph Ivimey as a member of this Society.¹⁰⁵

May 5. 1805. Agreed to receive Mr James Upton and Mr [William] Shenstone as members of this Society and to report the same to the General Body.¹⁰⁶

Jamaica Coffee house Apr. 8. 1807. Agreed that Messrs Dore, Newman, and Upton, be appointed on

the Committee of the General Body, for the ensuing year.

Jamaica Coffee house. Apr. 7. 1807. Agreed to receive M^r Stevens of Prescot Street as a member of this Society, and to report the same to the General Body. Agreed to appoint Brethren Rippon, Newman, and Hutchings to be on the Committee of the General body for the year ensuing. And that they report the death of our Bro^r Rance of Hackney.

Jamaica Coffee house Mar. 29. 1808. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Stevens Waters and [William] Shenstone be on the Committee of the General Body for the ensuing year.¹⁰⁷

April. 4. 1809 Agreed that Mess^{rs} Dore, Upton, and Hutchings be on the committee of the general for the year ensu

Oct. 10 1809 Agreed to receive M^r Thos Waters as a member of our Society, and to report the same to the General Body.¹⁰⁸

Jamaica Coffee house Jan. 2. 1810. Agreed to receive M^r [John] Shenstone as a member of this Society, and to report the same to the General body.¹⁰⁹

Jan'y 16. 1810 Agreed to receive M^r Abraham Austin as a member of this Society, and to report him to the general body as an approved minister of our denomination. Agreed also to receive M^r John Douglas and M^r Bradley into our Society, and to report the same to the general body.¹¹⁰

Mar. 27. 1810 Agreed that Mess^{rs} Stevens, Waters, and John Shenstone to be on the Committee of the general body, for the year ensuing.

Jamaica Coffee house Mar 26. 1811. Agreed to appoint Mess^{rs} Austin, Waters, and Newman to be on the Committee of the General Body for the year ensuing.¹¹¹

Oct. 16. 1811. Agreed to receive M^r F. A. Cox as a member of this Society, and to report the same to the General Body.

Jamaica Coffee house Oct 16. 1811. The following letter directed to the associated Baptist ministers at the Jamaica Coffee house was read.

The Church of Christ meeting in Artillery Street, to the associated Baptist Ministers at the Jamaica Coffee house Cornhill.¹¹²

Dear Brethren, Having been constrained from conscientious motives to separate from a Church in your connexion we are still desirous that friendship, and cordiality, should exist between us, and all the churches, with the hope, that the glory of God may be promoted. We are at present destitute of a pastor, but trust the great head of the church will in his own time direct one to us whom he has qualified for the office, and who shall prove a blessing to us. As we believe our views of divine truth, and the object we have in pursuit, are similar to yours, we hope you will be disposed to give us that countenance and support which with the blessing of God may prove a mutual comfort. Praying for the continuance and increase of your usefulness, with the peace and prosperity of the churches under your care and desiring an interest in your prayers we remain, Dear Brethren, Yours in the bonds of the gospel

Signed by desire and
in behalf of the church
Oct. 16. 1811.

Thos Renshaw
Sam^l Sanigear
Deacons

Jamaica Coffee house Nov^r 5. 1811. The letter from the separatists from prescot Street, Goodman's fields (late Mr Booth's) which was sent us Oct 16. was taken under consideration. and it was agreed to send a letter, to the church in Prescot street, of which the following is a copy.

Dear Brethren, We have received a letter from the people who meet for divine worship in Artillery street, stating that though separated from you, and formed into a distinct church yet they are desirous of maintaining a friendly intercourse with all the churches of the same faith and order in London, and they wish for our countenance, and support. Before we return any answer to their request we wish to know, if you, from whom they are separated, are disposed to recognize them as a church of Christ, as from our connexion with you, and our cordial friendship for you, we should be very sorry to take any steps whereby you should have any good cause of offence. We at the same time avail ourselves of this occasion to assure you, that we deeply regret the late circumstances which have arisen, to interrupt that harmony by which as a church you have been so long distinguished, and we most sincerely pray, that the great head of the church may soon favour you with another pastor, who shall be instrumental to promote your spiritual edification, peace & welfare. We remain Your affect^{te} Brethren. Signed on behalf of the associated ministers meeting at the Jamaica Coffee house, by the Secretary.

N.B. There were present at this meeting the following Brethren. Dr Rippon, Timy Thomas, Jos. Ivimey, W. Newman, James Upton, John Shenstone, Thos^s Powell, Thos^s Sowerby, Abraham Austin. W. Button

Jamaica Coffee house. Nov^r 12. 1811. Agreed to send a letter to the Separatists from the Church in

Prescot Street, now meeting in Artillery Street, of which the following is a copy.

To the Brethren and Sisters meeting in Artillery Street. Dear Friends We received your letter, dated Oct. 16. and having duly and affectionately considered its contents, we are unanimously of opinion that before we can give you our final answer, it will be proper for you to apply to the Church in prescot Street requesting them to recognize you as a sister Church of Jesus Christ. Wishing you every suitable benediction, we are your affect^e Brethren & Servants Signed on our behalf by our Secretary. W. Button.

Present at this meeting Dr Rippon, Tho^s Thomas, W. Newman, Jos. Ivimey, John Shenstone, W. Shenstone, T. Waters, W. Button

Jamaica Coffeehouse Nov. 25. 1811 A letter was read from the Church at Prescot Street, of which the following is a copy.

To the Associated ministers of the Baptist denomination, meeting at the Jamaica Coffee house. Christian Brethren and Friends. Having taken into consideration your Secretary's letter addressed to us as a Church; requesting to know, if we are disposed to recognize our separated Friends as a Church of Christ? We think it our duty, under present circumstances to pause on this matter, Because we think it admits of considerable doubt, whether persons withdrawing themselves from a regular Church, and saying, they have formed themselves into a distinct church, is sufficient to constitute them such, in conformity with the prevailing and approved practice of Christian Society. A church having been regularly organized, and settled under the care of a pastor, may still be considered as a church, if it be deprived of its pastor, but whether that distinction is justly applicable

to a body of persons, where the organization has never been complete, we are not fully satisfied of. But more especially we pause, because our late brethren and sisters have *rent* themselves from us, disregarding that *order* of our churches which we have ever been led to consider of much importance in reference to Christian fellowship. If a body of members are justified upon the principles of propriety and decorum, to withdraw themselves from a church with which they stand connected without any other communication then sending them word *they have withdrawn*. Can any individual be censured for pursuing the same line of conduct? The regard therefore which we bear to the credit as well as to the harmony of our churches, requires us to be cautious how we sanction a principle that must tend to great irregularity and disorder amongst them. We deny not the right of persons to act for themselves, but we maintain that the New Testament recommends to Christians, the exercise of courtesy towards one another 1 Pet. 3. 8.

We deeply lament with you, that the harmony of our church has been interrupted, & although we wish not to recur to the occasions of it; yet justice to ourselves requires us to say that we think the grounds on which our late Brethren and Sisters have separated, are neither consistent, nor justifiable on New Testament principles. Nevertheless we wish to act under the influence of that christian doctrine which requires the forgiveness of injury, and we hope that whatever may be their conduct towards us we shall bear no resentment towards them, nor be found in the exercise of any unfriendly temper, or dispositions.

We return you our thanks, for your expressions of regard towards us as a church, which we confess are the more satisfactory, as we had reason to fear, from late occurrences, that that regard was on the decline. However this may be, we can assure you,

that in every part of our conduct throughout the perilous situation in which we have been placed? we have aimed to promote the peace and welfare of Zion, and the honour of the Redeemer's cause, and we hope that we shall never be left to act in a way undeserving of the esteem of those ministers, to whom we are no less attached by affection, than by uniformity of sentiment. With cordial regards, we remain sincerely yours in the bonds of the gospel

Signed on	Jos Gutteridge	} Deacons
behalf of	Tho ^s Key,	
the church	Jn ^o Willis	
Nov. 3. 1811	Wm Freme	
	Jn ^o Hepburn	

Jamaica Coffee house Jan^y 23. 1812 A letter was read from the Separatists from Prescott street Church, of which the following is a copy.

The Baptist Church of Christ meeting in Artillery Street, Bishopsgate Street, to the Associated Baptist ministers meeting at the Jamaica Coffee house, Cornhill.

Dear Brethren, We lately made application to you for assistance in preaching, and administering the ordinance among us and your cordially complying would be pleasing but lest a further consideration of our case should in the smallest degree interrupt that peace and harmony, so desirable should continue amongst you, we wish to withdraw our request, trusting that He who is the Head over all things for his body's sake the church will supply our need, believing we have taken the path of duty. We remain, dear Brethren, Yours respectf^y

Signed on behalf	Tho ^s Renshaw
of the Church	Sam ^l Sanegear
Jan ^y 27. 1812	(Deacons)

Jamaica Coffee house Mar 26. 1812 Agreed to appoint Mess^{rs} Austin, Waters and Newman to be on the committee of the General Body.

Mar. 1813. Agreed that Dr Rippon, Mr Tho^s Thomas, and Mr Austin be appointed on the committee of the General Body for the year ensuing. Agreed that the Committee appointed last year report to the General Body that Mr T. Griffin of Prescott Street, and Mr T. Smith, No 29 Winchester Row, Edgeware Road are received as members of this Society, being considered as approved ministers of our denomination.¹¹³

April. 1814. Agreed that Mess^{rs} Newman, Griffin and Button be on the committee of the General Body for the year ensuing. Agreed to receive Mr Cole of Poplar a member of this Society. Also Mr Kingsford, Battersea fields.¹¹⁴

Jamaica Coffee house Aug^t 1815 Agreed to receive Mr Ja^s Hoby, and Mr Young as members of this Society, and that Mr Ivimey be appointed joint Secretary with Mr Button on acc^t of Mr B.^s eyesight failing.¹¹⁵

At Jamaca Coffee house Apr. 3. 1816 Agreed to receive Mr Bligh No 75 White Chaple, and Mr John Chin of Walworth as members of this Society. Agree that Dr Rippon, Mr Tho^s Thomas and Mr W. Shensstone be on the Committee of the General Body for the year ensuing.¹¹⁶

Apr. 1. 1817 Agreed to report to the General Body Mr John Edward, lower Thornaugh St Tottenham Court road is received as an approved minister. Rev^d Mr Austin of Fetter lane, removed by death. Rev^d Mr Waters removed into the country. Mess^{rs} Ivimey, Hoby, and Cole be on the Committee of the General body for the ensuing year.¹¹⁷

Sep. 16. 1817 Agreed to receive Mr Prichard as a member of this Society.¹¹⁸

[At this point the book was disused, though only half full. The next three pages were used in 1835 by J. B. Shenstone to record lists of 1727 taken from the minutes of the General Body. Several pages at the end have been used as an index, both to this and to the next volume. Notes are added there freely in various hands, some being very inaccurate. A second book was opened with a nine-page summary of the previous minutes, containing mistakes, and a defective alphabetical list of the members 1723-1817. This was followed by a roll of the Secretaries, which was kept up until 1882. On page 13 the minutes are resumed, without any explanation why the old book was discarded. The reason may possibly be that Joseph Ivimey was chosen joint-secretary with Button, and preferred after a short experience to make a new beginning for current minutes, using the older book as a source of history. But it will soon appear that W. Shenston succeeded him speedily for four years, and undertook another revision; then in 1829 J. B. Shenston succeeded, & proceeded to annotate with disastrous results to accuracy.]

Jamaica Coffee house Tuesday Feby 17. 1818
Present. Tho^s Thomas, Dr Newman, W. Shenstone,
Griffin, J. Shenstone, Elven, Cole, Bligh, Penny, Hoby,
F. A. Cox, Hutchings, Ivimey, and Button.

Resolved that it appears desirable that a union of the three denominations for the purport of raising a fund for the relief of aged and infirm ministers. That we are of opinion that a requisition should be sent to the Secretary at the Library to bring this subject forward at the Annual Meeting.¹¹⁹

Jamaica Coffee house Tuesday 24 Mar. 1818
 Agreed to receive Mr Owen Clark as a Member of this Society.

April 7. 1818

Report made to the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers. Rev^d Mr Mileham, Jane Street, Commercial Road; Rev^d Mr Pritchard of Keppel Street; Rev^d Owen Clark of Chelsea are received as approved ministers. Rev^d Mr Penney is removed by Death. Rev^d Dr Newman, rev^d J. Hutchings, and rev^d J. Upton are the appointed committee for the year ensuing.

Oct. 6

Agreed to receive Mr Buck, who is settled in Titchfield Street as a member of this Society.

Dec. 1.

Agreed to receive Mr Uppadine of Hammersmith and Mr Belsher, now preaching at Burton Street as members of this Society.¹²⁰

April. 6. 1819

The following Report made to the General Body of Dissenting Ministers. Rev^d Mr Buck, Uppadine Hammersmith, Belsher Burton Street received as approved ministers of the particular Baptist denomination. Rev^d Dr Joseph Jenkins of Walworth, deceased. Rev^d [Thomas] Sowerby, deceased. Rev^d Dr Rippon, Joseph Ivimey, and F. A. Cox are appointed as our Committee for the year ensuing.

Jan'y 1820 [another scribe]

That the Laws and regulations of the Board be revised and reconsidered and presented at the Annual Meeting in March for the approval of the Board and that a Committee be now appointed for that purpose consist-

ing of the following Brethren Dr Rippon Jos Ivimey Pritchard Clark W. Shenston J. Shenston Newman & Griffin¹²¹

Jamaica Coffee House. March 14 1820
Present Dr Rippon, Dr Newman, Mr Upton, Shenston, Button, Cox, Hutchings, Hoby, Young, J. Shenston, Griffin, Edwards, Pritchard, Ivimey, Cramp, Douglas, Elvey, Clarke, Kingsford, Williams, Belsher, Bligh, Davis, Denham.

It having been thought necessary to revise and enlarge the regulations of this Society a special meeting for this purpose was convened at the usual place March the 14. 1820. when the following resolutions were adopted.

1. That the object proposed by this Society is to afford an opportunity for mutual consultation and advice on subjects of a religious nature particularly as connected with the interests of our own denomination, and that the Society do meet every Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock

2. That this Society do consist of approved Ministers of the particular baptist denomination residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, that no minister resident in London be permitted to attend the meetings of this Society more than three months [*altered in 1824 to six*] without becoming a member, and that each member contribute his proportion towards the general expenses of the Society.

3. That any Minister desiring admission into this Society state his request in a letter addressed to one of the Secretaries [*relaxed in 1824 to orally*] which shall be presented at the next weekly meeting and the proposal taken into consideration that day fortnight at a meeting specially convened for the purpose the

Secretary stating in the summons the name and residence of the person or persons who may have been proposed, and that no member be excluded but by a majority of the members present at a meeting specially convened.

4 That a subject be discussed the Tuesday after the first Lord's day in every month [*altered to second Tuesday, then in 1831 to first Tuesday*] unless urgent business require its postponement, the subjects to be selected and circulated among the members at the commencement of the year.

5 That at the weekly meetings of this Society a Chairman be chosen as soon as five members are assembled which number shall be competent to transact its ordinary business. [*In 1828 the member of longest standing was to be chairman.*]

6. That this Society shall have two Secretaries [*altered, and after perhaps a second erasure reading thus, again?*] who shall enter such minutes of proceedings as may be deemed necessary.

7. That an annual meeting of this Society be held on the Tuesday after the second Lord's-day in the month of March, when the rules of the Society shall be read, the proceedings of the year reported, the annual expenses defrayed, Secretaries chosen [*expunged in 1831*], the report to the general body meeting at Red Cross Street prepared, and any other business transacted that may arise for consideration.

Brethren Button and Ivimey having resigned their office as the Secretaries of this Society a vote of thanks to them for their past services was carried unanimously.

Brethren Shenston and Pritchard were requested to undertake the office of Secretaries for the present year.

Mr Dyer was admitted a member of this Society having been proposed at a former meeting.

Brother Edwards proposed Mr Lewis of Highgate for admission into this Society.

Agreed that brethren Dr Newman Griffin and Hoby be requested to attend the general committee meeting at the Library, Red Cross Street the ensuing year.

Jamaica Coffee House March 21 1820 Present Dr Newman, Dr Rippon, Mr Shenston, J. Shenston, Bligh, Kingsford, Williams, Pritchard, Griffin, Dyer. Mr Lewis of Highgate was admitted a member of this Society

Report of this Society for the year 1819 to the general body meeting at the Library Red Cross Street. Mr Thomas Thomas removed by death, Mr Mileham removed into this country, Mr Buck no longer a promise of marriage. Mr Davis, Elvey, Cramp, member of this Society, [*note* excluded for breach of Williams, Denham, Dyer, and Lewis admitted members of this Society. Dr Newman Mr Griffin Mr Hoby to be on the general committee for the following year.

Jamaica Coffee House April 18 1820.

Present Dr Rippon, Dr Newman, Mr Griffin, Mr Bligh, Mr Clarke, Mr Douglas, Mr Shenston, Mr Denham.

Resolved that on Tuesday next it be considered whether country cases recommended by the Committee for examining cases shall be brought to this room for signatures.

Jamaica Coffee House April 25 1820.

Present Dr Rippon, Dr Newman, Mr Griffin, Mr Davis, Mr Bligh, Mr Edwards, Mr Pritchard, Mr Thomas, Mr Dyer, Mr Shenston, Mr Cramp, Mr Williams, Mr Clarke, Mr Denham. Resolved that our Secretary be requested to inform the Secretary of the committee

for examining country cases that it is not considered any part of the business of this body to sign Country cases but that Ministers will always be at perfect liberty to sign such cases in this room on their individual account. [Here A ceases and B begins.]

At this Meeting the following subjects were propose for discussion during the present year. Mr Dyer May 9th What steps can be taken to promote the interests of religion in our denomination at large? Mr Clarke June 6 How far is it practicable to form an Association of the baptist Ministers & Churches in London and its environs. Mr Davis July 4 Is the practice of fasting of perpetual obligation. Mr Griffin Aug^t 8 How can we account for the differences in the theological opinions of wise and virtuous men? Mr Denham Sep^r 5 Was Sampson's death an act of suicide? Mr Douglas Oct^r 3 Is there reason to apprehend the preaching [?] of Popery in this country? Mr Bligh Nov^r 7 What is hyper Calvinism? Mr Edwards Dec 5 What is the province of reason in matters of religion?

June 6, 1820

At a numerous meeting of this Body it was resolved to hold a monthly prayer meeting, hoping thereby to promote affection and union among ourselves and to implore the divine Blessing on all our individual and united efforts for the extention of the Redeemers kingdom. It was also agreed that these Meetings should for one year be held at the following places Viz Devonshire Sq^{re}, Prescot St, Carter Lane, Church St, Eagle St, & Fetter Lane. A short address to be delivered by the Ministers in rotation, the time of meeting to be the Tuesday after the 2nd Lords day at half past six. The Quesⁿ for discussion this afterⁿ was adjourn^d till next week.

13th [June, 1820]

At this meeting it was determined that the formation of an Association of the baptist Ministers & Churches in London & its environs is not only practicable but also desirable. It was then Resolved that on this day forthnight steps be taken to carry the foregoing determination into effect

A List of the present Members of this Body, June 27th 1820. [The list is in five columns; Date, Name, Station, Residence, From Whence. Semicolons are used here to show these columns. Two columns were also ruled to show subscriptions, but only casual pencil entries are in them, or the word "Dead" without a date. For eight or ten years corrections were made, and fresh entries added, which are indicated here when they can be read. In 1830 a new list was drawn up at the end of the book, and corrected in like fashion for six years.]

63. Leicester had had a G.B. church from 1656; its Elder, Thomas Davye, a scrivener, was just ending his pastorate of 31 years, and the cause was in very low water. But the P.B. people did not organize even yet for ten years.

64. Samuel Wilson died on 6 October 1750, Stennett spoke at the interment in Bunhill Fields on the 12th, Gill preached a memorial sermon at Prescott Street. Ivimey extracts that he had been to school with Dr. Hay, a London clergyman, and with John Ward, later the professor at Gresham; then had gone to the Academy of Ridgley and Eames. The preceding pages are evidence that he could neither spell nor compose in good English nor keep regular minutes. As a pastor he was successful, and he was often called upon for inter-denominational work; while his Scripture Manual is even yet reprinted. From his own church he prepared nine men for the ministry; and the cessation of his labours compelled Londoners at last to face the problem of united effort in this direction.

65. This minute is in a hand which had appeared intermittently. Samuel Stennett was at this time 24 years old; he had been trained at the Mile End Pedobaptist academy of the King's Head Society, and

was now assistant to his father Joseph at Little Wild Street. The minutes till his death in 1795 are in his hand, very neat and legible; a margin which has tempted various annotators appears with April 14, 1752; it is represented here by new paragraphs.

66. Edward Trivett was the successor of Richard Culley at Worstead, and in a pastorate of nearly sixty years trained eleven ministers.

67. Hill Cliff now had as its pastor a baker, John MacGowan, whose shop was in Warrington. He succeeded in organizing a branch church there, and showed such energy that he was called to Bridgnorth, and eventually to Devonshire Square.

Training of Ministers.

This matter was one aimed at in the Assembly of 1689, but when the Londoners dropped their annual meetings in 1693, only Terrill of Bristol showed any interest in the question. The P.B. Fund was established in 1717 with the following objects:—correspondence among Baptists, maintenance of worship, supply of ministers, augmentation of maintenance. In 1720 £300 South Sea stock was ear-marked for "the encouragement of persons in literature for the ministry." Mrs. Hemington augmented this, Thomas Hollis in 1731 left £500 more, Mrs. Elizabeth Booth in 1742 left £50.

In August 1752 there was formed the Baptist Society for Assisting Young Men in Grammar and Academic Learning: £356 was subscribed as capital, and £60 annual subscriptions were promised. Thomas Llewelyn was engaged as tutor, and students were boarded at £20 each. In 1760 Llewelyn acted as treasurer and trustee, the education being undertaken by Samuel Stennett. Interest dropped off rapidly, and subscriptions ceased with 1774. Later students were boarded with country ministers. Work stopped altogether with 1799, and six years later the capital and accumulated interest were paid over to the P.B. Fund. Henceforth the educational work was carried on through Stepney and Regent's Park. It is noteworthy that the plan was so distrusted by Professor Ward, that his trust of 1754 ignored it as well as the Fund, and provided for education at a Scottish University.

68. Spurgeon gives other instances of Gill's jealousy of young ministers at his own church.

69. No explanation is given of this decision. The church at Prescott Street was very hard to suit with a pastor, being five years without. The adherents of James Fall claimed, and were not contradicted, that they formed a majority. When the minority declined to

acquiesce in the call, Best and his friends did not quarrel, but withdrew and formed a new church which by June was housed in Little Alie Street. The list of ministers returning this blunt refusal shows only five churches concerned, Goat Street, Wild Street, Eastcheap, Devonshire Square and Unicorn Yard. The next minute shows that Cartwright was a country minister; so also was Tolley, from Northampton. Ministers not refusing were Anderson of Swallow Street, Brine of Curriers' Hall, Townsend of Curriers' Hall Seventh-day, Wallin of Maze Pond; besides Gifford of Eagle Street, Blunt of Limehouse, Davis of Petticoat Lane, Russell of White Street, all outside the Board. It would appear that the Board at this time was as narrow in its vision as in its theology and in its success. Gill had to go to a smaller building in 1757, Stennett had only 60 members, Dew's church collapsed in 1760, Thompson resigned in 1761 leaving the church almost dead; only Devonshire Square had much life in it.

70. The General Baptists had been at Netherton from 1654, and had recently won notoriety by the extraordinary views of Edward Elwall; they had rebuilt their meeting house in 1739. This application came from P.B., and does not seem to have been successful, for the church did not organize till 1772; in 1800 it got possession of the G.B. meeting-house, but yielded it in twenty years to the New Connexion. To-day it is styled Dudley.

71. The Hull church had used Henry the Eighth's Tower in Manor Alley; the present effort resulted in a home on Salthouse Lane. But Brown fell out with his father-in-law, a rich member, and left; Thomas Webb from Bristol was pastor at the opening.

72. These two churches were descended from the Commonwealth causes of Hexham and Stokesley. From David Douglas we learn that Isaac Garner from Great Broughton in Cumberland had succeeded William Carr in 1748 over the "church in Derwentwater," meeting at Hamsterley, Rowley and Hindley. From 1741 he had lived at Hamsterley, where he trained Christopher Hall of Black Heddon, who helped him in his wide circuit, preaching at the Juniper Dye House near Hexham, belonging to William Angus, at a new meeting-house in Stamfordham, at Styford, &c. Thence he crossed the range to take up work at Oulton in Cumberland, and then at Whitehaven. Garner replaced him by David Fernie from Scotland, who however split the church by promulgating the hyper-Calvinistic views of Gill and Brine. Hence arose the present application. It may be added that Fernie had won some staunch preachers, such as Robert, brother of Christopher Hall; the two brothers did good work at Leicester and Arnsby; also Rutherford, who went to Dublin; and Peden, who started at Sunder-

land. It should also be noted that Marton was existing in 1754, and does not date from 1780 as the Yorkshire Centenary Memorial states.

73. The old church at Trowbridge had felt the strain of Arrianism which first showed itself at Exeter about 1718. In 1736 the meeting-house was abandoned to that party, and separate worship was started at Studley, then in rented premises in Trowbridge. George Wickendon began preaching in 1747, and was ordained by Samuel Stennett in 1752. The present application resulted in a meeting on Back Street next year.

74. Yarmouth was a very old town for Baptists. Thomas Grantham had reorganized a General Baptist church, which rebuilt its house in 1734 on Row 85. At this time they had no Elder, Edward Trivett of Worstead preached once or twice and found them William Cole. A new church was organized, but speedily split on the question of Calvinism; the heirs of the old tradition appealed to the Assembly, and obtained William Young. The adherents of Trivett left, hired a house, and then built on Row 15. This is the account given by Browne, who however was very badly informed as to the G.B. church at any other period.

75. This is inconsistent with the contemporary minute of Jan. 30th, 1759, which seems to show when Larwell succeeded Blunt at Limehouse. Perhaps the dropping of Old Style had been forgotten, and "Feb. 1758" was meant to signify Feb. 1759.

76. Caleb Evans, lately a member at Wild Street, was now assisting Josiah Thompson at Unicorn Yard; but this same year was invited to assist his father, and went to Broadmead.

77. Fortunately this lazy resolution was soon forgotten, as a series of cases began again in 1767. Otherwise it is not easy to see why it was worth while keeping minutes at all, as the scandalous doings of ministers are the only other matters recorded at this period. Yet within five years such events as these occurred: Fall and Russell died, and other ministers followed at Alie Street and White Street; Joseph Jefferies joined the General Body; Gill had to find a smaller building for his shrinking church; Dew's church disbanded: all these affected ministers, and might well have had some notice, even though Gifford's appointment to the British Museum and the death of Professor Ward lay outside their purview.

78. The church also expelled him. He took a lease of a new meeting-house in Red Cross Street, where he preached till he died in 1778.

79. Woolwich had been an artillery centre for a century, and a dockyard for more than two. Yet no nonconformist place of worship arose till about now. The facts are rather hard to discover; this minute speaks of the church as newly gathered. When in 1838 records were taken to Somerset House, the earliest entry proved to be 1786, but the minister stated the church was founded in 1774. Eight years later, the next minister gave to the Baptist Union the date 1754, which tallied fairly well with the date 1757 given to the Baptist Magazine in 1835, and the date 1756 assigned to the first building on Hog Lane. MacGregor was still pastor in 1798.

80. Thomas Craner had lately brought a new Baptist church to an old meeting house at the head of an alley opposite Stevens' meeting in Red Cross Street

81. The necessity arose by leaving Blackwell's Coffee House and going to the Jamaica. Ivimey tells us that there was another change when Thomas Watson of Curriers' Hall died; he had been accustomed to entertain all the ministers of the Three Denominations every Tuesday before they went to their Coffee-Houses. He made his last codicil in April 1767, and the Baptist Fund gained £1,500 at his death; but there was no provision for ministers' dinners.

The accounts were begun among the minutes, then transferred to the end of the book. They are not printed here, but they show the following changes in the financial standing. Gill never paid. List of Lady Day 1765; Anderson, Burford, Clarke, Crayner, Flower, Larwell, Messer, Stennett, Thompson, Wallin. Flower never paid again, but he was not dropped till Christmas 1767. Anderson, Larwell and Messer stopped after Midsummer 1766, Thompson after Michaelmas, Burford after Lady Day 1767. Jenkins began Michaelmas 1766, Reynolds at Christmas, Booth and MacGowan Midsummer 1769, Jenkins stopping with Lady Day. At Midsummer 1771 Baskerville joined but Crayner made his last payment; and as there were but seven members, Stennett was out of pocket. Chandler joined in 1773, Rippon, Martin and Button in 1774, when even Gill paid eight shillings; but next year only Wallin, Clarke, Reynolds, Thompson, Stennett and Button paid. The accounts close in a lamentable state of debt. They show quite clearly that at this period the so-called Board consisted really of eight men, who diminished in 1772 to only five.

82. This list is nearly the only sign, outside the accounts, that the board met for several years. A blank page follows, and then are some notes of 1771-1774 copied from some mutilated pages at the end of the book. It is hard to guess when really contemporary minutes were kept again. The book is good evidence of the extreme deadness of

London Baptist life at this time. After three entries of 1776 and 1777 is another ominous silence for five years.

The list throws a little welcome light on the energy in the country. Bewdley had come into touch by John Allen coming to "Angel Alley" at Petticoat Lane in 1765, and being expelled in 1767.

Sevenoaks was a district rich with Baptists; the old G.B. church of Bessels Green has entries dating from 1650; in 1747/8 several members were dismissed to form a new church, but the G.B. Assembly censured Amos Harrison of Croydon for helping it; this is the church now applying to the P.B. ministers for help to build. A third church arose when John Stanger in 1769 left the first, and joined the New Connexion at its foundation next year.

Sutton-in-Ashfield was a church of 1760; it was in this town that Abraham Booth changed his views and became P.B. Nottingham had the old G.B. church, whence George Eaton had dismissed Gifford to London; but Hopper's in Friar Lane dated only from 1740. At both these places the Leicestershire preachers were soon to show the vigour of the New Conneixon.

Oakham presents a curious case. The old G.B. church of 1651, then called Burlŷ, had built in the county town, but by 1747 those premises were disused, and the church amalgamated with the G.B. church at Morcot, where the Stanger family maintained the cause, and presently started again services at Oakham on alternate Sundays. For the intervening days William Smith and John Sharp asked Robert Hall to come over from Arnsby and use the vacant meeting-house. This naturally led to the idea of a new P.B. church, which did organize in 1770, and did erect a house of its own in face of much opposition. Sharp was its second minister, leaving for Manchester in 1786. From his biography this account is derived.

Ingham had another singular career. In the commonwealth times it was Fifth-Monarchy, and quieted down into a Seventh-day Baptist church. From 1734 to 1736 it had John Rudd as pastor, but he conformed, like Sayer Rudd, and took a Dorset living. He was succeeded by Benjamin Stennett, in whose time Luke Allen presented a manse and land, on which a meeting-house was built. But under Jonathan Brown the cause ran down and the books were lost. Alexander Sparkhall had come in 1764, and evidently transformed it to an ordinary P.B. church.

Isaac Hann is rather mysterious. The Loughwood records show he had been there lately as pastor, and imply also that he was living at Up Ottery, where a church had existed since 1655. The exact relation of the two places, and of him to each, is not clear.

Northampton is interesting. The Baptist church had broken up some time after 1748, and its house on the Green had been sold to the

Wesleyans. College Lane then called a Baptist to the pastorate, Tolley; but it was the appearance of John Collett Ryland, the school-master from Warwick, which first put some real energy into it, and printed a Baptist stamp upon it.

83. MacGowan had been eight years at Devonshire Square, Booth five at Prescott Street, Baskerville four at Limehouse.

84. About 1772 Josiah Thompson, late of Unicorn Yard, took a census of dissenting churches and ministers throughout England. He reckoned nineteen churches within the walls, and 68 within the bills of mortality; but he made mistakes, putting Devonshire Square within the walls, and quite omitting two churches which had no pastors. He also copied the list of the Approved Ministers of the Three Denominations at Dr. Williams's Library, Red Cross Street, December 1772; and he supplemented it with some names of "eccentrick irregular Preachers" actually in charge. This valuable contemporary information is here digested and rearranged chronologically to match the list in note 50. General Baptist churches are marked *, ministers on the approved list †, additional information is bracketed.

1. *Barbican, Aldersgate Street; [Charles] Bulkley.†
2. *Pinner's Hall; [Joseph] Brown.†
3. Rosemary Branch Alley, Goodman's Fields; [Abraham] Booth.†
5. Devonshire Square; [John] MacGowan.†
8. Cripplegate; [John] Reynolds.†
11. Ratcliff Street; Ende; [Church Lane, Whitechapel; John] Brittain.†
12. Queen Street, Southwark; [W. Summers].
13. Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields Seventh Day; [Daniel] Noble.†
"Ditto, Scot not in the list." [Of this church nothing else is known, except as in note 97.]
- [19. *Barbican, Aldersgate Street; Daniel Noble.† This church was not recognized by Thompson as a distinct organization; it shared a building with 1, and a minister with 13; but it was the Glass-house church, which had moved here in 1768, absorbing the former Barbican church, and with a remnant of lease, running out at Michaelmas 1777.]
22. Unicorn Yard, Tooley Street; [William Nash] Clark.†
23. Pinner's Hall. Dr. [Caleb] Fleming,† Presbyterian. [James Foster the Baptist had died 1753.]
27. Cripplegate Seventh-day. [Samuel Stennett taking the morning service, but refusing to be pastor.]
32. Rose Lane, Ratcliff, or Limehouse; Baskerville.†
34. Maze Pond, Southwark; [Benjamin] Wallin.†

36. Petticoat Lane; [Christopher] Hall.
 38. [Sheer's Alley had closed, but Thompson still catalogues, as having no settled congregation:] Russell.†
 40. Little Wild Street; Dr. [Samuel] Stennett.†
 41. Pinner's Hall; Dr. [Joseph] Jeffries.†
 43. [Grafton Street; Messer died June 1772.]
 44. [Carter Lane, Southwark; Gill died October 1771.]
 50. Eagle Street, Holborn; [Andrew] Gifford.
 51. Snow's Fields, Southwark Independent; not in the list.
 52. Little Aliff Street, Goodman's Fields; [William Dowars.]
 54. Gainsford Street, Black Fields; [John] Langford.
 55. Red Cross Street; [John] Stevens excluded the list.
 56. Rotherhith Road [Greenwich; Richard] Hutchin.
 57. Woolwich; [John] MacGregor.†
 59. Jewin Street; [John] Hughs.
 Battersey, Surrey, Independent; the minister Baptist [Brown?]
 Red Cross Street Independent [Meeting House Alley]; Thomas Craner,† Baptist.
 Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate Street, Sandemanian; [William Tolley, from Meeting House Alley, whither he came from College Lane, Northampton] not in the list.
 [Joseph] Jenkins.†
 [Josiah] Thompson.†

Thus Thompson catalogued thirteen regular Baptist congregations in the cities of London and Westminster and the borough of Southwark; and eight eccentric irregular ones; besides a few others within the bills of mortality. There were seventeen ministers who mutually approved one another, and eleven others; three of the mutuals and one other were over General Baptist churches; that left fourteen P.B. ministers on the list and ten others. Of these only Booth, Clarke, Reynolds, Stennett, Wallin, paid their subscriptions to the Board for 1772, and only MacGowan was hoped for in the draft list prepared to acknowledge the subscriptions. Jenkins, Russel and Thompson were without pastoral charge.

85. This Particular Baptist church emerges first when Charles Rodgers went from Northampton in 1749. It is not known what relation it bore to the G.B. church which flourished there a century earlier, and which was under Samuel Neal 1751-1793. There was a young baker in Chatham, John Knott, son of the General Baptist Elder at Eythorn; and the people under the care of Brindley were already attracting him, rather than Neale's church; in 1776 he did follow Brindley: clearly there was need for the Board to enquire, for Knott senior, though evangelical, was in the New Connexion.

86. Walter Wilson does not record this episode. On the death of John Hughes in 1773, the congregation would have neither Stevens nor Clarke nor three pedobaptist candidates, but chose a pedobaptist from Chatham. The result evidently was this secession.

87. Tenterden invited enquiry; this church on High Street was P.B., but another organized in 1777, Honey Lane, proved to be Unitarian. The old G.B. régime in Kent and Sussex was breaking down, the Southern Association of the New Connexion was a fiasco, and so in 1779 a P.B. association was organized, which lasted till 1843.

88. Rowles was perhaps pastor of Rotherhithe at this time, having succeeded Hutchins, compare note 84, church 56. But the dates of the changes are uncertain.

89. No pages are missing, and there is nothing to suggest why no minute was made for five years. They were eventful enough:—1778 Booth published his Apology, Stevens of Red Cross Street died, John Langford from Blacks Fields succeeded Baskerville at Limehouse: 1779 Pinners' Hall lease expired, and so did the church which held it, the church of the Hollis family and James Foster: 1780 MacGowan and Thompson died, Curriers' Hall Sabbatarian called to the ministry Robert Burnside, a bachelor schoolmaster living in Snow's Fields, who took over the afternoon service, Stennett continuing the morning: 1781 Timothy Thomas settled at Devonshire Square, and Thomas Mabbot at Red Cross Street with the reconstructed church of Stevens: 1782 Wallin died, Llewellyn next year.

90. Dore was at Maze Pond: Powel was at a new church in Great Mitchell Street, St. Luke's.

91. The fourth Joseph Stennett, assistant to his father Samuel at Wild Street. This church had baptized Joseph Hughes in 1784, destined to bring Battersea thoroughly into the Baptist orbit, and to found two great societies. And in 1785 the church admitted John Thomas, who went to India as surgeon to the Governor-general, and urged the formation of a Missionary Society to the heathen.

92. Thomas Hopkins from Frome had come to Eagle Street, where Gifford had died in 1785. There was a Thomas Arnold who between 1794 and 1798 succeeded Michael Bligh at Sevenoaks.

93. William Nash Clarke, 1732-1795, A.M. Providence 1769, acted as tutor for the P.B. Fund, both in London and in Exeter: a biography appeared Rippon ii. 272-280, with portrait. He is to be distinguished from William Augustus Clarke of Red Cross Street.

94. Williams succeeded W. Nash Clarke at Unicorn Yard.

95. Bulkeley was pastor of the "White's Alley" G.B. church, now meeting in Worship Street: Dan Taylor had come in 1785 to Church Lane, Whitechapel, as co-pastor with Brittain; that church rejoined the New Connexion next year.

96. Hopkins died November 1787, Smith resigned Shrewsbury and was invited here 1788.

97. The Mill Yard premises had been provided by the Trustees of Joseph Davis's Charity for the Arminian Seventh-day Baptists. These rented it out for Sunday use, at first to a Presbyterian congregation; then to the old G.B. church from Virginia Street, which went to Church Lane under Brittain. The church now in question seems to have been gathered by John Matlock, from Daventry; Pike has an account of the church wrong in two or three respects. Thomas Thomas was son of Timothy Thomas of Aberduar, according to his uncle Joshua; History of Welsh Association, 63, 69. He studied at Bristol, and settled at Pershore 1780. In 1787 he came to Mill Yard. He stayed till his death in 1808, says Pike, who adds that after the fire which destroyed the meeting-house in 1790, this church went elsewhere; but Rippon called it still "Mill Yard" in 1794 and 1798.

In 1790 John Rippon began a Baptist periodical, and gave a census of the churches and ministers; this was criticised, and revised. The corrected list shows the following Particular Baptist churches in and near London, those constituting the Fund printed in capitals:—

- 54. Black's Fields, Southwark; Michael Brown.
- 73. Bow; John Knott senior.
- 44. CARTER LANE, Southwark; John Rippon junior.
- 77. Chapel Street [Southwark?]
- 8. CRIPPLEGATE; John Reynolds.
- 27. CRIPPLEGATE SEVENTH-DAY; Robert Burnside.
- 61. DEAN STREET, Southwark; William Button.
- 5. DEVONSHIRE SQUARE; Timothy Thomas.
- 50. Eagle Street; William Smith.
- 63. Ewer Street, Southwark;
- 3. GOODMAN'S FIELDS; Abraham Booth.
- 43. GRAFTON STREET; John Martin.
- 65. Great Ayliffe Street.
- 72. Green Walk, [Blackfriars]; James Upton.
- 56. Greenwich, Kent; Richard Hutchings.
- 66. Hammersmith, Middlesex [Daniel Gillard: dissolved, refounded 1793.]
- 78. Kingston, Surrey.
- 67. Lincoln's Inn Fields.

- 34. MAZE POND, Southwark; James Dore.
- 70. Mitchell Street; Thomas Powell.
- 69. Piccadilly; Joseph Gwennap [1784-1798.]
- 63. Red Cross Street;
- 60. Snow's Fields, Southwark.
- 52. Spitalfields [Little Alie Street.]
Staines, Middlesex; [Burnham left 1780.]
- 22. UNICORN YARD, Southwark; Daniel Williams.
- 40. WILD STREET; Dr. Stennet and Joseph Stennet.
- 36. Windmill Hill, Moorfields;
- 57. Woolwich First; Robert MacGregor.
- 75. Woolwich Second; Adam Freeman.

To these might be added:—

- 85. Battersea open-communion, under Brown; to be refounded in
1797; see Rippon iii. 34.
 - 76. Clapham.
 - 64. Edward Street, Soho; Richard Burnham.
 - 71. Fetter Lane; Abraham Austin.
 - 74. Glovers' Hall Scotch.
 - 68. Mill Yard; Thomas Thomas.
 - 58. Rotherhithe, Jamaica Row; George Philips.
- And four General Baptist buildings may be counted:—
- 11. Church Lane, Whitechapel; Brittain and Taylor.
 - 12. Duke Street, Southwark; Edward Rowcliffe.
 - 13. Mill Yard Seventh-day; William Slater.
 - 1. Worship Street: Charles Bulkley.
 - 2. " " Joseph Brown.
 - 19. " " vacant

98. John Penny was assistant to MacGregor of Woolwich.

99. Thomas Sowerby had been called to the ministry at Unicorn Yard in 1788. There was a tendency now to have only pastors on the Board, but he did not settle with the infant society at Battle Bridge, or King's Cross, till the beginning of 1794.

100. From Unicorn Yard to Fairford; Hutchins followed next year.

101. This evening lecture was delivered in the Independent Meeting House near New Broad Street, where Dr. Stafford was pastor. The subscribers and managers were different from those who maintained the Tuesday Merchants' Lecture, which since the Pinners' Hall lease had expired, was also delivered here. For this latter, see Rippon iii. 231.

102. The London ministers had long combined to maintain a "Monthly Meeting." Although it was suspended about 1739, according

to Crosby, it flourished in 1748; the list for that year is printed in Ivimey, iii, 276. At this period, the arrangements seem to be just the same; to judge from the lists printed annually by Rippon. It is significant that when in December 1797 the messengers met to draw up the list for 1798, they were unable to find three ministers who would conduct service at Martin's meeting: next year his place was dropped, and Newman's church at Bow replaced it. A specimen service was that held on Thursday March 21, 1799, at the meeting-house in East Street, Walworth, at eleven o'clock. Thomas Thomas prayed, Robert Burnside preached, Dr. Rippon prayed, and Dr. Jenkins, pastor of the local church, concluded the service. The present temporary arrangement would be based on the same rota of ministers.

103. Rance was ordained on 3 October 1798 over a church dismissed from Prescot Street, worship having been maintained in Hackney from November 1796. Coxhead was ordained in 30 October 1800 over Wild Street. Rippon iii, 23, 244.

104. Ashlin had built a new meeting-house in Store Street, off Tottenham Court Road, and presented it to Martin's church, of which he was a member; Smith and his son-in-law Gutteridge belonged to Booth's church; so that the peace-makers seemed well qualified. They failed utterly, and those who read Martin's statement as quoted in Ivimey, iv, 345-349, will see how difficult most people found him to work with.

105. Rippon ceased publishing his Register with number 41, January 1, 1803. He had great visions of other works, but the only book which really appeared was his Selection of Hymns. Thus for a few years there was no Particular Baptist periodical, but with 1809 Thomas Smith of Tiverton enlisted thirty contributors and began the "Baptist Magazine"; after three years he shifted to London, where Joseph Ivimey of Eagle Street had published a History of the Baptists to 1700, and was preparing a second volume with notices of the churches and leaders in the same period. But for the period 1803-1809 there is no contemporary periodical, whence to draw notes.

106. This minute has been altered two or three times, and the final annotator appended a note:—"N.B. J. B. Shenston was not reported, having (as a General Baptist) been a member of the General Body in 1800." This annotator has altered the original records also in 1808, 1810, 1817, 1820, and 1830, making the whole to be consistently wrong. That the original entry here was of William Shenstone appears from the fact that John Brittain Shenstone was a General Baptist till Ladyday 1809, as is shown by his being then dismissed from

the pastorate of Gravel Lane New Connexion church (formerly the Duke Street, Park; now the Borough Road) on the ground of his turning Calvinist. That accords with the fact that in January 1810 a second Mr. Shenstone was admitted here. But William Shenstone was always Calvinist; originally a member of Eagle Street, in 1798 re-opening Little Alie Street, as Rippon recorded at the time. There is no difficulty in believing that he was admitted here in 1805, along with James Upton who had been at Blackfriars even longer. The reason for the action of this Society in 1810 was that the name would no longer be vouched for by the General Baptists, and would need fresh sponsors.

107. The name John is written over an erasure. It probably read originally William.

108. Waters had been ordained in July over Wild Street. The secretary had not seen any incongruity in sending him to the committee in 1808 before he was a member here.

109. The annotator who has been so busy erasing, scratched out the original Christian name, substituting Wm, and adding the note:— "John had been as a G. Baptist Minister a Member from 1800 was recd here March 5. 1805. This is William Shenston. See p. 160," namely the entry of May 5, 1805 as falsified by himself.

110. Austin had been pastor of Fetter Lane about twenty years. William Bradley was at Hackney 1808-1810.

111. There is no more mention of the Academy at Stepney, to which Newman had just been appointed, than of the preceding Education Society: much less did such provincial enterprises as the B.M.S. or the Baptist Magazine call for notice here.

112. William Stephens had left Prescott Street, and was ordained in February over the new church at Manchester, New York Street. The seceders to Artillery St., after their rebuff here, found a pastor in a Mr. Young from Edinburgh. The ordination was on 16 April 1813, by Thomas Smith, Shenstone, Ivimey, Austin. Smith is aggressive in recording the fact, just after the paragraph as to the ordination of Griffin at Prescott St., on the same day. But he never again refers to either the church or the man; nor does Ivimey allude to either in his history.

113. Thomas Smith had removed from Tiverton to London, where he not only edited but printed and published the "Baptist Magazine." In September 1812 news had arrived of the fire at Serampore; a meeting of the B.M.S. in June had already awakened London to take some

interest in Foreign Missions, and form auxiliaries at Maze Pond. The country ministers had also been urging for a year that there should be a more general Union of the Particular Baptist churches, and therefore this Society "of the pastors of 17 churches, and other ministering brethren" appointed a committee to arrange. On 25 June, 1812, the day after the B.M.S. sermons, a meeting was held at Carter Lane with Rippon in the chair, when the Baptist Union was organized, with this Society as a committee till 25 June 1813 when the first meeting was to be held. It is extraordinary that this minute book is perfectly silent as to this; fortunately Smith now registered such affairs fully and promptly in his magazine.

114. John Cole was ordained first minister on 5 November 1813. The annotator says of Kingsford "He was a Member of the General Body as a General Bap. 1802." The list of 1817 omits him altogether. The list of 1820 calls him Joseph Kingsford, stationed at Battersea Fields, living in Savage Gardens. The annotator who has done so much mischief by altering and erasing, substituted "John" for Joseph. The early minutes of the Battersea church are lost, but it is known that some of the earliest members came from Portsea, and that John Kingsford from Kent drew off the evangelicals from the old G.B. church there, organizing a New Connexion church in 1801; this obscure Battersea man may be a member of his family, assisting Hughes. The list of 1830 calls him John.

115. According to the Baptist Magazine for 1812, page 358, Ivimey was joint-secretary even then, and the new book with its list of Secretaries drawn up by Ivimey himself appears to have given 1812; but Shenston altered the date to correspond with this minute, and interpolated that Thomas Thomas had acted previously. Button had resigned the pastorate of Dean Street in 1813, his book business needing more attention. Hoby succeeded Dore at Maze Pond at the end of 1814. This Young is not the pastor of Artillery St., but the tutor at Stepney Academy, Solomon Young, who had been pastor at Olney and Truro. An annotator of the index in this book has however confounded him with a third man, William Young, pastor of Alfred Place 1821-1874, who joined only in 1828.

116. Samuel Bligh had been pastor at Waltham Abbey and at Potter's Bar.

117. John Edwards came from Accrington to Wild Street. Waters had gone to Pershore.

118. George Pritchard had been at Shouldham Street since 1813, and succeeded Martin at Keppel Street in 1817.

119. Thus the impulse was given which led to the founding in the same year of the Society for the Relief of Aged and Infirm Protestant Dissenting Ministers, with Gurney, Gutteridge, Hughes, and Newman on the committee.

120. On 25 December, W. Belsher late of Worcester was ordained over this church of Burton Street, which had been formed on 17 September 1817 by the dismissal of 31 members from Keppel Street. Shenston blundered in making up the list of 1820; some corrector has put it right, and inserted here the Christian name.

121. A blank page follows, then the new rules in the handwriting of new secretary A, annotated and altered by C. New secretary B wrote half the minutes on April 25 and kept on till September, after which neither entered anything for 26 months, when A began again. A study of many phenomena suggests that A is Pritchard, B is W. Shenston, C is J. B. Shenston.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT FOR 1917.

			£	s.	d.
Credit balance from 1916	...	...	11	3	3
Annual Subscriptions	...	...	86	10	0
Sales of Smyth's Works	...	...	19	15	2
		Total receipts	£117	8	5
Printing and Publishing <i>Transactions</i> , Vol. V.,			£	s.	d.
Parts 2 and 3	...	...	65	8	8
<i>Bibliography</i> , part purchase money	...	...	25	0	0
Part Repayment of Loan	...	...	21	0	0
Printing, Stationery, Stamps, &c.	...	...	1	18	9
Balance in hand, 31st December	...	...	4	1	0
		Total	£117	8	5
		LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
On <i>Bibliography</i> Vol. I.	...	...	23	16	8
Balance of Loan	...	...	29	0	0
		Total due	£52	16	8

J. W. THIRTLE, *Treasurer*.

Examined and found correct, HAROLD KNOTT,

Feb. 28th, 1918.

Baptist Historical Society.

REPORT for 1917.

THE tenth year of the Society's existence has seen its work carried steadily forward. The *Transactions* were published in a single issue, thus effecting a slight economy in distribution expenses: appreciative reviews have appeared in the *Times*, the *English Historical Review*, the *American Historical Review*, the *American Journal of Theology*. Enquiries continue to come from all quarters, including Sweden and America, and in every case the enquirers have been aided with information which otherwise would have been unattainable.

The printing of the *Bibliography* is proceeding more slowly than last year, but your Committee hopes that the second volume will be available about the end of 1918. The *Transactions* appearing this spring will again be a double number of 128 pages, containing a large variety of original records and of articles by many contributors. Other students are at work on other topics, so that members may be assured of good issues next year.

Your Committee deploras the loss from its ranks of the Rev. John Haslam, D.D., F.R.Hist.S., whose knowledge of Yorkshire was minute; also from the Society of the Rev. J. Wolfenden, D.D., with experience in America and Australia. It welcomes the accession of members from the Strict Baptists, whose history till a century ago was so closely interwoven; and it looks forward to enrolling others of yet other communions, and other countries.

GEO. P. GOULD.

19th February, 1918.